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THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES  
OF IRELAND

FORMERLY

The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association  
OF IRELAND

FOUNDED, IN 1849, AS

The Kilkenny Archaeological Society

VOL. XLIII—CONSECUTIVE SERIES

[VOL. III—SIXTH SERIES]



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1913

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FOR THE SOCIETY  
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1914

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THE COUNCIL wish it to be distinctly understood that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as No. 26 of the General Rules of the Society extends.



## PREFACE

THE present volume of the Society's *Journal* is concerned more with the mediaeval than with the earlier history of Ireland. Mr. Westropp's continuation of his monumental work on the Prehistoric Remains of Clare, Mr. Hamilton's topographical study of one of the Roads out of Tara, and Miss Dobbs' note on a Burial Custom of the Iron Age are the only papers devoted to pre-Christian antiquities. Mr. Tuite reports a cup- and circle-stone in Westmeath, and Mr. Westropp an earthwork at Glencree (which, however, does not appear to be very ancient), in the *Miscellanea*. We should also note Mr. Forsayeth's account of his investigation of an ancient hearth.

Mr. Crawford continues and completes his most valuable list of the Early Cross-slabs and Pillars, and also contributes a note on the construction of the Oran round tower. Mr. Stephens makes an ingenious suggestion as to the explanation of a panel on one of the Monasterboice crosses. Mr. Forsayeth describes a souterrain in Co. Waterford. These are the only contributions to the study of the period of Celtic Christianity contained in this volume.

On the other hand, we have an unusually large number of valuable historical studies on the Anglo-Norman and subsequent periods. Mr. Orpen's study

of the documents relating to the earldom of Ulster is marked by the scholarly treatment which we have learned to look for in Mr. Orpen's work. For a later period we have an equally important paper, that by Mr. Butler, on the Policy of Surrender and Regrant. Mr. Hall and Lord Walter FitzGerald, studying the Marshall Pedigree and the life of Sir John MacCoghlan respectively, have given contributions to the studies in personal history which have been a marked feature of the Society's work in recent years. Dr. Flood traces the work of a Charitable Musical Society of Dublin of the eighteenth century, and Mr. Leask describes the now dilapidated house of Oldbawn, near Tallaght. Mr. Armstrong, in a short paper, disposes of the claims of the pre-Norman chieftains to have used any form of heraldry, and describes some mediaeval bronze horse-bells and a plate of copper engraved with the 'Taylors' arms. The note by Mr. Strangways on the street-names of Dublin should also be mentioned here, as well as Mr. Buckley's account of the gold-mining in Wicklow at the end of the eighteenth century.

In the department of folk-lore, the chief contribution is Mr. Crawford's illustrated note on certain stones used for a cure near Dromahair.



# LIST OF FELLOWS AND MEMBERS

WITH

LIST OF OFFICERS

FOR THE YEAR 1913,

*(Revised 31st DECEMBER, 1913)*

AND

STATUTES AND BY-LAWS OF THE SOCIETY.

THE  
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER, 1912.)

THIS Society, instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments of the History, Language, Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with Ireland, was founded as THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY in 1849. Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, on December 27th, 1869, was graciously pleased to order that it be called THE ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND, and was further pleased to sanction the adoption of the title of THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND on 25th March, 1890.

The Society holds four General Meetings in each year, in Dublin and in the several Provinces of Ireland, when Papers on Historical and Archæological subjects are read, Fellows and Associate Members elected, Objects of Antiquity exhibited, and Excursions made to places of Antiquarian interest. The Council meets monthly, at 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin. Evening Meetings of the Society are also held monthly in Dublin during the Winter. Honorary Provincial and Local Secretaries are appointed, whose duty it is to inform the Hon. Secretary of all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their Districts, to investigate Local History and Traditions, and to give notice of any injury inflicted on Monuments of Antiquity, and Ancient Memorials of the Dead.

The PUBLICATIONS of the Society comprise the *Journal* and the "Extra Volume" Series. The "Antiquarian Handbook" Series was commenced in 1895, of which six sets have been published.

The *Journal*, now issued Quarterly, from the year 1849 to 1913, inclusive, forms forty-three Volumes (royal 8vo), with more than 3000 Illustrations, and contains a great mass of information on the History and Antiquities of Ireland.

The following Volumes are now out of print:—First Series, Vols. I. (1849–51) and III. (1854–55); New Series, Vols. I. (1856–57) and III. (1860–61); Fourth Series, Vols. IV. (1876–78), VIII. (1887–88), and IX. (1889). Of the remaining Volumes, those for 1870–1885 can be supplied to Member at the average rate of 10s. each. Odd Parts, included in some of the Volumes out of print, can be supplied at an average of 3s. each. Part I. of the Fifth Series (1890) is out

of print; the other Parts of this, the present Series, can be had for 3s. each.

The Extra Volumes are supplied to all Fellows, on the roll at date of issue, free, and may be obtained by Members, at the prices fixed by the Council.

The Extra Volume Series consists of the following Works:—

1853.—“Vita S. Kannechi, a codice in bibliotheca Burgundiana extante Bruxelli transcripta, et cum codice in bibliotheca Marsiana Dublinii adservato collata.” Edited by the Most Hon. John, second Marquis of Ormonde. 100 copies presented by him to the Members of the Society. (*Out of print.*)

1855 and 1858.—Parts I. and II. of “Social State of S.E. Counties” as below.

1865-7.—“Observations in a Voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland: being a collection of several Monuments, Inscriptions, Draughts of Towns, Castles, &c. By Thomas Dineley (or Dingley), Gent., in the Year 1681.” From the original ms. in the possession of Sir T. E. Winington, Bart., Stanford Court. Profusely illustrated by fac-simile engravings of the original drawings of Castles, Churches, Abbeys, Monuments, &c. Price of issue, £1 10s. (*Out of print.*)

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1870-8.—“Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language.” From the earliest known to the end of the twelfth century. Chiefly collected and drawn by George Petrie, Esq. With Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive Letterpress. Illustrated by 107 plates and numerous woodcuts. Edited, with an Introductory Essay, by M. Stokes; revised by the Rev. William Reeves, D.D. 8 Parts in 2 Vols. Price of issue, £4; price to Members, £3; for Parts I., II., III., IV., VI., and VII., 10s. each.

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The foregoing may be had from the Publishers, Messrs. HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., Ltd., 104, Grafton-street, Dublin, including the "Antiquarian Handbook Series," of which No. 1, "Tara and Glendalough," price 6*d.*, has been issued (now out of print); No. 2, "The Western Islands of Ireland" (Northern portion), price 1*s.*; and No. 3, "The Western Islands of Ireland" (Southern portion), price 1*s.*; No. 4, "The Western Islands of Scotland, Orkney, and Caithness," price 2*s.* 6*d.*; Nos. 5 and 6, "The County Clare Handbook," price 1*s.*, all copiously illustrated.

All who are interested in antiquarian study are invited to join the Society. Application for membership may be made to the Hon. Secretaries, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, or any Member of the Society.

Subscriptions to be sent to the "Honorary Treasurer," 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, by Crossed Cheque or Postal Order, payable to "The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland."

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31st December, 1913.



THE  
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1918.

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(Revised 31st December, 1913.)

A star [\*] preceding a name denotes that the Subscription for 1913 was unpaid on 31st December, 1913; two stars denote that the Subscriptions for 1912 and 1913 are unpaid; and three stars that the Fellow owes for three years.

The Names of those who have paid the Life Composition, and are Life Fellows, are printed in heavy-faced type. (See Rules 3 and 7, page 37.)

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1896	1899	<b>BALL, Francis Elrington</b> , HON. LITT.D. (DUB.), M.R.I.A., J.P., Booterstown House, Booterstown, Co. Dublin. ( <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1899-1900; <i>Vice-President</i> , 1901-1904.)
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## DATE OF ELECTION.

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1888	1896	Bigger, Francis Joseph, M.R.I.A. Ardrie, Belfast.
	1907	Boughton-Chambers, Capt. William, Indian Service. Office of Indian Freemasons, Bombay.
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	1887	<b>BROWNE, William James</b> , M.A. (Lond.), M.R.I.A., Inspector of Schools. Templemore Park, Londonderry.
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	1889	Cane, Colonel R. Claude, J.P. St. Wolstan's, Celbridge.
	1906	Carlyon-Britton, Philip William Poole, F.S.A., D.L., J.P. 43, Bedford-square, London, W.C.
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	1913	<b>CURRAN, Rev. M. J.</b> , Archbishop's House, Drumcondra, Dublin.
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	1912	Davey, Victor George. 1, Maxwell-road, Rathgar, Dublin.
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	1905	Day, Right Rev. Maurice, D.D., Bishop of Clogher. Bishops-court, Clones.
	1911	Deane, Louis E. Hall, Senior Architect Local Government Board, Dublin.

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1891	1894	Donnelly, Most Rev. Nicholas, D.D., M.R.I.A., Bishop of Canea. St. Mary's, Haddington-road, Dublin. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1900-1903 and 1905-8.)
1894	1895	<b>DONNELLY, Patrick J.</b> 4, Queen-street, Dublin.
1904	1906	*Doran, A. L., Ph. C. 1, Goldsmith-terrace, Bray.
1890	1902	<b>ESMONDE, Sir Thomas H. Grattan</b> , Bart., M.P. Bally-nastragh, Gorey. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1902-1905.)
1889	1889	<b>EWART, Sir William Quartus</b> , Bart., M.A., J.P., D.L. Schomberg, Strandtown, Belfast. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1901-1904, 1907-1910.)
1890	1909	Fahey, Very Rev. Jerome, P.P., V.G., St. Colman's, Gort. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1910-1913.)
1908	1913	Fausset, Rev. Charles, B.A. 25, Herbert-place, Dublin.
	1913	Fawcett, Surgeon General William James, C.B., D.L. Lecarron, Spencer Harbour, Carrick-on-Shannon.
1876	1889	<b>FFRENCH, Rev. James F. M.</b> , Canon, M.R.I.A. Clonaston, Enniscorthy. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1897-1900.)
1878	1900	Fielding, Major Joshua, J.P., M.R.I.A. 51, Rathgar-road, Dublin.
	1889	<b>FITZGERALD, Lord Frederick</b> . Carton, Maynooth.
	1888	<b>FITZGERALD, Lord Walter</b> , M.R.I.A., J.P. Kilkea Castle, Mageney. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1895-1898, 1900-1903, 1908-1911.)
	1900	<b>FITZMAURICE, Arthur</b> , J.P., Johnstown House, Carlow.
1898	1902	Fitz Patrick, S. A. O. Gowran, Brighton-square, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
1901	1912	Fogerty, George J., R.N. 67, George-street, Limerick.
1890	1898	Fogerty, William A., M.A., M.D. 67, George-street, Limerick.
	1910	Frost, Frederick Cornish, F.S.A. 5, Regent-street, Teignmouth, Devon.
1908	1913	<b>FRY, William</b> , J.P., F.R.G.S. Wilton House, Merrion-road, Dublin.
	1912	Gaisford-St. Lawrence, Captain J. C., J.P. Howth Castle, Co. Dublin.
1866	1875	<b>GARSTIN, John Ribton</b> , LL.B., M.A., B.D., F.S.A., F.R.H.S., J.P., D.L. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , <i>R.I.A.</i> ). Bragans-town, Castlebellingham. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1885-1895; <i>President</i> , 1903-1905.)
	1899	Gibson, Andrew. Fairfield, Landsdowne-road, Belfast.
	1903	<b>GLENCROSS, J. Reginald M.</b> , M.A. (Cantab.). Makshufa, Harefield-road, Uxbridge.
1901	1913	Glynn, Joseph A., B.A. St. Jarlath, Ailesbury-road, Dublin.
	1895	Goff, Sir William G. D., Bart., D.L. Glenville, Waterford.
	1912	<b>GOUGH, Right Hon. Viscount, K.C.V.O.</b> , D.L. Lough Cutra Castle, Gort, Co. Galway.
1867	1888	Gray, William, M.R.I.A. Auburn Villa, Glenburn Park, Belfast. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1889-1896.)



## DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1910	Green, William A. 4, Salisbury-villas. Chichester-pk., Belfast.
1889	1895	Greene, George E. J., M.A., D.Sc., M.R.I.A., F.L.S., J.P. Monte Vista, Ferns.
	1898	<b>GREGG, Huband George</b> , J.P. Clonmore, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
	1909	Guinness, Mrs. R. N. St. Nessan's, Howth, Co. Dublin.
	1908	Hanson, Philip, B.A., Commissioner of Public Works. 28, Clare-street, Dublin.
1897	1907	Hastings, Samuel, J.P. Church-street, Downpatrick.
1887	1890	Healy, His Grace the Most Rev. John, D.D., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Archbishop of Tuam. The Palace, Tuam. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1890-1898, 1899-1902, 1903-1906, and 1908-1911.)
1894	1897	*Hickey, Rev. Michael P., D.D., M.R.I.A., Professor of Gaelic and Lecturer on Irish Archæology. Carrick Beg, Carrick-on-Suir.
1897	1898	Higgins, Patrick. 35, Catherine-street, Waterford.
1886	1888	Hill, Right Hon. Lord Arthur Wm. 74, Eaton-place, London, S.W.; and Bigshotte, Rayles, Wokingham, Berks. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1888-1895, and 1912.)
1902	1905	Hilliard, John. Lake Hotel, Killarney.
	1900	<b>HOGG, Rev. A. V.</b> , M.A., Canon. St. Mary's Rectory, Gowran, Co. Kilkenny.
	1890	Houston, Thomas G., M.A. Academical Institution, Coleraine.
1905	1905	Howard, Stanley M'Knight. Seapoint, Rostrevor, Co. Down.
	1901	Howley, Most Rev. M. F., D.D., Archbishop of St. John's, Newfoundland.
	1911	Humphreys, John, M.D.S., F.S.A., F.L.G. 24, Clarendon-road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
1882	1888	Humphreys, Very Rev. Robert, M.A., Dean of Killaloe. Beechlands, Shankill, Co. Dublin.
	1901	<b>INCHQUIN, Right Hon. Lord</b> , D.L. Dromoland Castle, Newmarket-on-Fergus. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1906-9.)
	1902	Iveagh, Right Hon. Viscount, K.P., G.C.V.O., M.A. (Dubl.), LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., D.L. 80, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
	1905	Jourdain, Major H. F. N., F.R.G.S. Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
1865	1906	Joyce, Patrick Weston, LL.D., M.R.I.A. Barnalee, 18, Leinster-road, West, Rathmines, Co. Dublin. ( <i>Hon. President</i> , 1906; <i>President</i> , 1907-1908.)
	1907	Joyce, Weston St. J. 7, Ormond-road, Rathmines, Dublin.
1904	1905	Joynt, Richard Lane, M.D., F.R.C.S.I. 84, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
	1898	Keating, Miss Geraldine, Cannon Mills Cottage, Chesham, Bucks.
	1911	Kelly, Denis Patrick Joseph. Kingscote, Walton on the Naze. Essex.
1893	1894	<b>KELLY, Edward Festus</b> . Hollington House, Newbury.
1890	1894	*Kelly, George A. P., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Cloon-glasnymore, Strokestown.

## DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1909	Kelly, John Forrest. 284, W. Housatonic-street, Pittsfield, Mass., U.S.A.
1889	1890	Kelly, William P., Solicitor. The Park, Athlone. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1911.)
1872	1886	Knowles, William James, M.R.I.A. Flixton-place, Ballymena. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1897-1900.)
	1896	Knox, Hubert Thomas, M.R.I.A. Rivershill, St. George's-road, Cheltenham. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1907-1910.)
1890	1906	Laffan, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Cashel.
1872	1879	Langrishe, Richard, J.P. Archersfield, Kilkenny. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1879-1895, 1900-1903, and 1909-1912.)
1892	1896	Latimer, Rev. William Thomas, M.A. The Manse, Eglis, Dungannon. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1903-6.)
	1913	Lawder, James Ormsby, D.L. Lawderdale, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.
	1908	* Lawrence, L. A., F.R.C.S. 32, Devonshire-place, London, W.
	1908	<b>LEINSTER</b> , His Grace the Duke of, M.R.I.A. Carton, Maynooth.
1891	1892	<b>LEWIS CROSBY</b> , Rev. Ernest H. C., B.D. 26, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.
	1895	Lillis, T. Barry. Carrig, Queenstown, Cork.
	1906	Lucy, Anthony, M.A. 35, Hillcroft Crescent, Ealing, London, W.
1883	1889	Lynch, Patrick J., M.R.I.A. 9, Northbrook-road, Leeson-park, Dublin. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1907-10.)
1895	1910	Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart, M.A., F.S.A., Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin. Newlands, Clonskeagh.
1889	1908	Mac Cormick, Rev. F. H. J., F.S.A. (Scot.), M.R.A.S. Wrockwardine Wood Rectory, Wellington, Salop.
1889	1893	Mac Ritchie, David, F.S.A. (Scot.) 4, Archibald-place, Edinburgh.
1891	1896	<b>MARTYN</b> , Edward. Tulira Castle, Ardahan. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1897-1900.)
	1913	Matthews, William Henry. Rosemount, Bolton, Bradford, Yorkshire.
1893	1896	<b>MCCREA</b> , Rev. Daniel F., M.R.I.A. (Rome.)
1905	1910	* M'Crum, Mrs. Elizabeth Jane. Ballyveasy, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim.
	1913	M'Donald, John J., Solicitor. 116, Grafton-street, Dublin.
1890	1907	M'Eneary, M. J., B.A., M.R.I.A. ( <i>Hon. Gen. Secretary</i> (1909)). Public Record Office, Dublin.
	1909	Mellon, Reuben Edward. 64, Brighton-square, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
	1897	<b>MELLON</b> , Thomas J., F.R.I.B.A. Sorrento-terrace, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
1884	1888	<b>MILLIGAN</b> , Seaton Forrest, J.P., M.R.I.A. Bank Buildings, Belfast. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1895-1899, 1900-1903, 1905.)
1889	1892	Mills, James, I.S.O., M.R.I.A. Public Record Office, Dublin. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1904-1907 and 1913.)
1887	1907	Moore, Rev. Courtenay, M.A., Canon. The Rectory, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1908-1911.)
1889	1907	Moore, Rev. H. Kingsmill, D.D., M.R.I.A. Kildare-place, Dublin.
	1909	Morrieson, Lieut.-Col. Henry Walters, R.A. 42, Beaufort-gardens, London, S.W.
1906	1913	Moulder, Victor J. 7, Lower Downs-road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.

## DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1908	***Muldoon, John. O'Maoldubhian House, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
1889	1889	<b>MURPHY, Michael M.</b> , M.R.I.A. 1, Ellerslie-villas, Novara-avenue, Bray.
	1910	Murray, Samuel Grierson. Eilene, Dartry-road, Dublin.
1888	1909	Nolan, M. J., L.R.C.S.I. District Asylum, Downpatrick.
	1890	Norman, George, M.D. 12, Brock-street, Bath.
1904	1910	Oakden, Charles Henry, F.R.P.S. 30, Meadow-road, Shortlands, Kent.
	1909	<b>O'CONOR DON, The</b> , H.M.L. Clonalis, Castlereagh.
1877	1889	<b>O'BRIEN, William</b> , M.A., LL.D. 4, Kildare-street, Dublin.
1892	1893	O'Connell, John Robert, M.A., LL.D. Ard Einin, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
1887	1890	O'Donovan, The, B.A. (Oxon.), C.B., J.P., D.L. Liss Ard, Skibbereen. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1890-1894 and 1912.)
1900	1907	O'Duffy, Kevin E. 85, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
	1890	<b>O'NEILL, His Excellency The</b> , <i>Comte de Tyrone</i> , (Grand Officier de la maison du Roi). 59, Rua das Flores, Lisbon, Portugal. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1910-1912.)
	1895	<b>O'REILLY, Rev. Hugh</b> , M.R.I.A. St. Colman's Seminary, Newry.
1894	1898	O'Reilly, Patrick J. 6, Brighton-square, Rathgar, Dublin.
	1889	<b>ORMSBY, Charles C.</b> , M.I.C.E.I. District Engineer's Office, M.G.W. Railway, Galway.
	1889	<b>OWEN, Edward</b> . Royal Commissioners' House, Westminster, London, W.
	1875	Palmer, Charles Colley, J.P., D.L. Rahan, Edenderry.
	1913	Paul, Rev. Julian Nigel William, Rector of the Grammar School. Alwar (Rajputana), India.
	1903	Peacock, Dr. Charles James, D.D.S. 57, Queen's-road, Tunbridge Wells.
1904	1913	Place, G. W., Indian Civil Service (Retired). 9, Ailesbury-road, Dublin.
	1888	Plunkett, George Noble, Count, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., K.C.H.S. Barrister-at-Law, Director, Irish National Museum. 26, Up. Fitzwilliam-st., Dublin. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1906-9; <i>President</i> , 1912.)
	1896	Plunkett, Countess. 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
	1912	<b>PLUNKETT, Joseph M.</b> 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
1889	1893	Pope, Peter A. New Ross.
	1910	Power, James Talbot, D.L. Leopardstown-park, Co. Dublin.
1908	1909	Purefoy, Richard Dancer, M.D., Ch.B., F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A. 62, Merrion-square, Dublin.
	1902	<b>RATH-MERRILL, Mrs. M. E.</b> 80, North Weiner-avenue, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
1894	1894	Robinson, Andrew, M.V.O., C.E., Board of Works. 116, St. Laurence-road, Clontarf.
	1894	<b>ROBINSON, Rev. Stanford F. H.</b> , M.A. 17, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.
1906	1913	Roycroft, Andrew. 94, Drumcondra-road, Dublin.
1880	1888	Rushe, Denis Carolan, B.A., Solicitor. Far-Meehul, Monaghan.

## DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1911	Scott, Anthony, C.E., M.S.A. 49, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
	1907	Shaftesbury, Right Hon. the Earl of, K.P., K.C.V.O., H.M.L. Belfast Castle, Belfast. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1908, 1911-1913.)
	1896	Shaw, Sir Frederick W., Bart., J.P., D.L. Bushy Park, Terenure.
1900	1907	Shea, William Askin, J.P., D.L. Ellenville, 5, Garville-avenue, Rathgar.
	1892	Sheehan, Most Rev. Richard Alphonsus, D.D., Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Bishop's House, John's Hill, Waterford. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1896-1899, 1901-1904, and 1909-1912.)
	1873	Smith, Worthington G., F.L.S., M.A.I. 121, High-street, Dunstable, Beds.
1892	1902	Somerville, Bellingham Arthur. Clermont, Rathnew, Co. Wicklow.
	1909	Somerville, Capt. Henry Boyle Townshend, R.N. H. M.S. "Research," c/o Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, London, S.W.
	1894	Stevenson, Sir George A., C.V.O., C.B., Chairman, Board of Public Works. St. Stephen's-green, Dublin. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1911.)
1898	1902	Stokes, Henry J. Rookstown, Howth; and 45, Raglan-road, Dublin. ( <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1903.)
	1905	Stonestreet, Rev. W. T., D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.L. Riversdale, Ansdell, Lytham, Lancashire.
1890	1890	Stoney, Rev. Robert Baker, M.A., D.D., Canon. Holy Trinity Rectory, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
	1904	<b>STRANGWAYS, Leonard Richard</b> , M.A., M.R.I.A. 56, Holland-road, London, W.
1890	1900	<b>STUBBS, William Cotter</b> , M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 28, Hatch-street, Dublin. ( <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1900-1902; <i>Vice-President</i> , 1903-6.)
1892	1893	Swan, Joseph Percival. 22, Charleville-road, N. C. R., Dublin.
	1900	<b>TATE-STOATE, Rev. W. M.</b> , M.A., M.R.I.A. Pebworth Vicarage, near Stratford-on-Avon.
	1893	Tenison, Charles Mac Carthy, M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Care of Hibernian Bank, College-green, Dublin.
	1904	Thorp, John Thomas, LL.D., F.R.S.L., F.R. Hist. S. 57, Regent-road, Leicester.
	1892	Tighe, Edward Kenrick Bunbury, J.P., D.L. Woodstock, Inistige.
1901	1907	Tighe, Michael J., M.R.I.A.I., M.S.A., M.R. SAN. I., Architect. Merville, Galway.
	1912	Torney, Henry C. S. 3, Royal Terrace, E., Kingstown.
	1896	Uniacke, R. G. FitzGerald. Foxhall, Upminster, Essex.
	1899	Upton, Henry Arthur Shuckburgh, J.P. Coolatore, Moate, Co. Westmeath.
1884	1890	Vinycomb, John, M.R.I.A. 59, Thornton-avenue, Streatham, London, S.W. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1907-1909.)

## DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
1900	1906	Warnock, Frank H. 15, Herbert-park, Donnybrook.
1890	1897	Warren, Rev. Thomas. Belmont, 29, Gipsy Hill, London, S. E.
1871	1871	** Watson, Thomas. Ship Quay Gate, Londonderry.
	1905	Weldrick, John Francis. 12, Booterstown-avenue, Co. Dublin.
1886	1893	<b>WESTROPP, Thomas Johnson</b> , M.A., C.E., M.R.I.A., Member of the Prehistoric Society of France. 115, Strand-road, Sandymount, Dublin. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1902-5, and 1913.)
1899	1908	White, John. Malvern, Terenure-road, Co. Dublin.
1880	1907	White, John Newscm, M.R.I.A., J.P. Rocklands, Waterford.
1889	1913	White, William Grove, LL.B., Crown Solicitor for Kildare. 18, Elgin-road, Dublin.
	1896	Windle, Sir Bertram C. A., M.A., M.D., D.Sc. (Dubl.), F.R.S., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., President, University Coll., Cork. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1905-1908.)
1889	1890	<b>WOOLLCOMBE, Dr. Robert Lloyd</b> , M.A., LL.D. (Dubl. Univ.); LL.D. (National Univ.); F.I. Inst., F.R.C. Inst., F.R.G.S., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 14, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
	1908	<b>WRIGHT, William</b> , M.B., D.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.S.A. 143, Dartmouth-road, Cricklewood, London, N.W.
1891	1891	Young, Robert Magill, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., C.E., M.R.I.A., J.P. Rathvarna, Antrim-road, Belfast. ( <i>Vice-President</i> , 1898-1901, 1904-1907, and 1911.)
	1911	Young, Capt. William Edward, F.R.C.I., M.R.S.A., F.R.S.L. Nenagh, Coleshill-road, Teddington-on-Thames.



## HONORARY FELLOWS.

Elected	
1909	Coffey, George, A.I.B., M.R.I.A., <i>Officier d'Académie</i> , Prof. of Arch. in the R.H.A., Keeper of Irish Antiquities in the National Museum, and Curator to the R.I.A. 5, Harcourt-terrace, Dublin ( <i>Member</i> , 1891; <i>Fellow</i> , 1894).
1909	Evans, Sir Arthur John, Litt. D., Hon. LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.I.A. Youlbury, Oxford.
1909	Hartland, Edwin Sidney, F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester.
1909	Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., President of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1909, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries. 30, Collingham-place, London, S.W.
1902	Montelius, Oscar, Ph. D., Prof. at the Nat. Hist. Museum, Stockholm.
1913	Morris, Rev. Canon Rupert, D.D. 4, Warwick-square, London, S.W. Editor of <i>Archæologia Cambrensis</i> .
1891	Munro, Robert, M.A., M.D. (Hon. M.R.I.A.), Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Elmbank, Largs, Ayrshire, N.B.
1891	Pigorini, Professor Luigi, Director of the Museo Preistorico-Etnografico Kircheriano, Rome.
1910	Raglan, His Excellency the Right Hon., Lord, C.B., Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man, Honorary President of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Government House, Douglas, Isle of Man.
1891	Rhys, The Right Hon. Sir John, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Celtic, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.
1909	Thomas, Ven. David Richard, M.A., F.S.A., President of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1906; Archdeacon of Montgomery. The Canonry, St. Asaph.

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Life Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	50
Honorary Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Annual Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	147
Total, 31st December, 1913,	..	..	..	..	..	..	208



## MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

*(Revised 31st December, 1913.)*

A star [\*] preceding a name denotes that the Subscription for 1913 was unpaid on 31st December, 1913; two stars denote that the Subscriptions for 1912 and 1913 are unpaid; and three stars that the Member owes for three years.

The Names of those who have paid the Life Composition, and are Life Members, are printed in heavy-faced type. (*See Rules 8 and 9, page 37.*)

Elected	
1896	Acheson, John, J.P. Dunavon, Portadown.
1898	Adams, Rev. William Alexander, B.A. The Manse, Antrim.
1892	Alcorn, James Gunning, Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Kilroe, Drumgriffin, Co. Galway.
1890	Allingham, Hugh, F.S.A. (Scot.), M.R.I.A. The Mall, Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal.
1903	Allen, Mrs. Stillorgan Rectory, Co. Dublin.
1891	Alment, Rev. William F., B.D. Drakestown Rectory, Navan.
1910	Andrews, Michael Corbet. 17, University-square, Belfast.
1891	Archer, Rev. James Edward, B.D. Seagoe Rectory, Portadown, Co. Armagh.
1894	Ardagh, Rev. Arthur W., M.A. The Vicarage, Finglas.
1905	Ardagh, Mrs. Robert. Pouldrew, Portlaw, Co. Waterford.
1868	Ardilaun, Rt. Hon. Lord, M.A., LL.D., M.R.I.A., D.L. St. Anne's, Clontarf.
1907	Atkinson, C. C. Ivanhoe, Belgrave-road, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
1890	Atkinson, Ven. E. Dupre, LL.B. (Cantab.), Archdeacon of Dromore. Donaghcloney, Waringstown.
1895	Badham, Miss, LL.D. St. Margaret's Hall, Mespil-road, Dublin.
1893	*Bailey, Right Hon. William F., P.C., C.B., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, 3, Earlsfort-terrace, Dublin.
1894	Baillie, Col. John R., M.R.I.A., J.P. Strabane, Co. Tyrone.
1890	Bardan, Patrick. Coralstown, Killucan.
1868	<b>BARRINGTON-WARD</b> , Rev. Mark James, M.A., S.C.L. (Oxon.), F.R.G.S., F.L.S. The Rectory, Duloe S. O., Cornwall.
1907	Barry, Henry. Fermoy.
1910	***Barry, H. Standish, J.P. Leamlara, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork.
1877	Barry, James Grene, D.L. Sandville House, Ballyneety, Limerick.
1890	Barry, Rev. Michael, P.P. Ballylanders, Knocklong, Co. Limerick.
1909	Barry, Rev. Robert, P.P. Oldcastle, Co. Meath.
1906	Barton, Miss, Lancelot, 12, Brighton-road, Rathgar.
1910	Barton, Miss Frances M. Glendalough House, Anamoe, Co. Wicklow.
1894	Battley, Colonel D'Oyly, J.P., D.L. Belvedere Hall, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
1902	Bayly, Colonel W. H. Ballynacloagh, Nenagh.

- Elected
- 1898 Beater, George Palmer. Minore, St. Kevin's Park, Upper Rathmines.
- 1903 Beatty, Arthur W. Norham, Mains, Zion-road, Rathgar.
- 1893 Begley, Rev. John, C.C. St. Munchins, Limerick.
- 1910 Belas, Philip E., B.A. University College, Cork.
- 1902 Bellow, the Hon. Mrs. Jenkinstown Park, Kilkenny.
- 1903 Bennet, Mrs. 1, Tobernea-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 Bennett, Joseph Henry. Brumana, Rushbrooke, Co. Cork.
- 1895 Beresford, Rev. Canon, M.A. Inistioge Rectory, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1889 **BERESFORD, Denis R. Pack**, M.R.I.A., D.L. Fenagh House, Bagenalstown.
- 1895 Bergin, William, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy. University College, Cork.
- 1895 Best, Mrs. 57, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
- 1897 Bestick, Robert. 5, Frankfort-avenue, Rathgar.
- 1907 Betham, Mrs. 9, Belgrave-square, North. Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 Bewley, Joseph. 8, Anglesea-street, Dublin.
- 1901 Bewley, Dr. H. T. 89, Merrion-square, Dublin.
- 1901 Bewley, Mrs. S. Knapton House, Kingstown.
- 1897 Biddulph, Colonel Middleton W., D.L. Rathrobin, Tullamore, King's County.
- 1910 Bird, William Hobart, M.I.M.E. The Gate House, Coventry.
- 1901 Black, Joseph. Portballintrae, Co. Antrim.
- 1902 Blake, Lady. Myrtle Grove, Youghal, Co. Cork.
- 1904 Blake, Martin J. 10, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.
- 1902 Boland, John, M.P. 40, St. George's-square, London, S.W.
- 1893 Bolton, Charles Perceval, J.P. Brook Lodge, Halfway House, Waterford.
- 1899 Bolton, Miss Anna. 67, Wellington-road, Dublin.
- 1906 Bompas, Charles S. M. 121, Westbourne-terrace, London, W.
- 1903 Boothman, Chas. T., Barrister-at-Law. 14, Clarinda-park, W., Kingstown.
- 1889 Bowen, Henry Cole, M.A., J.P., Barrister-at-Law. Bowen's Court, Kildorney, Co. Cork.
- 1894 Boyd, J. St. Clair, M.D. Chateworth, Belfast.
- 1905 **BOYLE, E. M. F. G.**, Solicitor. Gorteen, Limavady.
- 1905 Brady, Rev. James, P.P. Parochial House, Seville-place, Dublin.
- 1892 Brereton, Fleet-Surgeon R. W. 2 Palermo-villas, Knock, Co. Down.
- 1891 **BRODIGAN, Mrs.** Piltown House, Drogheda.
- 1904 Brodrick, Hon. Albinia L. Ballincoona, Caher Daniel, Co. Kerry.
- 1893 Brophy, Michael M. 48, Gordon-square, London, W.C.
- 1888 Brophy, Nicholas A., A.R.C.A. Glenlevan, Lansdown-road, Limerick.
- 1911 Brown, Alfred Kirk, A.R.I.B.A. Office of Public Works, Dublin.
- 1908 Brown, Thomas. 104, Grafton-street, Dublin.
- 1910 Browne, Rev. Henry, S.J., M.A., Professor of Greek, University College, Dublin. 35, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.
- 1906 Brunker, J. Ponsonby. 18, Grosvenor-place, Rathmines.
- 1906 Brunker, Thomas A. Provincial Bank of Ireland, Carlow.
- 1894 Brunskill, Rev. K. C., M.A. Rectory, Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone.
- 1903 Brunskill, Rev. T. R., M.A. St. Mary's Rectory, Drogheda.
- 1896 Buckley, James. 11, Homefield-road, Wimbledon, Surrey.
- 1907 Buckley, J. J. National Museum, Kildare-street, Dublin.
- 1910 Buckley, Nicholas D. 6, Ely-place, Dublin.
- 1884 Buggy, Michael, Solicitor. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
- 1907 Bulger, Mrs. A. Thomond House, Lisdoonvarna.
- 1899 Burnard, Robert, F.S.A. Thicaby House, Princetown, S. Devon.
- 1892 Burnell, William. Dean's Grange, Monkstown.
- 1910 \*Burns, J. Roseman, Architect. Glencot, Sidmonton, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
- 1905 Burnett, George Henry. St. George's, Herbert-road, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
- 1891 Burnett, Rev. Richard A., M.A., Canon. Rectory, Graignamanagh, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1907 Burton, Miss. Adelphi, Corofin, Co. Clare.
- 1906 Bute, The Marchioness of. Mount Stuart, Rothesay, N.B.
- 1912 \*Butler, Matthew. 19, Belvedere-place, Dublin.
- 1903 \*\*Butler, Mrs. Cecil Wolseley. Milestown, Castlebellingham.
- 1904 Butler, Miss E. The Lodge, Waterville, Co. Kerry.

## Elected

- 1909 Butler, John Philip, J.P. Southhill, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.  
 1898 Butler, William F., M.A., F.R.U.I. 1, Hume-street, Dublin.  
 1911 Butler, Rev. Michael, D.D., P.P. Parochial House, Roundwood, Co. Wicklow.  
 1911 Butler, R. M., Architect, F.R.I.B.A. 34, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
- 1891 Cadie, Edouard, D.LITT., R.S.H., Professor of French and Roman Philology, National University of Ireland. Belmont, Monkstown-road, Co. Dublin.  
 1904 Caldwell, Charles Henry Bulwer, J.P. Antylstown, Navan; and The Cedars, Wyndlesham.  
 1910 Callaghan, Frederick William. 58, Lansdowne-road, Dublin.  
 1904 Callanan, Martin, Physician and Surgeon. The Square, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.  
 1896 Callary, Very Rev. Philip, P.P., V.F. St. Brigid's, Tullamore, King's County.  
 1897 Campbell, A. Albert, Solicitor. 4, Waring-street, Belfast.  
 1911 \*Carey, Rev. J. A., M.A., Minor Canon, Belfast Cathedral. 66, Eglantine-avenue, Belfast.  
 1893 Carmody, Rev. William P., B.A. Knockbreda Rectory, Belfast.  
 1900 Carmody, Rev. James, P.P. St. Colman's, Milltown, Co. Kerry.  
 1913 Carolan, Miss. 13, Rathdown-terrace, N.C.R., Dublin.  
 1910 Carolin, Miss Ida. Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin.  
 1900 Carolin, Geo. O., J.P. Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin.  
 1888 Carrigan, Rev. Canon William, D.D., P.P., M.R.I.A. Durrow, Queen's County.  
 1893 Carrigan, William, K.C. 13, Herbert-street, Dublin.  
 1901 CARTER, Mrs. Hugh. Foxley, Burnham, Bucks.  
 1904 Cassidy, C. D., L.D.S. 29, Westland-row, Dublin.  
 1893 Castle Stuart, Right Hon. the Earl of, J.P., D.L. Drum Manor, Cookstown; Stuart Hall, Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone.  
 1906 Cavenagh, Lieut.-Colonel Wentworth Odiarne. The Red House, St. Margarets-at-Cliff, Dover.  
 1894 Chambers, Sir R. Newman. Carrig Cnoe, Greencastle, Co. Donegal.  
 1905 Chambré, Mrs. C. Northland-row, Dungannon.  
 1907 Chamney, William. 15, Elgin-road, Dublin.  
 1907 Champneys, Arthur C., M.A. 45, Frogna, Hampstead, London, N.W.  
 1912 Chancellor, John W. Fernside, Upper Rathmines, Dublin.  
 1906 Chute, J. H. C., A.M.I.C.E. Wine-street, Sligo.  
 1896 Clark, Miss Jane. The Villas, Kilrea, Co. Londonderry.  
 1909 Clarke, William, 4, Jervis-place, Clonmel.  
 1890 CLEMENTS, Henry John Beresford, J.P., D.L. Lough Rynn, Leitrim.  
 1874 Clonbrock, Right Hon. Lord, B.A. (Oxon.), K.P., H.M.L. (Vice-President, 1885-1896.) Clonbrock, Aghascragh.  
 1904 Coakley, Rev. Cornelius, C.C. Farran, Co. Cork.  
 1910 \*Cochrane, Rev. Robert Hawken, B.A., T.C.D. Queen-street, Clonmel.  
 1893 Coddington, Lieut.-Colonel John N., J.P., D.L. Oldbridge, Drogheda.  
 1900 Colahan, Rev. Richard Fallon, C.C. 47, Westland-row, Dublin.  
 1894 Colles, Alexander. 3, Elgin-road, Dublin.  
 1903 Colvin, Miss Carolin, Ph.D. Orono, Maine, U. S. A.  
 1897 Communs, John. Desert N. S., Cuffe's Grange, Kilkenny.  
 1897 CONAN, Alexander. Mount Alverno, Dalkey.  
 1876 Condon, Very Rev. C. H. St. Mary's, Pope's-quay, Cork.  
 1893 Condon, Frederick William, L.R.C.P.I., &c. Ballyshannon.  
 1889 Connellan, Major James H., J.P., D.L. Coolmore, Thomastown.  
 1904 Connor, G. W., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.D.S. 77, Hill-street, Newry.  
 1898 Conyngham, O'Meara. Hotel Metropole, Sackville-street, Dublin.  
 1894 CORBALLIS, Richard J., M.A., J.P. Rosemount, Roebuck, Clonskeagh.  
 1899 Corcoran, Miss. Rotherfield Cottage, Bexhill-on-Sea.

- Elected
- 1890 Cosgrave, Henry Alexander, M.A. 67, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
- 1899 Costello, Thomas Bodkin, M.D. Bishop-street, Tuam.
- 1892 **COWAN, P. Chalmers**, B.Sc., M.Inst.C.E. Local Government Board, Dublin.
- 1891 Cowell, Very Rev. George Young, M.A. 14, Herbert-place, Dublin.
- Coyle, Rev. James, P.P. Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow.
- 1905 Craig, Rev. Robert Stewart. St. Catherine's Rectory, Tullamore.
- 1911 Crawford, Henry Saxton, B.E., M.R.I.A. 9, Grosvenor-square, Rath-
- 1904 mines.
- 1896 Crawford, Robert T. Estate Office, Ballinrobe.
- 1890 Creaghe, Philip Crampton, M.R.I.A. Kilcreene House, Kilkenny.
- 1910 Credin, David, Electrical Engineer. Clabby, Fivemiletown, Co. Tyrone.
- 1893 Crone, John S., L.R.C.P.I. Kensal Lodge, Kensal Rise, London, N.W.
- 1911 Cronin, Richard. 49, Lansdowne-road, Dublin.
- 1898 Crooke, T. Evans Beamish, J.P. Lettercollum, Timoleague.
- 1891 **\*\*Crossley, Frederick W.** 30, Molesworth-street, Dublin.
- 1904 Crowley, Timothy, M.D. Larchfield, Coachford, Co. Cork.
- 1895 Cunningham, Miss Mary E. Glencairn, Belfast.
- 1897 Cunningham, Miss S. C. Glencairn, Belfast.
- 1890 Cunningham, Rev. Robert, M.A., Canon. Ballyrashane Rectory, Coleraine.
- 1891 Cunningham, Samuel. Fernhill, Belfast.
- 1906 Curran, John. Ventry N.S., Ventry, Co. Kerry.
- 
- 1912 Dagg, T. S. C., B.A. 86, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin.
- 1889 Dallow, Very Rev. Canon Wilfrid. Upton Hall, Upton, Birkenhead.
- 1891 **DALTON, John P.**, M.A. Portarlinton.
- 1898 **DALY, Rev. Patrick**, P.P., St. Michael's, Castlepollard, Westmeath.
- 1912 Daniel, Miss Isabella. New Forest, Tyrrell's Pass, Co. Westmeath.
- 1912 Dargan, William J., M.B., M.D. 45, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
- 1906 D'Arcy, Right Rev. Charles Frederick, D.D., Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore. Craigavad, Co. Down.
- 1895 D'Arcy, S. A., L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I. Etna Lodge, Clones.
- 900 Davids, Miss Rosa. Greenhall, High Blantyre, N.B.
- 1891 **DAVIDSON, Rev. Henry W.**, M.A. Abington Rectory, Murroe, Limerick.
- 1903 **\*\*Davys, Miss Teresa.** The Manor Cottage, Malahide, Co. Dublin.
- 1895 Dawkins, Professor W. Boyd-, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c. Fallowfield House, Fallowfield, Manchester.
- 1895 Dawson, Joseph Francis. Inspector, Munster and Leinster Bank, Dame-street Dublin.
- 1910 **\*\*Day, Rev. G. F.**, M.A. St. Ann's Vicarage, Dublin.
- 1868 Deady, James P. Hibernian Bank, Navan.
- 1908 Deane, Freeman W. Ashbrook House, Sallymount-avenue, Dublin.
- 1904 **\*Decie, Mrs. Prescott.** Ballyglas, Kildare.
- 1908 de Gernon, Vincent. Tempo, Clarinda Park, East, Kingstown, County Dublin.
- 1910 Deglatigny, M. Louis. 11, Rue Blaise Pascal, Rouen.
- 1912 Delaney, Joseph Francis, M.R.I.A.I. City Surveyor, Cork.
- 1894 Delany, Rt. Rev. John Carthage, Lord Abbot of Mount Melleray, Cappoquin.
- 1913 Denning, Miss Isabel. 102, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin.
- 1889 Denny, Francis Mac Gillycuddy. Denny-street, Tralee.
- 1884 Denvir, Patrick J. 27, Northumberland-avenue, Kingstown.
- 1890 D'Evelyn, Alexander, M.D. (Dubl.). Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
- 1896 Diamond, Rev. Patrick J. 29, Mott-street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1905 Dickie, Thomas Wallace. 9, Wellington-road, Dublin.
- 1912 Dickson, Mrs. Mary. Fahan Rectory, Londonderry.
- 1891 **\*Dickson, Rev. Canon William A.** Fahan Rectory, Londonderry.
- 1905 Digby, Cecil, M.D. Knockane, Beaufort, Co. Kerry.
- 1892 Dillon, Sir John Fox, Bart., J.P., D.L. Lismullen, Navan.
- 1897 Dixon, Henry. 19, Cabra-road, Dublin.



## Elected

- 1911 Dobbs, Miss Margaret E. Portnagolan, Cushendall, Co. Antrim.  
 1904 Doherty, E. E. B. Oaklands, Bandon.  
 1903 **DOLAN, Joseph T.** Ardee, Co. Louth.  
 1891 Dougherty, Right Hon. Sir James B., M.A., C.V.O., C.B., Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Under-Secretary's Lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin.  
 1912 Douglas, John. 13, South-parade, Waterford.  
 1887 Douglas, M. C. Beechville, Carlow.  
 1912 Downes, Nicholas J., Solicitor. Bellevue, Mullingar.  
 1899 Doyle, Edward. Charleville Lodge, Cabra, Dublin.  
 1896 Doyle, Rev. Luke, P.P. St. Mary's, Tagoat, Wexford.  
 1897 Doyle, M. J. N.S., Windgap, Co. Kilkenny.  
 1910 Drennan, John T., Barrister-at-Law, Assistant Secretary to the Estates Commissioners. Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.  
 1905 Drew, Thomas, Secretary, Committee of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. Courthouse, Kilkenny.  
 1904 Duffy, Joseph J. 5, Brighton Vale, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.  
 1908 **\*\*Dunalley, Right Hon. Lord, H.M.L.** Kilboy, Nenagh.  
 1891 Duncan, George. 1, Fortfield-terrace, Upper Rathmines.  
 1907 Duncan, James. 55, Highfield-road, Rathgar.  
 1910 Dunlop, William Henry, F.S.A.A., F.C.R.A. 29, Mespil-road, Dublin.  
 1890 Duan, Rev. John J., P.P., V.F. Murroe, Co. Limerick.  
 1912 **\*Dundon, Miss Annie.** The Cottage, Crecora, Patrick's Well, Co. Limerick.  
 1911 Dunlop, Robert, M.A. III Neutینگasse 15, Vienna.  
  
 1909 Earle, Rev. George A., M.A. Dunkerrin Rectory, King's County.  
 1904 Eeles, Francis Carolus, F. R. Hist. S., F.S.A. (Scot.). 202, Grangeloan, Edinburgh; and 5, Antrim Mansions, London, N.W.  
 1892 Elliott, Charles. Homeleigh, 137, Sunderland Rise, Forest-hill, London, S.E.  
 1895 Ennis, Michael Andrew, J.P. 10, Longford-terrace, Monkstown, Dublin.  
 1884 Erne, Right Hon. the Countess of. Crom Castle, Newtownbutler.  
 1894 Everard, Rev. John, P.P. Clogheen, Co. Tipperary.  
  
 1912 Fairholme, Miss Caroline Grace. Comragh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.  
 1888 Falkiner, Rev. William F., M.A., M.R.I.A. Bank of Ireland, Londonderry.  
 1897 Faren, William. 11, Mount Charles, Belfast.  
 1906 Farragher, Rev. Murtagh, P.P. Kilronan, North Aran, Co. Galway.  
 1891 Fawcett, George. Montevideo, Roscrea.  
 1904 Fayle, Edwin. Kylemore, Orwell Park, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.  
 1892 **\*Fegan, William John, Solicitor.** Market Square, Cavan.  
 1909 Fegan, Rev. Nicholas. College House, Galway.  
 1887 Fennessy, Edward. Ardscradaun House, Kilkenny.  
 1898 **\*\*\*Fenton, Rev. Charles E. O'Connor, M.A.** Roundhay, Leeds.  
 1898 **\*\*\*Fenton, Rev. Cornelius O'Connor, M.A.** 20, Nelson-street, Liverpool.  
 1898 **\*\*\*Fenton, Rev. S. L. O'Connor, M.A.** St. Paul's Vicarage, Durban, South Africa.  
 1904 Ferrar, Benjamin Banks, B.A., M.D. (Univ. Dubl.). Royal Zoological Gardens, Phoenix Park, Dublin.  
 1891 Fielding, Patrick J. D., F.C.S. 66, Patrick-street, Cork.  
 1906 Figgis, William Fernusley. Rathcruchan, Bray.  
 1906 Fitz Gerald, Rev. James K., P.P. St. Brendan's, Ardfert, Co. Kerry.  
 1908 Fitz Gerald, John J., M.D. District Asylum, Cork.  
 1890 FitzGibbon, Gerald, M. INST. C.E. 30, Steele's-road, Haverstock Hill, Hampstead, London, N.W.  
 1908 Flenning, James S., F.S.A. (Scot.). Inverlony, Callander, Perthshire.  
 1899 Flood, William H. Grattan, Mus. Doe. Rosemount, Enniscorthy.  
 1894 Flynn, Very Rev. Patrick F., P.P. St. Anne's Presbytery, Waterford.  
 1907 Fogarty, Most Rev. Dr., Bishop of Killaloe. Ashline, Ennis.

Elected	
1896	Foley, J. M. Galwey, J.P. Ballintohar House, Nenagh.
1906	**Forde, Rev. George H. The Parsonage, Dunham, Province of Quebec Canada.
1908	Forsayeth, Gordon W. Whitechurch House, Cappagh, Co. Waterford.
1904	**Fottrell, Miss Mary Josephine. 1, The Appian Way, Leeson Park, Dublin.
1904	Fox, Rev. Arthur W., M.A. (Camb.). Fielden Hotel, Todmorden, Lancashire.
1911	Fox, James Joseph. Ard-na-Greine, 15, Bergholt Crescent, Anghurst Park, London, N.
1910	French, Edward John, M.A. 71, Ailesbury-road, Dublin.
1903	Fricker, Ven. Archdeacon, M. A., P.P. The Presbytery, 25, Rathmines-road, Dublin.
1911	Frizell, Rev. Canon Charles W. M.A. 6, Clareenc-place, Belfast.
1910	Frost, John G. Newmarket-on Fergus, Co. Clare.
1898	Fry, Matthew W. J., M.A., F.T.C.D. 39, Trinity College, Dublin.
1891	*Furlong, Nicholas, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A. Lymington, Enniscorthy.
1966	Gaffney, James S., B.A. 86, O'Connell-street, Limerick.
1904	Galway, William Berkeiey, M.A., Solicitor. Whitehall Building, 13, Ann-street, Belfast.
1911	Gardner, Iltyd. Coed-y-twyn, Govilon, Abergavenny.
1905	Geoghegan, John Edward. Belcamp Park, Raheny, Co. Dublin.
1913	Geoghegan, Joseph A. Ballinteer-villa, Ballinteer-road, Dundrum, County Dublin.
1891	Geoghegan, Thomas F. 2, Essex-quay, Dublin.
1890	George, William E. Downside, Stoke Bishop, Clifton.
1903	*Geraghty, Rev. Canon Bernard, P.P. Kilbegnet, Roscommon.
1912	Geyer, Mrs. 133, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
1897	Gibson, Very Rev. Thomas B., M.A., Dean of Ferns. The Rectory, Ferns.
1909	Gibbs, John Talbot. Clonard, Westfield-road, Harold's-cross, Dublin.
1892	<b>GILFOYLE, Anthony Thomas</b> , M.A., J.P., D.L. Carrowcullen House, Skreen, Co. Sligo.
1901	*Gilligan, Rev. Laurence, P.P. The Cottage, Dunkerin, Roscrea.
1912	Gillooly, Michael. Fore, Castlepollard, Co. Westmeath.
1894	<b>GLEESON, Paul</b> . Kilcolman, Glengageary, Co. Dublin.
1899	Gleeson, Michael, Crown Solicitor. Nenagh.
1898	Glover, Edward, M.A., M.Inst. C.E., F.R.I.B.A. County Surveyor's Office, Naas.
1891	Glynn, Thomas. 102, Salisbury-road, High Barnet, Herts.
1897	Glynn, William, J.P. Kilrush.
1897	<b>GODDEN, George</b> . Phoenix Park, Dublin.
1890	Goff, Rev. Edward, B.A. Kentstown Rectory, Navan.
1894	Goodwin, Singleton, B.A., M.Inst. C.E. Tralee.
1897	Gore, John. 4, Cavendish-row, Dublin.
1900	Gore, Mrs. Derrymore, O'Callaghan's Mills, Co. Clare.
1852	Gorman, Ven. Archdeacon. Mall House, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
1902	Gormanston, The Dowager Viscountess. Gormanston Castle, Balbriggan.
1891	Gosselin, Rev. J. H. Prescott, M.A. Muff Parsonage, Londonderry.
1904	Gould, Mrs. Ellen Louisa. Stradbroke House, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
1894	Gray, Robert, F.R.C.P.I., J.P. 4, Charlemont-place, Armagh.
1896	<b>GRAYDON, Thomas W.</b> , M.D. La Fayette Circle, Clifton, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
1910	Green, Mrs. Alice S. A. 36, Grosvenor-road, Westminster, London.
1900	Green, T. Geo. H., M.R.I.A. Lisnagar, Temple Gardens, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
1907	Green, Lieut.-Colonel J. S., B.A., M.B., M.R.I.A. Air Hill, Glanworth, Co. Cork.
1910	*Greene, Dr. T. A., J.P., District Asylum, Carlow.
1896	<b>GREENE, Mrs. T.</b> Millbrook, Mageney.



- Elected  
 1897 Greer, Thomas MacGregor, Solicitor. Ballymoney.  
 1901 Griffen, Mrs. C. M. Provincial Bank House, Newcastle West.  
 1902 Griffith, Patrick Joseph, Professor of Music. 13, York-road, Rathmines, Co. Dublin.  
 1885 Grubb, J. Ernest. Carrick-on-Suir.  
 1902 Grubb, Miss Rosa F. Cooleville, Clogheen, Cahir.  
 1890 Guilbride, Francis, J.P. Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford.  
 1995 Guinness, Miss Eva Frances. Fairleigh, Slough, Bucks.  
 1904 Guinness, Henry Seymour. Burton Hall, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.  
 1895 Guinness, Howard R. Chesterfield, Blackrock.  
 1911 \*\*Guy, Wilson. Raceview Villa, Fintona, Co. Tyrone.
- 1908 Hackett, Edmund Byrne, Publisher. 135, Elm-street, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.  
 1891 **HADDON, Alfred Cort**, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.Z.S. 3, Cranmer-road, Cambridge.  
 1892 Hade, Arthur, C.E. Carlow.  
 1895 Hales, Mrs. Arthur. 17, Lansdown-crescent, Bath; and Charmouth, Dorset.  
 1899 \*Hall, Ernest Frederick. The Lodge, Westport.  
 1906 Hall-Dare, Robert Westley, D.L. Newtownbarry House, Newtownbarry.  
 1908 Hamilton, The Lady Alexandra Phyllis. Barons Court, Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone.  
 1889 Hamilton, Everard, B.A. Ballinteer Lodge, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.  
 1889 Hanan, Ven. Denis, D.D., Archdeacon of Cashel. The Rectory, Tipperary.  
 1912 Hannigan, James J., B.E., B.A., County Surveyor. Court House, Monaghan.  
 1909 Hargrave, Miss Jennette, M.D. 8, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.  
 1890 Harman, Miss Marion. Barrowmount, Goresbridge.  
 1891 Hart, Spencer, M. Inst. C.E.I. 76, Merriion-road, Ball's Bridge, Dublin.  
 1898 \*\*\*Hayes, James. Church-street, Ennis.  
 1889 Hayes, Rev. William A., M.A. The Deanery, Londonderry.  
 1891 Headen, W. P., B.A. (Lond.), J.P. La Bergerie, Portarlinton.  
 1910 \*\*\*Healy, Nicholas, Solicitor. High-street, Kilkenny.  
 1888 Healy, Rev. John, LL.D., Canon. The Rectory, Kells, Co. Meath.  
 1869 Healy, Rev. William, P.P. Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.  
 1910 Hemphill, Miss Mary B. T. Oakville, Clonmel.  
 1897 **HEMPHILL, Rev. Samuel**, D.D., M.R.I.A., Canon. Birr Rectory, Parsons-town.  
 1897 Henderson, William A. Belclare, Leinster-road, West, Dublin.  
 1892 Heron, James, B.E., J.P. Tullyvery House, Killyleagh, Co. Down.  
 1901 **HEUSER, Rev. Herman J.** Overbrook, Pa., U.S.A.  
 1908 Hewson, Rev. Lindsay Joseph Robert Massy, 71, George-street, Limerick.  
 1890 Higgins, Rev. Canon Michael, P.P. Blarney, Co. Cork.  
 1889 Higinbotham, Granby. Fortwilliam Park, Belfast.  
 1910 Hill, William Henry, Jun., Civil Engineer and Architect. Monteville, Montenotte, Cork.  
 1896 **HOBSON, C. I.** 515 W. 178th-street, New York City.  
 1890 Hodgson, Rev. William, M.A. 32, Holford-square, London. W.C.  
 1891 Hogan, Rev. Henry, B.D., Canon. All Saints' Vicarage, Phibsborough-road, Dublin.  
 1890 **HOGG, Right Hon. Jonathan**, D.L. 12, Cope-street, Dublin.  
 1910 \*Hollwey, Peter Good, M.I.N.A., Naval Architect. Crumlin House, Co. Dublin.  
 1898 Holmes, Mrs. St. Michael's Vicarage, Shrewsbury, Shropshire.  
 1911 Holt, E. W. L., M.R.I.A., Inspector of Fisheries. 3, Kildare-place, Dublin.  
 1889 Horan, John, M.E., M. Inst. C.E., County Surveyor. 4, Pery-square, Limerick.  
 1893 Hore, Philip Herbert, M.R.I.A. 121, Coleherne Court, Earl's Court, London, S.W.  
 1899 Horner, John. Drum-na-Coll, Antrim-road, Belfast.

- Elected
- 1911     Howe, Thomas A., C.I., R.I.C. Belvedere, Tivoli, Cork.
- 1895     Huband, Rev. Hugo R., M.A. (Cantab.). Ipsley, Farcham, Surrey.
- 1895     Hughes, Benjamin. 96, North Main-street, Wexford.
- 1905     Hughes, Edwin, B.A., J.P. Dalehoolin, Craigavad, Co. Down.
- 1900     Hughes, Wm. C.E. Ahenny, Carrick-on-Suir.
- 1901     Hunter, S. C. 2, Wellington-place, Belfast.
- 1911     Hussey, Miss. Aghadoe House, Killarney.
- 1911     Hutton, Mrs. Mary A. 17, Appian-way, Dublin.
- 1899     Hynes, Miss. 6, Beresford-terrace, off Marlborough-road, Dublin.
- 1910     Irvine, James Potts, C.E., Architect. Aileach, Jordanstown, Belfast.
- 1903     Jackson, Charles James, J.P., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law. 6, Ennismore Gardens, London, S.W.
- 1913     James, Miss Frances M. 4, Roby-place, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1907     James, Lieut.-Colonel Samuel A. Le Bicoque, Minchin Hampton, near Stroud.
- 1889     Jennings, Ignatius R. B. 70, Eccles-street, Dublin.
- 1901     \*\*\*Johnston, Swift Paine, M.A. Hotel Metropole, Lower Sackville-street, Dublin.
- 1900     Joly, Miss Anna M. 76, Lower Drumcondra-road, Dublin.
- 1894     **JONES, Capt. Bryan John.** 1st Leinster Regiment, Linawilly, Dundalk.
- 1909     Joyce, William B., B.A. 57, Iona-road, Glasnevin, Dublin.
- 1904     \*\*Joynt, Alfred Lane, B.A. 2, Seaview-terrace, Ailesbury-road, Dublin.
- 1909     Kane, William F. de Vismes, M.R.I.A., D.L. Drumreask House, Monaghan.
- 1896     Kavanagh, Very Rev. Michael, D.D., P.P., V.F. New Ross.
- 1910     \*\*\*Keane, E. T., Proprietor and Editor of the *Kilkenny People*. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
- 1893     Keane, Marcus, J.P. Beech Park, Ennis.
- 1912     Keane, Sir John, Bart., D.L. Cappoquin House, Cappoquin.
- 1906     Keaveny, Thomas, D.I.R.I.C. 59, Clifton Park-avenue, Belfast.
- 1889     Keene, Charles Haines, M.A. 19, Stephen's-green, and University Club, Dublin.
- 1889     Keene, Most Rev. James Bennett, D.D., Bishop of Meath. 24, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
- 1908     Kehoe, Lawrence. Tullow, Co. Carlow.
- 1888     Kelly, Edmund Walsh. Bella Vista, Tramore.
- 1899     Kelly, Rev. James, Adm. Doon, Clifden, Co. Galway.
- 1905     Kelly, Rev. Joseph, C.C. Episcopal Residence, Mullingar.
- 1890     Kelly, Very Rev. James J., D.D., V.G., M.R.I.A., Dean of Elphin. St. Peter's, Athlone.
- 1891     Kelly, Richard J., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. 45, Wellington-road, Dublin.
- 1891     Kelly, Thomas Aliaga. 61, Anglesea-road, Dublin.
- 1903     Kennedy, R. R., M.A. 8, Royal-terrace, East, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1906     Kenny, Miss Elizabeth. Grace Dieu, Clontarf, Dublin.
- 1907     \*\*\*Kenny, Henry Egan. Hillington House, Goole, Yorks.
- 1895     Kenny, Thomas Hugh. 55, George-street, Limerick.
- 1891     Kernan, Rev. Richard Arthurs, B.D., Canon. The Rectory, Hillsborough.
- 1889     Kerr, Rev. Wm. John B. Irchester Vicarage, Wellingborough.
- 1898     Kerrigan, Dr. Owen P. Ardna Greina, Castletown-Geoghegan, Co. Westmeath.
- 1904     \*\*Kincaid, Mrs. M. M. 4526, Brooklyn-avenue, Seattle, Washington.
- 1890     King, Lucas White, C.S.I., LL.D., F.S.A. Roebuck Hall, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.
- 1885     Kirkpatrick, Robert. 1, Queen's-square, Strathbungo, Glasgow.
- 1904     \*Kirwan, Denis B. Dalgin, Milltown, Tuam.
- 1899     Knox, Mrs. Godfrey. 51, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
- 1902     Kyle, Valentine Joyce. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.

Elected	
1911	Lane-Poole, Stanley, M.A. (Oxon.), Litt.D. (Dublin). Donganstown Castle, Wicklow.
1890	<b>LANGAN, Rev. Thomas</b> , D.D. Abbeylara, Granard.
1906	La Touche, Christopher Digges. 40, Merrion-square, Dublin.
1901	Laughlin, Robert C. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
1902	Laverty, Rev. Francis, P.P. St. Mary's Presbytery, Portglenone, Co. Antrim.
1910	Law, Michael, late Judge of the Mixed Courts of Egypt. 20, Longford-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
1903	*Lawler, Chas., J.P. 62, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
1900	Lawless, Rev. Nicholas, C.C. Kilcurry, Dundalk.
1891	Lawlor, Rev. Hugh Jackson, M.A., D.D., Canon. Trinity College, Dublin.
1909	*Lawlor, Patrick. Ballincloher N.S., Lixnaw, Co. Kerry.
1910	Leask, Harold Graham. Office of Public Works, Dublin.
1909	Lee, Philip G., M.D. 26, St. Patrick's Hill, Cork.
1894	Leeson-Marshall, M.R., Barrister-at-Law. Callinaferey, Milltown, R.S.O., Co. Kerry.
1892	Le Fanu, Thomas Philip, C.B., B.A. (Cantab.). Abington, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
1908	Lefroy, Benjamin St. George. Derrycashel, Clondra, Co. Longford.
1892	**Leonard, Mrs. T. Warrenstown, Dunsany, Co. Meath.
1903	Leslie, Rev. J. Blennerhassett, M.A. Kilsaran Rectory, Castlebellingham.
1880	Lett, Rev. Henry Wm., M.A., M.R.I.A., Canon. Aghaderg Glebe, Loughbrickland.
1911	Librarian. The John Ryland's Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
1911	Librarian. Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass, U.S.A. (c/o E. G. Allen & Son, Lim.) 14, Grape-street, Shaftesbury-avenue, London, W.C.
1998	Librarian. Carnegie Free Library and Museum, Limerick.
1903	Librarian. Public Library, Capel-street, Dublin.
1903	Librarian. Public Free Library, Town Hall, Clonmel, c/o Town Clerk.
1868	Librarian. Public Library, Armagh.
1913	Librarian. Public Record Office, Chancery-lane, London, W.C.
1869	Librarian. Belfast Library, Linen Hall, Belfast.
1891	Librarian. Belfast Free Public Library, Belfast.
1891	Librarian. Free Public Library, Liverpool.
1890	Librarian. Public Library, Boston, U. S.
1890	Librarian. Public Library, New York, U.S., c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar-square, London.
1868	Librarian. King's Inns Library, Henrietta-street, Dublin.
1888	Librarian. Library of Advocates, Edinburgh.
1894	Librarian. Limerick Protestant Young Men's Association. 97, George-street, Limerick.
1899	Librarian. Natural History and Philosophical Society, Armagh.
1903	Librarian. Public Library, North Strand, Dublin.
1882	Librarian. Public Library, Melbourne, <i>per</i> Agent-General for Victoria. 142, Queen Victoria-street, London, E.C.
1864	Librarian. University College, Belfast.
1868	Librarian. University College, Cork.
1888	Librarian. University College, Galway.
1874	Librarian. Berlin Royal Library, <i>per</i> Messrs. Asher & Co., 13, Bedford-st., Covent Garden, London.
1899	Librarian. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
1900	Librarian. Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin.
1905	Librarian. Royal Library, Copenhagen, c/o William Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street, London, E.C.
1869	Librarian. Board of Education, South Kensington, London, S.W.
1901	Librarian. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
1903	Librarian. Public Library, Thomas-street, Dublin.
1903	Librarian. London Library, St. James'-square, London.
1910	Librarian. Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A. c/o E. G. Allen & Son, London, 14, Grape-street, Shaftesbury-avenue, London, W.C.
1890	Lindesay, Rev. William O'Neill, M.A. St. Michael's, Sallins, Co. Kildare.
1892	<b>LINDSAY, Dr. David Moore</b> , L.R.C.P.I., &c. 551, South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.

## Elected

- 1903 Lloyd, Miss Annie. 16, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
- 1911 \*Loftus, Capt. John Blake. Mount Loftus, Goresbridge, Kilkenny.
- 1894 Long, Mrs. 4, Palmerston Villas, Upper Rathmines, Dublin.
- 1893 Longford, Right Hon. The Dowager Countess of. 24, Bruton-street, London, W.
- 1893 Lopdell, John. 28, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
- 1887 Lough, Right Hon. Thomas, M.P., H.M.L., Co. Cavan. 14, Dean's Yard, London, S.W.
- 1896 Lowe, William Ross Lewin. Middlewych, St. Albans, Herts.
- 1897 Lucas, Rev. Frederick John, D.D. 2, Cliff-terrace, Kingstown.
- 1868 Lunham, Colonel Thomas Ainslie, M.A., M.R.I.A., C.B., J.P. Ardfallen, Douglas, Cork.
- 1894 Lyle, Rev. Thomas, M.A. Dalriada, Howth-road, Dublin.
- 1893 **LYNCH, J. J.** Towanda, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1905 Lyons, Patrick, Sergeant, R.I.C. Athenry, Co. Galway.
- 1891 Lyster, Rev. Canon H. Cameron, B.D. Rectory, Enniscorthy.
- 1912 MacCaffrey, Rev. James, D.Ph. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
- 1900 MacClancy, James. Milltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
- 1908 \*McElney, Rev. Robert, M.A. The Manse, Downpatrick.
- 1899 Mac Enerny, Rev. Francis, C.C. Westland-row, Dublin.
- 1893 Mac Ilwaine, Robert. Secretary, County Council Office. Courthouse, Downpatrick.
- 1894 Macmillan, Rev. John, D.D. Dinanew House, Ravenhill-road, Belfast.
- 1894 Macnamara, George Unthank, L.R.C.S.I. Bankyle House, Corofin.
- 1902 Mac Namara, Rev. John. Redemptorist Fathers, St. Joseph's, Dundalk.
- 1894 Maconachie, Rev. James H., B.A. Heaton Presbyterian Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.
- 1852 Macray, Rev. Wm. Dunn, M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A. Bloxham, near Banbury, Oxon.
- 1894 M'Bride, Francis, J.P. 39, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines.
- 1894 M'Bride, Joseph M. Harbour Office, Westport.
- 1888 \*\*M'Carte, James. 51, St. George's Hill, Everton, Liverpool.
- 1898 \*M'Carthy, Charles. 2, Emmett-place, Cork.
- 1904 M'Carthy, James. Newfound Well, Drogheda.
- 1892 M'Carthy, Samuel Trant, J.P. Srugrena Abbey, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry.
- 1890 M'Clintock, Very Rev. Francis G. Le Poer, M.A. (Cantab.), Dean of Armagh. Drumcar Rectory, Dunleer.
- 1899 M'Clintock, Miss Gertrude. Drumcar, Dunleer, Co. Louth.
- 1899 M'Connell, John, J.P. College-green House, Belfast; Rathmona, Donaghadee.
- 1902 \*M'Connell, Sir Robert, Bart., D.L. Ardanreagh, Windsor-avenue, Belfast.
- 1891 M'Cormick, H M'Neile. Cultra House, Cultra, Co. Down.
- 1909 M'Coy, Matthew D., Solicitor. 6, Alphonsus-terrace, Limerick.
- 1892 M'Creery, Alexander John. John-street, Kilkenny.
- 1884 M'Crum, Robert G., J.P., D.L. Milford, Armagh.
- 1906 M'Donnell, James. 2, Lakeview, Kilkenny.
- 1912 M'Donnell, Robert Percy, F.R.C.S.I. 15, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
- 1892 M'Enery, D. T., M.A., D.I.N.S. 80, Sunday's Well, Cork.
- 1892 M'Gee, Rev. Samuel Russell, M.A. The Rectory, Narraghmore, Co. Kildare.
- 1896 M'Glone, Very Rev. Canon Michael, P.P. Rosslea, Clones.
- 1906 M'Golrick, Right Rev. James, D.D., Bishop of Dunluth. Minnesota, U.S.A.
- 1901 **M'GRATH, Rev. Joseph B.**, C.C. St. Agatha's Presbytery, Richmond-place, N. C.R., Dublin.
- 1891 M'Inerney, Very Rev. John, P.P., V.G. Kilrush, Co. Clare.
- 1898 \*M'Kean, Rev. William. The Manse, Strandtown, Belfast.
- 1895 M'Kenna, Rev. James E., Adm., M.R.I.A. Dromore, Co. Tyrone.



## Elected

- 1890 M'Knight, John P. Temple Gardens, Palmerston Park, Dublin.  
 1900 M'Mahon, Rev. Canon John, P.P. St. Mary's, Nenagh.  
 1890 M'Manus, Very Rev. Canon, P.P. St. Catherine's, Meath-street, Dublin.  
 1890 M'Neill, Charles. 19, Warrington-place, Dublin.  
 1890 M'Neill, Professor John, B.A. 19, Herbert Park, Donnybrook.  
 1900 Maffett, Rev. R. S., B.A. 17 Herbert-road, Sandymount.  
 1908 \*Maguire, John. Moore Mount, Dunleer.  
 1890 Mahony, Daniel, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Mount Alverno, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.  
 1891 Mahony, Denis M'Carthy, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 2, Howard-place, Kingstown.  
 1887 Mahony, J. J. 4, Lower Montenotte, Cork.  
 1895 Mahony, Thomas Henry. 8, Adelaide-place, St. Luke's, Cork.  
 1899 Malone, Laurence. Innismaan, Queen's Park, Monkstown.  
 1899 Malone, Mrs. Innismaan, Queen's Park, Monkstown.  
 1906 Mangan, Most Rev. John, D.D., Bishop of Kerry. Killarney.  
 1899 Manning, John Butler. 18, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.  
 1895 March, Henry Colley, M.D. (Lond.), F.S.A. Portesham, Dorchester.  
 1910 \*\*\*Marstrander, Professor Carl. School of Irish Learning, 122, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.  
 1900 Mason, J. J. B. 6, Ely-place, Dublin; and Glenmalure, Bushy Park-road, Terenure.  
 1906 Mason, Thomas H. 5, Dame-street, Dublin.  
 1910 Maunsell, Mrs. E. The Island, Clare Castle, Co. Clare.  
 1907 Max, John T., J.P. Maxfort, Thurles.  
 1907 May, Miss Charlotte P. Knockmore, Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow.  
 1907 May, Miss Stella M. E. Knockmore, Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow.  
 1910 May, Mrs. Florence E. Abbeylands, Milltown, Co. Kerry.  
 1912 Mayler, Miss Margaret. Harristown, Ballymitty, Co. Wexford.  
 1891 Mayne, Thomas, F.R.G.S.I. 19, Lord Edward-street, Dublin.  
 1909 \*Mayne, Rev. William J., M.A. Auburn, Sydney Parade - avenue, Merriion.  
 1893 Mayo, Right Hon. the Earl of, K.P., D.L. Palmerstown House, Straffan.  
 1911 Meadows, Henry Lloyd, M.A., F.R.A.S. Clerk of the Crown and Peace for the County of Wexford. Ballyrane, Killinick, Co. Wexford.  
 1906 Meeredy, R. J. Vallombrosa, Bray, Co. Wicklow.  
 1897 **MEEHAN, Rev. Joseph**, P.P. Florence Court, Enniskillen.  
 1911 Meehan, Rev. Patrick, P.P. The Presbytery, Keadue, Carrick-on-Shannon.  
 1899 Micks, William L., M.A. Commissioner, Congested District Board, Rutland-square, Dublin.  
 1898 Miller, Mrs. The Manse, Armagh.  
 1907 \*Milligan, Humphrey, Athlone.  
 1901 Milliken, James. 146, Anfield-road, Liverpool.  
 1891 **MILLNER, Colonel Joshua Kearney**. Leeson Park House, Dublin.  
 1908 \*Mills, Dr. John, M.B. Resident Physician, District Asylum, Ballinasloe.  
 1909 \*Milne, Very Rev. Kentigern. The Abbey, Fort Augustus, Scotland.  
 1906 **MITCHELL, Thomas**. Walcot, Birr.  
 1898 Moloney, Maurice T. Ottawa, Illinois, U.S.A.  
 1891 Molony, Alfred. 4/48, Dartmouth Park Hill, London, N.W.  
 1897 Molony, Henry, M.D. Odellville, Ballingarry, Limerick.  
 1901 Monteagle of Brandon, Right Hon. Lord, K.P. Mount Trenchard, Foynes, Co. Limerick.  
 1892 Montgomery, Archibald V., Solicitor. 13, Molesworth-street, Dublin.  
 1904 Montgomery, Henry C. Ballyholme House, Bangor, Co. Down.  
 1907 \*Moony, George M. S. Enraght, J.P. The Doon, Athlone.  
 1902 Moore, John. 117, Grafton-street, Dublin.  
 1892 Moore, John Gibson, J.P. Llandaff Hall, Merriion.  
 1889 \*Moore, William. Castle Mahon, Blackrock, Co. Cork.  
 1909 Moore, William Colles. 5, Herbert-road, Sandymount.

- Elected  
 1909 \*\*\*Moore-Brabazon, Chambré. Tara Hall, Tara.  
 1889 \*\*Morgan, Arthur P., B.A. (Dubl.), D.I.N.S. South Mall, Lismore.  
 1903 \*\*\*Morris, Henry. 8, Main-street, Strabane.  
 1912 Morrison, William H. Granville Hotel, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.  
 1907 Morrissey, James F., B.A. Public Record Office, Dublin.  
 1907 Morrissey, Thomas J., I.L.B. Public Record Office, Dublin.  
 1909 \*Moynagh, Stephen H., Solicitor. Roden place, Dundalk.  
 1903 Mulhall, Mrs. Marion. c/o Mrs. Greer, Bandon, Co. Cork.  
 1889 Mullan, Rev. David, M.A. 93, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.  
 1902 Mullan, James. Castlerock, Co. Londonderry.  
 1891 Mullan, Robert A., B.A. 9, Trevor Hill, Newry.  
 1889 Mullen, Frank. Cavanacaw, Clanabogan, Co. Tyrone.  
 1907 \*\*\*Mulligan, Miss Sara. 13, Patrick-street, Kilkenny.  
 1902 Mulvany, Rev. Thomas, C.C., Adm. Collinstown, Co. Westmeath.  
 1890 Murphy, Rev. Arthur William, P.P. Brosna, Abbeyfeale.  
 1901 \*Murphy, Francis. 284, Newport-road, Cardiff.  
 1892 Murphy, Rev. James E. H., M.A., M.R.I.A., Professor of Irish, Dublin University. Rathcore Rectory, Enfield, Co. Meath.  
 1889 Murphy, Very Rev. Jeremiah, D.D., P.P. Macroom.  
 1895 Murphy, John J. 6, Mount Edgecumbe, Stranmillis-road, Belfast.  
 1896 Murphy, M. L. Ballyboy, Ferns.  
 1897 Murphy, Miss. Ard-na-Greine, Ardeevin-road, Dalkey.  
 1889 Murray, Archibald. Portland, Limerick.  
 1910 Murray, Bruce. Portland, Limerick.  
 1899 Murray, Daly, J.P. Beech Hill, Cork.
- 1889 Nash, Lieut.-Colonel Edward, J.P. 94, Piccadilly, London, W.  
 1895 Nash, Richard G., J.P. Finnstown House, Lucan.  
 1905 Nash, Sir Vincent, Knt., D.L. Tivoli, Limerick.  
 1902 Neale, Walter G. 29, Grosvenor-square, Dublin.  
 1890 Nelis, John. Londonderry.  
 1904 Nichols, James. 85, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.  
 1899 Nichols, Mrs. Kilbrack, Doneraile, Co. Cork.  
 1893 Nixon, James H. F., F.R.G.S., J.P. Mount Prospect, Mount Nugent, Co. Cavan.  
 1902 Nolan, Rev. John, P.P. Kircubbin, Co. Down.  
 1890 Nolan, Pierce L., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.  
 1896 \*\*Nolan, William R., B.A. Brookville, Simmons-court-avenue, Donnybrook.  
 1898 Nooney, Thomas F., J.P. Earl-street, Mullingar.  
 1910 Nugent, Michael. Knocktopher Abbey, Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1902 **O'BRIEN, Conor.** 7, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.  
 1900 O'Brien, Mrs. South Hill, Limerick.  
 1890 O'Callaghan, Mrs. Maryfort, O'Callaghan's Mills, Limerick.  
 1903 O'Conchobhair, Domhnall. 15, Hollybank-road, Drumecondra.  
 1901 O'Connell, Daniel, J.P., D.L. Derrynane Abbey, Waterville, Co. Kerry.  
 1902 \*O'Connell, Mrs. Mary. Killeen, Killiney, Co. Dublin.  
 1907 \*\*\*O'Connell, Sir Morgan Ross, Bart., D.L. Lake View, Killarney.  
 1893 O'Connor, Right Hon. Charles, K.C., Master of the Rolls, M.A. 28, Fitzwilliam-place, Dublin.  
 1897 O'Connor, M. J., Solicitor. 2, George-street, Wexford.  
 1904 Odell, Mrs. Cloncoskraine, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.  
 1897 \*O'Duffy, John, L.D.S., R.C.S.I. 67, Great Britain-street, Dublin.  
 1908 O'Grady, Guillamore, M.A., Dublin Herald-of-Arms. 49, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.  
 1889 O'Hanrahan, Timothy Wm., J.P. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.  
 1890 O'Hara, Right Rev. John M., Monsignor, P.P., V.F. Crossmolina.  
 1896 O'Hennessy, Bartholomew. Kilkee.  
 1903 O'Leary, Very Rev. Archdeacon David, P.P. The Presbytery, Kenmare.  
 1891 **O'LEARY, Rev. Edward,** P.P. Portarlinton.



- Elected
- 1884 **O'LEARY, Patrick.** Main-street, Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1911 O'Malley, Rev. Peter. St. Anthony's, Dubuque, Iowa, U.S.A.
- 1891 O'Meara, John J., Solicitor, T.C. 205, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin.
- 1894 O'Morchoe, The. Kerrymount, Foxrock.
- 1891 O'Morchoe, Rev. Thomas A., M.A. Kilternan Rectory, Golden Ball.
- 1908 O'Reilly, George. 26, Trinity-street, Drogheda.
- 1908 O'Reilly, Very Rev. Michael, O.C.C. 56, Aungier-street, Dublin.
- 1896 **O'RIORDAN, Rev. John, C.C.** Cloyne.
- 1904 O'Ryan, Rev. T. W., C.C. Presbytery, Golden Bridge, Dublin.
- 1870 **ORMONDE, Most Hon. the Marquis of, K.P., H.M.L.** The Castle, Kilkenny.
- 1912 Ormsby, Robert Daly. Ballynamote, Carrickmines, Co. Dublin.
- 1887 Orpen, Goddard H., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Monksgrange, Enniscorthy.
- 1890 Orpen, Right Rev. Raymond d'A., M.A., Bishop of Limerick and Ardferit. The Palace, Henry-street, Limerick.
- 1907 \*O'Sullivan, Daniel. Caherdaniel, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
- 1890 Oulton, Rev. Richard C., M.A., B.D. 17, Warrington-place, Dublin.
- 1907 Pakenham-Walsh, Lieut. Winthrop Pakenham. Crinken House, Shankill, Co. Dublin.
- 1896 Parkinson, Miss. Westbourne, Ennis.
- 1909 \*Patch, Mrs. F. R. Fareham, Hants.
- 1913 Paton, William Mortimer, A.R.I.B.A. 6, St. Kevin's-park, Dublin.
- 1892 Patterson, Mervyn S. Rosavo, Cultra, Co. Down.
- 1868 Patterson, William Hugh, M.R.I.A. Garraanard, Strandtown, Belfast.
- 1910 Patton, Rev. George Herbert, M.A. The Rectory, Kilmessan, Co. Meath.
- 1913 Peacock, Mrs. Reginald. 1, Ovoca-terrace, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 Pentland, George Henry, B.A., J.P. Black Hall, Drogheda.
- 1893 Peter, Miss A. 29, Dartmouth-square, Dublin.
- 1890 Phelps, Ernest James. 9, Lower Hatch-street, Dublin.
- 1909 Phillips, James Gastrell, Architect. Barnwood-avenue, Gloucester.
- 1888 Phillips, James J., C.E., Archt. Assurance Buildings, 16, Donegall-square, South, Belfast.
- 1906 Pilkington, Richard Grant. 25, Morehampton-road, Dublin.
- 1903 Pim, A. Cecil. 47, Franklin-street, Belfast.
- 1900 Pim, Miss E. M. Newtown Park, Waterford.
- 1902 Pim, Miss Ida. Lonsdale, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1903 Pim, Jonathan, M.A., K.C., Solicitor-General. 10, Herbert-street, Dublin.
- 1903 Place, Thomas Dumayne. Rosemount, New Ross.
- 1887 Plunkett, Thomas, M.R.I.A. Enniskillen.
- 1891 Poë, Colonel Sir William Hutcheson, Bart., C.B., J.P., D.L. Heywood, Ballinakill.
- 1864 **POER, COUNT DE LA, H.M.L.** Gurteen Poer, Kilsheelan, Co. Waterford.
- 1899 Pollock, Hugh, Barrister-at-Law. 50, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
- 1892 Pounder, Festus Kelly, B.A. St. John's-terrace, Enniscorthy.
- 1904 Powell, Miss Una T. E. Bella Squardo, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1892 Powell, Rev. William H., D.D. Garrycloyne Rectory, Blarney.
- 1910 Powell, Thomas Valentine. 36, Palmerston-road, Rathmines.
- 1911 \*\*\*Power, John Joseph, Ecclesiastical and General Decorator. High-street, Kilkenny.
- 1884 Power, Rev. George Beresford, B.A., Canon. Kilfane Glebe, Thomastown.
- 1876 **POWER, Rev. Patrick, M.R.I.A.** University College, Cork.
- 1884 Power, Rev. John, P.P. Kilteely, Pallasgrean, Co. Limerick.
- 1909 Price, George, L.L.D. Board of Works, 6, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.
- 1902 Prochazka, the Baroness P. Leyrath, Kilkenny.
- 1894 Purefoy, Rev. Amyrald D., M.A. The Rectory, Chapelizod, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 Quan-Smith, Samuel A. Bullock Castle, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
- 1906 Quiggin, Edmund Crosby, M.A. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
- 1908 Quinn, Augustine. The Beeches, Liscard, Cheshire.
- 1908 Quinn, John Monsarratt, J.P. 4, Kildare-place, Dublin.

- Elected
- 1896 Rankin, Rev. R. B., B.A. All Saints, Newtown-Cunningham, Co. Donegal.
- 1891 Rappmund, Rev. Joseph, P.P. Parochial House, Silverstream, Co. Monaghan.
- 1912 Reade, James F. A., M.I.C.E. 29, Barronstrand-street, Waterford.
- 1898 Redington, Miss Matilda. Kilcornan, Oranmore.
- 1891 Reynell, Miss. 22, Eccles-street, Dublin.
- 1902 Reynolds, Mrs. Kate Isabella. The Mullens, Ballyshannon.
- 1905 Rice, Ignatius J., Solicitor. Rose Lawn, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin.
- 1881 Rice, Lieut.-Colonel Richard Justice, J.P. Bushmount, Lixnaw.
- 1904 **ROBB, Alfred A.**, M.A., Ph. D. Lisnabreeny House, Castlereagh, Belfast.
- 1902 Robertson, Hume. 26, Porchester-terrace, London, W.
- 1911 Robinson, Rev. John Lubbock, B.A. 35, Anglesea-road, Dublin.
- 1897 Roche, H. J. The Castle, Enniscorthy.
- 1900 Rochfort, William, J.P., D.L. Cahir Abbey, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
- 1892 Rogers, William E. Belfast Banking Company, Portaferry.
- 1905 Ross-Lewin, Rev. Canon G. H., M.A. St. Cuthbert's Vicarage, Shotley Bridge, Co. Durham.
- 1894 **ROTHERAM, Edward Crofton.** Belview, Crossakiel, Co. Meath.
- 1890 Ryan, Very Rev. Arthur, P.P., V.G. The Presbytery, Tipperary.
- 1889 Ryan, Rev. James J., President, St. Patrick's College, Thurles.
- 1907 Ryan, James P., M.D. Collins-street, Melbourne, Victoria.
- 1908 Ryan, Rev. Patrick. St. Patrick's College, Thurles.
- 1891 Ryland, Richard H., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Sea Lawn, Sutton, Co. Dublin.
- 1895 Salazar, Count Lorenzo, Consul for Italy in Ireland. Melrose House, Kingstown.
- 1908 Sayers, Reginald Brydges. 27, Killeen-road, Rathmines, Dublin.
- 1892 Scott, Conway, C.E. Albion Hotel, Falmouth.
- 1901 Scott, John Alfred, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S.I. 36, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin.
- 1892 Scott, Samuel. 28, Ashby-road, Burton-on-Trent.
- 1912 Scott, William A., Architect, A.R.B.A. 45, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.
- 1912 Seigne, Miss Margery. Grenane House, Thomastown.
- 1905 Seton, Malcolm Cotter Cariston. 13, Clarendon-road, Holland Park, London, W.
- 1907 Seymour, Rev. St. John, B.D. Donohil Rectory, Cappawhite, Co. Tipperary.
- 1896 Shackleton, George. Anna Liffey House, Lucan.
- 1902 \*Shaw, Frederick, M.R.I.A. 20, Laurence-street, Drogheda.
- 1898 Shaw, Thomas J., J.P. 58, Earl-street, Mullingar.
- 1902 **SHEIL, H. Percy.** Nivarna, Greystones, Co. Wicklow.
- 1905 Sheridan, George P., Architect. 1, Suffolk-street, Dublin.
- 1896 Sheridan, Rev. N. T. Ramsgrange, Arthurstown, *via* Waterford.
- 1898 Sherwin, Rev. James P. University Church, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
- 1896 Shore, Hon. Mrs. Ballyduff, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1909 Shortal, Nicholas, Solicitor. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
- 1909 Sides, Rev. John Robert, B.A. The Rectory, Burnfoot, Londonderry.
- 1895 Simpson, Mrs. West Church Manse, Ballymena.
- 1887 Simpson, William M. Walmer, Ballyholme-road, Bangor, Co. Down.
- 1909 \*Sinclair, Thomas. 18, Castle-lane, Belfast.
- 1893 Skeffington, Joseph Bartholomew, M.A., LL.D., S.I.N.S. Waterford.
- 1893 Small, John F., Solicitor. 37, Hill-street, Newry.
- 1902 Smith, Blair, J.P. Errigal House, Laurence-street, Londonderry.
- 1894 Smith, Rev. George Nuttall, M.A. Kelly Rectory, Lefton, Devonshire.
- 1887 Smith, Owen. Nobber, Co. Meath.
- 1893 Smyth, Edward Weber, J.P. 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
- 1895 Smyth, Mrs. E. Weber. Cuil-min, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1909 Smyth, Miss Isabella. 14, Morehampton-road, Dublin.
- 1894 Smyth, Richard O'Brien, C.E., Archt. 2, Kenilworth-square, Dublin.

- Elected  
 1895 Smyth, Robert Wolfe, J.P. Portlick Castle, Athlone.  
 1902 Spring, Richard Francis, C.E. Polehore, Wexford.  
 1890 **STACK, Rev. C. Maurice**, M.A. The Vicarage, Magheraclone, Kells.  
 1904 Stacpoole, Miss Gwendoline Clare. 24, Harcourt-street, Dublin.  
 1910 **\*\*Stanley, John Francis**, Designer. 3124, Hull-avenue, New York City.  
 1895 Steele, Rev. William B., B.A. Levally Rectory, Enniskillen.  
 1891 Stephens, Pembroke Scott, K.C. 30, Cumberland-terrace, Regent's Park, London, N.W.  
 1903 Stevenson, James, M.R.I.A., J.P. Fort James, Londonderry.  
 1893 Stewart, Rev. Harvey, M.A. 44, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.  
 1900 Stourton, Miss. South Gate, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth.  
 1893 Stubbs, Henry, M.A., J.P., D.L. Danby, Ballyshannon.  
 1908 Studholme, Lancelot Joseph Moore, B.A. (Oxon.), C.E. Ballyeighan, Birr.  
 1879 Swanson, William. 4A, Cliftonville-avenue, Belfast.  
 1901 Swanzy, Rev. Henry Biddall, M.A. Omeath Rectory, Newry, Co. Louth.  
 1912 Symes, Miss Eleanor. Mount Druid, Killiney, Co. Dublin.  
 1889 Synnott, Nicholas J., B.A. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law. Furness, Naas.
- 1912 Talbot, Rev. Robert, Rector of Ballycarney, Co. Wexford.  
 1890 Tarleton, Mrs. The Abbey, Killeigh, Tullamore.  
 1911 Taylor, Nathaniel, Solicitor. 35, Waterloo-road, Dublin.  
 1894 Telford, Rev. William H. Reston Free Church Manse, Berwickshire.  
 1908 Tempest, Harry G. Dundalgan Press, Dundalk.  
 1890 Tempest, William, J.P. Douglas-place, Dundalk.  
 1901 Tenison, Arthur Heron Ryan, F.R.I.B.A. 21, Great Peter-street, Westminster, London, S.W.; and Elm Dene, 32, Bath-road, Bedford Park, Chiswick, W.  
 1895 Thunder, Francis P. Grása Dá, Upper Drumeondra, Dublin.  
 1903 Tibbs, John Harding, B.A. Gortmore, Abbey-park, Londonderry.  
 1896 Tivy, Henry L., J.P. Barnstead, Blackrock, Cork.  
 1890 Toler-Aylward, Hector J. C., J.P., D.L. Shankill Castle, Whitehall, Co. Kilkenny.  
 1912 Toppin, Aubrey John. National Museum, Dublin.  
 1892 **TORRENS, Thomas Hughes**, J.P. Edenmore, Whiteabbey, Co. Antrim.  
 1895 Townshend, Thomas Courtney, B.A. (Dubl.). 23, South Frederick-street, Dublin.  
 1913 Townshend, Thomas L. 7, Palmerston-park, Dublin.  
 1883 Traill, William A., M.A., C.E. Giant's Causeway, Bushmills.  
 1891 Tresilian, Richard S. 9, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.  
 1897 Tuite, James. 14, Greville-street, Mullingar.  
 1906 Tuthill, Lieut.-Colonel Phineas B. Villiers-, R.A.M.C. The Slopes, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.  
 1911 Tuthill, Mrs. M. W. C. Villiers. The Slopes, Kingstown.  
 1904 Twigg, Thomas S. Rare-an-ilan, Coliemore-road, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.  
 1901 Twigge, R. W., F.S.A. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
- 1912 **UA CASAIDE, Seamus**, B.A. Board of Works, Dublin.  
 1904 **USSHER, Beverley Grant**, H. M. Inspector of Schools. 20, Glenmore-road, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- 1897 **VANSTON, George T. B.**, LL.D., K.C. Hildon Park, Terenure-road, Rathgar.
- 1907 Waddell, John J., Barrister-at-Law. 1, Bayswater-terrace, Sandycove, Co. Dublin.  
 1890 Waldron, The Right Hon. Laurence A., M.R.I.A. 10, Anglesea-street, Dublin.  
 1892 Walkington, Miss, M.A., LL.D. Edenvale, Strandtown, Co. Down.  
 1901 **WALL, Rev. Francis J.** St. Mary's, Haddington-road, Dublin.  
 1909 Wallace, Joseph, B.A. 9, Victoria-terrace, Limerick.  
 1911 Wallace, Rev. J. Craig. Raphoe.  
 1897 Wallace, Colonel Robert H., C.B. Myra Castle, Downpatrick.

- Elected
- 1913 Waller, James Hardress, M.I.C.E. Laska, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
- 1896 **WALSH, John Edward**, M.A. (Dubl.), Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Belville, Donnybrook.
- 1890 Walsh, Very Rev. James H., D.D., Dean of Christ Church. 47, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
- 1903 Walsh, Richard Walter, J.P. Williamstown House, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth.
- 1891 Walsh, Ven. Robert, D.D., Archdeacon of Dublin. St. Mary's Rectory, Donnybrook.
- 1890 \*Walsh, Thomas Arnold, Kilmallock.
- 1899 Walsh, V. J. Hussey-. 10, Avenue Marceau, Paris.
- 1899 \*Walshe, Richard D. 42, Bloomfield-avenue, S. C. R., Dublin.
- 1902 Ward, Edward. Ulster Bank, Dundalk.
- 1896 Ward, H. Somerset. Dunibert House, Balfron, N.B.
- 1906 Ward, Hon. Kathleen A. N. Beechwood, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
- 1905 Warren, Miss Edyth G. 1, Raglan-road, Dublin.
- 1905 Warren, Miss Mary Helen. 1, Raglan-road, Dublin.
- 1890 Webber, William Downes, J.P. Mitchelstown Castle, Co. Cork.
- 1909 Webster, Rev. Charles A., B.D. St. Michael's, Blackrock, Cork.
- 1898 Webster, William, Solicitor. 35A, Church-street, St. Helens.
- 1888 Welch, Robert John, M.R.I.A. 49, Lonsdale-street, Belfast.
- 1889 Weldrick, George (c/o R. H. Beauchamp, 5, Foster-place, Dublin).
- 1913 Wells, J. Barker. Epworth, Greystones, Co. Wicklow.
- 1905 Wells, Samuel W. 216, Beechcliffe, Keighley, Yorkshire.
- 1895 Wheeler, Francis C. P. 14, Fade-street, Dublin.
- 1889 White, James, L.R.C.P.S.E., J.P. Kilkenny.
- 1883 White, Colonel J. Grove, J.P., D.L. Kilbyrne, Doneraile, Co. Cork.
- 1911 White, Henry Bantry, M.A., M.A.I., I.S.O. Ballinguike, Donnybrook.
- 1896 **WHITE, Rev. Patrick W.**, B.A. Stonebridge Manse, Clones.
- 1896 **WHITE, Richard Blair**. Ashton Park, Monkstown.
- 1910 White, Samuel Robert Llewellyn, Lieutenant-Colonel 1st Leinster Regt. Scotch Rath, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
- 1901 Whitfield, George. Modreeny, Cloughjordan, Co. Tipperary.
- 1905 Whitton, Joseph, B.A., B.E. Board of Works Office, Enniskillen.
- 1902 Whitworth, Mrs. Blackrock, Dundalk.
- 1889 Wilkinson, Arthur B. Berkeley, B.E. Drombroe, Bantry, Co. Cork.
- 1902 Wilkinson, George, B.A. Ringlestown, Kilmessan, Co. Meath.
- 1900 Wilkinson, W. J. Newtown Park, Trim.
- 1888 Willcocks, Rev. Wm. Smyth, M.A., Canon. Dunleckney Glebe, Bagenals-town.
- 1868 Williams, Edward Wilmot, J.P., D.L. Herrington, Dorchester.
- 1894 \*\*Williams, Rev. Sterling de Courcy, M.A. Durrow Rectory, Tullamore.
- 1874 Williams, Mrs. W. Parkside, Wimbledon Common, London, S.W.
- 1899 Williamson, Rev. Charles Arthur, M.A. Ashampstead Vicarage, Reading, Berks.
- 1904 Wilson, Charles J., Barrister-at-Law. Derlamogue, Ailesbury-park, Dublin.
- 1907 Wilson, Charles Pilkington, Solicitor. Lismallon, Foxrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1887 Wilson, James Mackay, J.P., D.L. Currygrane, Edgeworthstown.
- 1911 \*Winder, Very Rev. T. E., M.A., Dean of Ossory. The Deanery, Kilkenny.
- 1872 Windisch, Professor Dr. Ernst, Hon. M.R.I.A. Universitäts Strasse 15, Leipzig.
- 1900 Wood, Herbert, B.A., M.R.I.A. 6, Clarinda-park, E., Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 Woodward, Rev. Alfred Sadleir, M.A. St. Mark's Vicarage, Ballysillan, Belfast.
- 1890 Woodward, Rev. George Otway, B.A. Rectory, Newcastle, Co. Down.
- 1907 Young, Rev. T. E., M.A. Aghold Rectory, Coolkenno, Co. Wicklow.
- 1890 **YOUNGE, Miss Katharine E.** Upper Oldtown, Rathdowney, Queen's County.



## ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Elected	
1913	Andrew. James. 69, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
1913	Bewley, Mrs. E. 89, Merrion-square, Dublin.
1913	Bewley, G. 89, Merrion-square, Dublin.
1913	Bruen, Mrs. Oak-park, Carlow.
1913	Craig, Francis B., M.R.I.A.I. Kenmare, Orwell Park, Rathgar.
1913	Dargan, Mrs. T. 45, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
1913	Darley Arthur Warren. 4, Palmerston-park, Dublin.
1913	Deane, Miss S. D. Longraigue, Foulksmills, Co. Wexford.
1913	Eustace, Major H. M. Munfier House, Ballycarney, Ferns.
1913	Gilfoyle, Mrs. A. T. Carroweullen House, Skreen, Co. Sligo.
1913	Harold-Barry, Philip, J.P. Ballyellis, Buttevant, Co. Cork.
1913	Healy, James. 16, Kenilworth-square, Dublin.
1913	Lawrence, Major George H. 26, Watling-street Road, Fullwood, Preston, Lancashire.
1913	M'Cleen, A. H. Blumenville, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
1913	M'Grane, Mrs. M. Grace-park House, Drumcondra.
1913	M'Knight, Edmund. Nevara, Temple Gardens, Dublin.
1913	M'Nally, Robert. Lifford, Co. Donegal.
1913	Maddock, Simon William. Mount Jerome House, Dublin.
1913	Moore, Mrs. Colles. 5, Herbert-road, Sandymount, Dublin.
1913	Nagle, Garrett, R.M. Fortwilliam, Belfast.
1913	Nicol, Robert. Provincial Bank, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin
1913	O'Brien, Michael. Mullnaburtlin N. S., Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh.
1913	O'Grady, Miss S. H. Aghamarter, Cork.
1913	Orr, Rev. John, B.D. St. John's Rectory, Sligo.
1913	Quiggan, Mrs. E. C. 88, Hartington-grove, Cambridge.
1913	Stokes, Frank. 60, Dawson-street, Dublin.
1913	Walker, Henry John, M.A., Solicitor. Athlone.
1913	Young, Miss Nora, Rathvarna, Chichester-park, Belfast.



Total number of Fellows, . . .	208	(Life and Hon. Fellows, 61.)
„ „ Members, . . .	776	(Life Members, 51).
„ „ Associate Members,	28	
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Total, 31st December, 1913, .	1012	

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N.B.—The Fellows and Members of the Society are requested to communicate to the Honorary Secretaries, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, changes of address, or other corrections in the foregoing lists which may be needed.

# SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH RECEIVE THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL

OF THE

## Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland FOR 1913.

- 
- Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique: c/o Monsieur Fernand Donnel, 45, Rue du Transvaal, Antwerp.
- American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.
- Antiquary (Editor of), 7, Paternoster-row, London, E.C.
- Architect, The (Editor of), Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Hill, London, W.C.
- Belfast Naturalists' Field Club: The Museum, Belfast.
- Bergens Musems, Bibliothek. The Librarian, Bergen.
- Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society: Rev. William Bazeley, M.A. Librarian, The Society's Library, Eastgate, Gloucester.
- British Archæological Association: Hon. Secretary, 15, Paternoster-row, London.
- British School at Rome: The Library, British School, Palazzo, Odescalchi, Rome.
- Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archæological Society: William Emery, Hon. Secretary, Eynesbury House, Eynesbury, St. Neots.
- Cambridge Antiquarian Society: Frank James Allen, M.D., 8, Halifax-road, Cambridge.
- Cambrian Archæological Association: c/o Canon Trevor Owen, M.A., F.S.A. Bodelwyddan Vicarage, Rhuddlan, North Wales.
- Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society: John Hewitt, Hon. Librarian, Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
- Det Kgl. norske Videnskabers. Selskab, Thronhjelm Norge.
- Folk Lore (Editor of), 270, Strand, London, W.C.
- Glasgow Archæological Society: A. H. Charteris. 19, St. Vincent-place, Glasgow.
- Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: The Secretary, Royal Institution, Colquitt-street, Liverpool.
- His Majesty's Private Library: The Librarian, Buckingham Palace, London.
- Irish Builder, Editor of: R. M. Butler, Esq., Dawson Chambers, Dawson-street, Dublin.
- Kent Archæological Society: The Hon. Secretary, Maidstone, Kent.
- Kildare (County) Archæological Society: c/o Lord Walter Fitz Gerald. Kilkea Castle, Magenny.
- Kungl Universitetet i Uppsala, Bibliotek. Ansel Anderson, Chief Librarian.
- Louth (County) Archæological Society: c/o Rev. James Quinn, C.C.. Cooley, Carlingford.
- National Library of Ireland, Kildare-street, Dublin.
- Numismatic Society: The Secretaries, 22, Albemarle-street, London, W.

- Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia: Hall of the Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.
- Numismatique et Archeologique du Musee National de Transylvanie, A. Kolozsvar (Hongrie).
- Palestine Exploration Fund (Secretary of), 2, Hinde-street, Manchester-square, London, W.
- Paris, Museum of St. Germain.
- Revue Celtique: Monsieur C. Professeur Vendryes, 85, Rue d'Assas, Paris.
- Royal Institute of British Architects: The Librarian, 9, Conduit-street, Hanover-square, London, W.
- Royal Institution of Cornwall: The Hon. Secretary, Museum, Truro, Cornwall.
- Royal Irish Academy: 19, Dawson-street, Dublin.
- Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: The Hon. Secretary, 19, Bloomsbury-square, London, W.C.
- Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 11, Rue Ravensten, Bruxelles.
- Société des Bollandistes, 14, Rue des Ursulines, Bruxelles.
- Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord: Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, London.
- Society of Antiquaries of London: The Assistant Secretary, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.
- Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: C. Hunter Blair, Librarian, The Black Gate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: Joseph Anderson, Esq., LL.D., National Museum of Antiquities, Queen-street, Edinburgh.
- Society of Architects, 28, Bedford-square, London, W.C.
- Smithsonian Institution: Washington, D.C., U.S.A., c/o Wm. Wesley, 28, Essex-street, Strand, London.
- Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society: H. St. George Gray, Taunton Castle, Taunton.
- Stockholm, Academy of Antiquities.
- Suffolk Institute of Archæology: H. R. Barker, The Librarian, Mayes Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Surrey Archæological Society: Hon. Secretaries, Castle Arch, Guildford.
- Sussex Archæological Society: Care of Hon. Librarian, The Castle, Lewes, Sussex.
- The Bodleian Library, Oxford (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- The Copyright Office, British Museum, London.
- The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 64, Chancery-lane, London, W.C.
- The Library, Trinity College, Dublin (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
- The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 50, Great Russell-street, London, W.C.
- The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, c/o Messrs. Henry Sotheran & Co., 140, Strand, London.
- The Thoresby Society, 10, Park-street, Leeds.
- The University Library, Cambridge (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society: The Secretary, Devizes.
- Yorkshire Archæological Society: E. K. Clark, Esq., Hon. Librarian, 10, Park-street, Leeds.

# STATUTES AND BY-LAWS

## OF THE

### ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

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#### OBJECTS.

1. The Society is instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments and Memorials of the Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with the Antiquities, Language, and Literature of Ireland.

#### CONSTITUTION.

2. The Society shall consist of—

FELLOWS,

HONORARY FELLOWS,

And MEMBERS elected on or before the Annual Meeting of 28th January, 1913, who shall be Members of the Body Corporate.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS may also be elected.

#### ADMISSION, PRIVILEGES, AND OBLIGATIONS OF FELLOWS, MEMBERS, AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

3. FELLOWS shall be elected at a General Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council, with the name of a Fellow or Member as proposer. Each Fellow shall pay an Entrance Fee of £2, and an Annual Subscription of £1, or a Life Composition of £14, which includes the Entrance Fee of £2.

4. HONORARY FELLOWS may be elected by the Society at the Annual General Meeting on the nomination of the Council.

5. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS shall be elected at a General Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council, with the name of a Fellow, Member, or Associate Member as proposer, and shall pay an annual Subscription of 10s.

6. The Entrance Fees and first Annual Subscriptions of Fellows and the first Annual Subscriptions of Associate Members must be paid either before or on notification of Election. Fellows and Associate Members failing to pay as aforesaid shall be reported at the next General Meeting, and their names removed from the list.

7. Any Fellow who has paid an Annual Subscription of £1 for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE FELLOW on payment of a sum of £8.

8. Any Member who has paid an Annual Subscription of 10s. for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE MEMBER on payment of £5.

9. Any Member who has paid his Life Composition, on being advanced to the rank of Fellow, may become a LIFE FELLOW by paying a sum of £7, which sum includes the Entrance Fee for Fellowship.

10. Any Member on the roll on the 28th January, 1913, who has paid his Subscription, and is eligible for election, may be elected as a Fellow, on the recommendation of the Council, without payment of any entrance fee.

11. All Subscriptions shall be payable in advance on the 1st day of January in each year, or on election. The Subscriptions of Fellows and Associate Members elected at the last Meeting of any year may be placed to their credit for the following year. The name of any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member whose Subscription is two years in arrear shall be read out at the Annual General Meeting, and published in the *Journal* of the Society, and the connexion of such person with the Society shall cease, but his liability for moneys due to the Society shall continue.

12. Fellows shall be entitled to receive the *Journal*, and all extra publications of the Society. Honorary Fellows, Members, and Associate Members shall be entitled to receive the *Journal*, and they may obtain the extra publications at a reduced price fixed by the Council.

13. Any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member whose Subscription for the year has not been paid is not entitled to the *Journal*; and any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid, and who receives the *Journal*, shall be held liable for the payment of the full published price of each part.

14. If any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member signifies, in writing, to the Honorary General Secretaries of the Society that he desires to withdraw from the Society, he shall, with the concurrence of the Council, and on payment of all arrears, if any, cease to be a Fellow, Member, or Associate Member of the Society.

15. Fellows and other Corporate Members whose Subscriptions for the current year have been paid shall alone have the right of voting at General Meetings of the Society. Associate Members have not the right of voting, and are not eligible to be elected as officers of the Society or Members of the Council.

#### THE OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

16. The Officers of the Society, who must be Fellows, shall consist of a President, four Vice-Presidents for each Province, one or more Honorary General Secretaries, and an Honorary Treasurer.

#### THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

17. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society, the Council, and all Standing Committees, at which he is present, and shall keep order and regulate the proceedings. He shall be *ex officio* a member of all Standing Committees, and he may at any time summon Extraordinary Meetings of the Council, and shall have a casting vote on all occasions.

On the resignation or death of the President during his term of office, the Council shall nominate a past President or Vice-President to act as President until the next Annual General Meeting.

The President is eligible for re-election at each Annual General Meeting, but no President shall hold office for more than four consecutive years.

The four senior or longest elected Vice-Presidents, one for each Province, shall retire each year by rotation, as may be determined by the Council, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the General Meeting at which they retire.

#### THE HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARIES.

18. The Honorary General Secretary or Secretaries shall be nominated by the Council for election at an Annual General Meeting, and shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Council and of all Standing Committees. They shall keep the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Society, and cause them to be correctly and legibly transcribed. They shall generally superintend the ordinary business of the Society. In case of a vacancy occurring in the office of Honorary General Secretaries during a year of office, the Council shall appoint a Fellow or Fellows to hold office until the next Annual General Meeting.

#### THE HONORARY TREASURER.

19. The Honorary Treasurer shall be nominated by the Council for election at an Annual General Meeting. He shall be *ex officio* a member of the Council and of all Standing Committees. He shall keep the accounts of the Society in proper books, provided for the purpose. He shall not make any payment (other than for current and petty expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall from time to time pay into the Society's Bankers all money received on its account, and shall invest money as directed by the Council. He shall be prepared to produce the accounts at any time if required by the Council, and shall submit the same personally to the auditor. In the case of a vacancy occurring in the office of Honorary Treasurer during a year of office, the Council shall appoint a Fellow to hold that office until the next Annual General Meeting.



## THE CORPORATE SEAL OF THE SOCIETY.

20. The Corporate Seal of the Society shall be in the joint custody of the President, Honorary Treasurer, and one of the Honorary General Secretaries for the time being, who shall affix it to documents on the authority of the Council.

21. The Corporate Seal of the Society shall not be affixed to any instrument for the sale or transfer of any of the Society's property, unless by vote of the Society on the recommendation of the Council.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENTS, OFFICERS,  
AND COUNCIL.

22. The Officers and Council shall be elected at an Annual General Meeting. The nominations must be received at the Rooms of the Society on or before the first day of January preceding the Annual General Meeting, addressed to the Hon. General Secretaries, and endorsed "Nomination of Officers" or "Nominations for Council." A meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of December, at which vacancies shall be declared. Each Nomination Paper must be signed by seven or more Fellows or Members as proposers; and in the case of a Candidate who has not held such office before, his Nomination Paper must be accompanied by an intimation under his hand that he will serve in that office if elected. In case the number of persons so nominated shall exceed the number of vacancies, a printed Balloting Paper, containing the names of all such Candidates arranged in alphabetical order, distinguishing those recommended by the Council, shall be sent by post to every Fellow and Member whose name is on the Roll of the Society, directed to the address entered on the Roll, at least one week before the day of election. Each person voting shall mark with a cross the name of the Candidate for whom he votes. The Voter shall return the Balloting Paper to the Hon. General Secretaries, on or before the day preceding the Election, in an addressed envelope (which will be supplied), closed, and marked *Balloting Paper*, and signed outside with the name of the Voter: the Balloting Paper itself must not be signed. In case a Voter signs the Balloting Paper, or votes for more Candidates than the number specified thereon, such Balloting Paper shall be rejected. The Balloting Papers shall be scrutinized on the day of election by at least two Scrutineers appointed by the Chairman, who shall report the result at the General Meeting held upon that day. The Hon. Treasurer shall furnish the Scrutineers with a List of the Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions have been paid up to the day preceding the Election, and who alone are qualified to vote at such Election. Those Candidates who obtain the greatest number of votes shall be declared elected, provided that, when there appears an equality of votes for two or more Candidates, the Candidate whose name has been longest on the books of the Society, shall be declared elected.

Existing Officers and Members of Council eligible for re-election may be nominated by the Council for election at the next Annual General Meeting. In case no nomination has been received for any or all of the vacancies for Officers and Members of Council, in the manner prescribed, such vacancies shall be filled up by election at the Annual General Meeting.

## THE COUNCIL.

23. The management of the business of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council. The Council shall consist of the President, Past Presidents, Vice-Presidents, the Honorary General Secretaries, and Honorary Treasurer, all of whom shall be *ex officio* Members thereof, and of sixteen Corporate Members, twelve of whom at least must be Fellows. The four senior or longest elected Members of the Council shall retire each year by rotation, as may be determined by the Council, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting at which they retire. In case of a vacancy occurring for a Member of Council during the year, the Council shall at its next Meeting co-opt a Fellow or Member, to retire by rotation. A Member of Council who has failed to attend four of the Meetings of the Council shall not be eligible for re-election at the next Annual General Meeting.

The Council shall meet on the last Tuesday of each month, or on such other days as they may deem necessary. Four Members of Council shall form a quorum.

24. The Council shall report to the Annual General Meeting the state of the Society's Funds, and other matters which may have come before them during the preceding year. They may appoint such Committees for dealing with special departments of the Society's work as they may think fit. They may nominate for election

at a General Meeting of the Society a paid Assistant to the Honorary General Secretaries and Honorary Treasurer. In the case of a vacancy occurring in the post of such Assistant, the Council may appoint a Temporary Assistant or Assistants until the next General Meeting.

#### AUDITOR.

25. The Accounts of the Society shall be audited by an Accountant nominated by the Council and approved by the Society, who shall report to the Council before the Annual General Meeting in each year.

#### HONORARY PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL SECRETARIES.

26. The Council may appoint Honorary Provincial Secretaries for each Province, and Honorary Local Secretaries throughout the country, whose duties shall be defined by the Council, and they shall report to the Council, at least once a year, on all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their districts, investigate Local History and Tradition, and give notice to the Council of all injury being inflicted, or about to be inflicted, on Monuments of Antiquity or on Ancient Memorials of the Dead, in order that the influence of the Society may be exerted for their preservation or restoration.

27. For the purpose of carrying out the arrangements in regard to the Meetings and Excursions to be held in the Provinces, the Honorary Provincial Secretaries may be summoned to attend the Meetings of Council. Honorary Secretaries of the County or Counties in which such Meetings are held may be similarly summoned.

#### MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

28. The Society shall meet at least four times in each year on such days as the Council shall determine, for the election of Fellows and Associate Members, for the reading and discussion of Papers on Historical and Archæological Subjects, for the exhibition of Objects of Antiquarian Interest, and for the transaction of other business of the Society. Excursions may be arranged when practicable.

Twelve Corporate Members shall form a quorum at a General Meeting.

29. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in Dublin in the month of January. The other Meetings shall be held in such places as the Council may recommend. Notice of such General Meetings shall be forwarded to each Fellow, Member, and Associate Member. Evening Meetings may be held at such times as shall be arranged by the Council.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

30. No Paper shall be read at any Meeting of the Society without the permission of the Council having previously been obtained. The Council shall determine the order in which Papers shall be read, and the time to be allowed for each. All Papers listed or Communications received shall, if accepted for publication, be the property of the Society. The Council shall determine whether, and to what extent, any Paper or Communication shall be published.

31. All matter concerning existing religious or political differences shall be excluded from the Papers to be read and the discussions held at the Meetings of the Society.

32. The Proceedings of the Society and the Papers read at the several Meetings, when approved of by the Council, shall be printed in the Journal. If the funds of the Society permit, extra publications may be printed.

#### GENERAL.

33. A proposal for the enactment of any new Rule, or for the alteration or repeal of any existing Rule, must be in the first instance submitted to the Council; the proposal to be signed by seven Fellows or Members, and forwarded to the Honorary General Secretaries. On such proposal being made, the Council shall lay the same before a General Meeting, with its opinion thereon; and such proposal shall not be ratified unless passed by a majority of the Fellows and Corporate Members present at such General Meeting.

All By-laws and Regulations dealing with the General Rules formerly made are hereby repealed.

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG,  
M. J. M'ENERY,

*Honorary General Secretaries.*

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES  
OF IRELAND  
FOR THE YEAR 1913

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART I, VOL. XLIII

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Papers

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THE MARSHAL PEDIGREE

By HAMILTON HALL, F.S.A.

[Read 26 NOVEMBER 1912]

THOUGH perhaps at first sight the best known of all the Anglo-Irish genealogies, still the origin of the Marshals is not as yet fully ascertained, and the coheirs of this great family, unquestioned representatives of the House of Dermot, are not easily followed through the tangle of their matrimonial alliances; it is indeed by no means improbable that some of these ladies may at times escape recognition under their often changing names. Passing here the male descent of the Clare earls of Pembroke, and the male line of the family of the Marshals of England and of Ireland, the attempt to set out the issue of the coheirs, to about the end of the thirteenth century more or less, raises many side-issues, and demonstrates the obscurity surrounding the earlier periods of sundry illustrious pedigrees; while abstaining as far as possible from irrelevant digressions, one may strive after precision in the matter of the main lines by assembling a sufficient corpus of pertinent dates. The following summary is therefore offered as an outline, to which other students can append more ample details in any required connexion.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The references are principally to the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* and to Roberts' *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*; other authorities are individually specified.

At the death of William Marshal the elder in May 1219<sup>1</sup> his eldest son and heir William II was nearing 30 years of age, and had married first Alice de Betune daughter of Baldwin third husband of Avice, called countess of Albemarle, and for the term of this union Baldwin is called earl of Albemarle by Hoveden.<sup>2</sup> William de Fortibus I the second husband of Avice, and similarly called earl, had died in 1195, having been father of her heir William de Fortibus II, really earl; and as Baldwin died only in 1212, whereas Alice is said to have been contracted to William at the age of about 5 or 6 years, she was presumably daughter of Avice, for the king assented to this contract 5 November 1203.<sup>3</sup> This marriage was celebrated about 1214 by some accounts, namely when Baldwin was some two years dead, and William the husband of Alice was about 23. Alice was dead by 12 April 1216, if not by 8 October 1215, when her manors are granted to William Earl of Albemarle.<sup>4</sup> William II was then a "rebel," as an early example of a useful precaution; while the father stood fast by the Crown, the heir was active on the other side, by way of securing as much as possible, whatever the upshot of the troubles; and in 1215 as one of the 25 "Magna Charta barons" he appears under the interesting style "Comes Mareschal junior."<sup>5</sup> Baldwin is usually said to have died s.p., possibly because Alice apparently his heir died shortly after her marriage without issue.

As Earl of Pembroke William II married secondly in 1226 the king's sister Eleanor daughter of John and Isabel of Angoulême. But of this marriage there was no issue; and the earl was dead 11 April 1231, when the constable of his castle of Kilkenny is apprised of the fact by letters patent;<sup>6</sup> though it is not till the following day that the king notifies the fact to the justiciary of Ireland<sup>7</sup> as appears by the Fine Rolls.

<sup>1</sup> His burial in the New Temple was on Ascension-day 16 May (xvij kal. Jun.) 1219 [*Historia Majora*, iii, 43]. It has been impossibly dated xvij kal. Apr. (16 March), and so appears in one text of the *Majora*, which was unfortunately reproduced by Dugdale. He had tested at Caversham writs etc. entered on the Fine Rolls during the months preceding, of which the latest is 8 April (Roberts, i, 30); and at Caversham he died within but a few weeks later.

<sup>2</sup> iv, 37; *Rolls Series*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Chart.* i, 112, 6. Hardy: whereby Baldwin granted to William Marshal the elder in free marriage with Alice, who was to marry William the younger (with a long string of contingent clauses), eight manors named, being "all his lands in England."

<sup>4</sup> Hardy, *Claus.* I, 230, b; 260, b.

<sup>5</sup> So Courthope, *sub* Pembroke, presumably quoting M. Paris (*Majora*, ii, 605). But the statement is not to be defended, and was written doubtless some years after the event, and after the death of William Marshal I. The same chronicler properly calls him "W. juvenis Marescallus" when the barons met at Stamford (*ibid.* 585). There is undoubtedly one example at least of "Comes W. Mar. junior," viz. in an account of the sheriff of Wilts for the manor of Mere (Hardy, *Claus.* I, 521a), but here again it is only as distinction from his late father, the account running from before to after the death of William Marshal I.

<sup>6</sup> *C.D.I.*, i, 1872.

<sup>7</sup> Roberts, i, 212.



The earl's death came speedily after the festivities attendant upon the re-marriage of his sister Isabel, and being utterly unexpected was attributed to poison, any suspicions to that purport being nowise hindered by his precipitate burial in the New Temple on 14 April. It is usual to find these accusations of poisoning discredited, especially by certain historians laudably determined to hope for the best of poor humanity, who have at least learned so much physiology as to know that a sudden death is at times a result of natural conditions, while not as yet aware that the symptoms described in these cases too frequently accord not with natural causes but with criminal interference as observable to-day, which any practitioner of medicine could tell them. The sane belief that this earl was poisoned attained such sufficient currency that next year it was one of the many charges brought against Hubert de Burgh.<sup>1</sup>

Eleanor the widow of William II was remarried 7 January 1237/8 to Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, slain at Evesham 4 August 1265. Before or by Trinity term 1251<sup>2</sup> the dower of Eleanor was by some process fixed at 600 marks per annum, paid by her brother the King, who demanded 200 marks thereof from Margaret countess of Lincoln the widow of earl Walter, as later; and the remaining 400 marks by one-fifths from each of the five coheirs.<sup>3</sup> In 44 Hen. III the said coheirs were mostly in arrears for a space of 12 years past, namely from the date of the partition of the estates, 1247.

William Marshal the younger was succeeded by his next brother Richard, and in the first days of August 1231 there is a memorandum on the fine rolls<sup>4</sup> that his relief is more fully entered on the *Close Rolls*; whereof the abstract<sup>5</sup> however gives no particulars, and repeats only that the King has taken Richard's fealty. On the evidence therefore seisin was not positively denied to him out of hand, namely on his return to England in August after his brother's death; but the measure of indefiniteness on the matter of his relief may persuade some that Matthew Paris is not materially in error that seisin was denied him, at least for a time.<sup>6</sup> Richard was already holding lands in Bucks late his father's by 8 December 1222, when the sheriff is directed that Richard is to have respite for the debts of his father etc.<sup>7</sup> On account of this earl's steady opposition to the Poitevins and to the pretensions of the infamous Peter des Roches bishop of Winchester, Richard was at Peter's instigation deprived of the marshalsy so far as mere words could deprive, and to the same extent outlawed in 1232. Up to Christmas of that year the marshal's office was being exercised by his

<sup>1</sup> *Wendover*, iii, 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Roberts*, i, 216.

<sup>2</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 3157.

<sup>5</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 637 seq. No. 640 is misdated 54 Hen. III.

<sup>6</sup> *Majors* iii, 204, 205; "salvo relevio consueto"—*Minors* ii, 334; "salvo relevio."

<sup>7</sup> *Roberts*, i, 97.



knight William de Rodune,<sup>1</sup> which deputy was then displaced at the desire of the said Peter. The earl's defence of his rights being in the main successful, he was never effectually deprived of his lands in England. In Ireland however under a peculiarly villainous scheme, hatched doubtless by Peter, though the obloquy of its execution lies mainly on Geoffrey de Marisco, the earl was at last assassinated, the result of a kind of battle waged against himself almost alone and lasting through the greater part of Saturday 1 April 1234, as graphically described by Wendover;<sup>2</sup> but surviving the injuries then inflicted, he was eventually murdered under guise of surgical treatment 16 April, in his own castle of Kilkenny, and buried next day in the oratory of the Friars Minors there. Since those of his own day were thus led by their bitter hatred for this defender of right and justice to these means for silencing his protests, we need not greatly marvel that on the destruction of that oratory the tombs there of the mighty dead were appropriated for conversion into swine-troughs by a community at least so far civilized as to feed their swine.

This earl died unmarried.

Gilbert Marshal the third brother succeeded and had livery, etc. 18 Hen. III, 1234. Some years previously he had married without the King's licence Maud de Lanvallei, accordingly their lands in Berks are to be taken into the king's hand Sep. 1230.<sup>3</sup> Maud however died no great while after, for in 1235 Gilbert married secondly Margaret, daughter of William the Lion king of Scotland and Ermengarde de Beaumont, sister of the reigning king Alexander II. Though commonly otherwise described, this Margaret was the divorced wife of Hubert de Burgh earl of Kent.<sup>4</sup> Hubert had married her as his fourth wife about midsummer 1221; but eleven years later, when he was under a cloud in August 1232, exception was taken to a "consanguinity" between Hubert and Margaret. If the fact of any consanguinity could be established, that might go far towards elucidating the somewhat obscure origin of Hubert; but it seems the real point was a remote canonical affinity, arising from the consanguinity between Margaret and Beatrix the second wife of Hubert and mother of his heir, these two ladies being second cousins, namely both great-grandchildren of William de Warenne II the son of Gundrada. The latest date when Margaret has been noticed as "wife" of Hubert is in or about September 1232 when she was at

<sup>1</sup> *Majora* iii, 240; *Minora* ii, 353; *Wendover* iii, 47.

<sup>2</sup> iii, 80-87.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, i, 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Annales Monastici* (Dunstaplia), iii, 128. She is there called third wife, and the cause alleged is—"super eo quod erat consanguinea secundæ uxoris suæ, scilicet comitissæ Glovernæ," thus ignoring Hubert's first wife. If this consanguinity were established, it would seem to lie in a common descent from Elizabeth of Vermandois, who was probably mother of Robert le Bossu, grandfather of Isabel Countess of Gloucester, and certainly mother of Ada de Warenne, grandmother of Margaret of Scotland: Isabel and Margaret were thus perhaps second cousins of the half-blood.

Bury St. Edmunds;<sup>1</sup> and it appears that she was soon after separated from him. She certainly survived Hubert, for as "Margaret countess of Kent" on 5 May 1243 her rights are reserved at the granting to John the heir of lands late Hubert his father's.<sup>2</sup> Her interests are not in terms called dower however, and the language of the fine accords better perhaps with some arrangement in the nature of a settlement on separation. It is plain that Margaret was separated from Hubert on some grounds, for he afterwards married fifthly Joan daughter of William de Vernon, (de Redvers) earl of Devon, if she was, as has been supposed, the widow of William Briwere II, who was lately dead 22 February 1232/3.<sup>3</sup> About October 1235 she [?] is called Joan Briwere in a writ of novel disseisin against her etc. by Roger de Langford etc. concerning tenements in Brawurth'.<sup>4</sup> This Joan held her dower of Briwere's lands till about 1237; and from that date apparently Hubert remained a widower till his death in 1243.<sup>5</sup>

The earl Gilbert was killed by his horse in a tournament at Ware, Herts, 27 June 1241, and buried next day in the Temple. On 29 June mandate issues to John de Monmouth to assume custody of the castles of Strigoyll, Usk, and Karelioun, since Gilbert "viam est universæ carnis ingressus."<sup>6</sup> He left no issue by either wife. Margaret his widow died in London 17 November 1244, and was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers.<sup>7</sup>

The next brother and heir was Walter, who obtained his livery on Sunday (before All Saints) 27 October; he had had respite 5 October 1241 for £100 debts of Gilbert his brother.<sup>8</sup> It appears that he married in the following year Margaret daughter and heir of Robert de Queney earl of Winchester by Avice (Hawise) sister of Randle (Blundevill) earl of Chester and Lincoln. Margaret was widow of John de Lacy, earl of

<sup>1</sup> *Wendover*, iii, 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 238.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts, i, 406.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 290.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Complete Peerage*, G. E. C. noted that Hubert's first wife was "Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert de Arsick"; whoever she was, she left no issue to survive. The second wife Beatrix de Wormegay was widow of Dodo Bardolf in or about 1209; she was married to Hubert soon after, and died about 1216. But G. E. C. reckoned as second wife Joan de Redvers, not as widow of Briwere but as married to Hubert in or before 1199: this date being derived from an entry on the fine roll of 1 John, which however, as cited, does not appear to prove more than that Hubert had bought the marriage of Joan, which he might sell at a profit, or give away, or enjoy in his own person assuming him free to marry. Precise evidence that Hubert did sell this Redvers marriage has not been found, nor evidence that Hubert did marry the widow of Briwere; but a Joan had Stoke in dower (Baker, *Northants*, ii, 239). Further, G. E. C. discredited the assertion that Isabel countess of Gloucester, repudiated by King John in 1199, and widow of Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1216, was wife of Hubert, as quoted from the annals of Dunstable above; he accordingly called Beatrix third wife, and Margaret of Scotland fourth wife, making no mention of her divorce. Record evidence in support of the chronicler's statement that the countess of Gloucester was wife of Hubert has similarly not been observed as yet, nor on the other hand any reason (apart from this weighty opinion) for doubting the accuracy of that statement.

<sup>6</sup> Roberts, i, 347.

<sup>7</sup> *Historia Majora*, iv, 396.

<sup>8</sup> Roberts, i, 355.

Lincoln by "gift" of the said Avice, his mother-in-law, such gift having been duly confirmed by the Crown, one of the most incomprehensible of all the comital abnormalities in this period of evolution, assuming the facts to have been more or less as described. John died 22 July 1240, and by 27 November 1242 Walter and Margaret his wife had respite concerning certain disputed scutages etc.<sup>1</sup> and they are to have seisin of the lands of Avice countess of Lincoln (her mother) 15 March 1242/3.<sup>2</sup> On 22 February 1245/6 Margaret again had respite in regard of the said scutages,<sup>3</sup> Walter being then dead without issue. He died at Goodrich castle 24 November 1245 and was buried at Tintern. By 27 January next his executors have purchased freedom to administer, etc.<sup>4</sup> A *Close Roll* entry of 26 March 1246 would indicate personalty in the county of Notts,<sup>5</sup> the sheriff there being commanded to permit administration; but on 3 December 1245 all the lands which were Walter Marshal's are to be taken into the King's hand, by mandates addressed to the sheriffs of Sussex, Dorset, Worcester, Oxon, Gloucester, Berks, Bucks, and Hereford;<sup>6</sup> together with his lands in Ireland, and his castles in Wales and Monmouth; till Anselm his brother and heir shall render his homage.<sup>7</sup>

Margaret, as widow of Walter, had to recover her dower in Ireland; it had been assigned within the portion of Maud de Fortibus,<sup>8</sup> one of the coheirs; but by an arrangement of 7 May, detailed 24 October 1252, she received her dower payments from William de Valence and Joan another of the coheirs.<sup>9</sup> Also as Margaret countess of Lincoln she had to contribute annually 200 marks to the dower of Eleanor the widow of her husband's eldest brother William II, as before noted.<sup>10</sup> She is called Margaret de Lasey (i.e. of Lincoln) 25 February 1253/4,<sup>11</sup> when it appears that some of Margaret's dower lands were of the inheritance of Maud de Lacy (i.e. of Meath) wife of Geoffrey de Gyenville, in regard that Maud's ancestor had held of the earl of Pembroke, not that Maud was herself a coheir of Marshal. Margaret was dead 8 March 1270/1<sup>12</sup> and manifestly then for some years past.

At the death of Walter 24 November 1245 his youngest brother Anselm was living, and he is usually reckoned among these earls of Pembroke. But he never had seisin of his brother's lands, and died at Strigul (Chepstow) castle on the nones (5) of December 1245, namely on the eleventh day after his brother's death, and was likewise buried at Tintern. He had married Maud daughter of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Essex (in right of his mother's descent from the Mandevilles) by Maud of Issoudun; but Anselm also died without issue. Maud his widow remarried Roger de Quency earl of Winchester (of whom further presently);

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, i, 390.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 396.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 448.

<sup>4</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 2807, 2808.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 2818.

<sup>6</sup> Roberts, i, 444.

<sup>7</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 2798.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 26, 30.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 29, 103, 185.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 699.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 336.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 896, 1096.



she died at Groby co. Leicr. 20 October 1252, and on 29 October mandate issues that her manor of Awre is to be taken into the King's hand. In Ireland she held the new and old vill of Kilkenny.<sup>1</sup>

Of the four ladies, all countess of Pembroke, only the countess of Kent was lately dead; and at the death of Anselm there were three dowagers surviving. His widow became countess of Winchester; Walter's widow was more generally known under her prior title as countess of Lincoln; and the widow of the eldest brother William Marshal junior, who had for some eight years past been countess of Leicester, is occasionally found on the records as countess of Pembroke and Leicester. None of them having borne any issue to their respective earls of Pembroke, the five sisters of Anselm became coheirs; but since Anselm had not received seisin of his lands nor any formal recognition of his earldom, these sisters were technically heirs of their brother Walter, and as such they are usually if not invariably found.

The coheirs, daughters of William Marshal the elder by Isabel de Clare, were named (in alphabetical order) Eve, Isabel, Joan, Maud and Sibyl. The seniority of these daughters was certainly not thus; but what the sequence of their nativity was cannot be called free from doubt. Modern writers vary considerably, and it seems unnecessary to discuss such variations, where no reasons are advanced in support of the sequence adopted. There is a passage in *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* where if the language is vague the sense has been thought indubitable, which gives the sequence hereinafter marked by Arabic figures; this passage reads:—

De[s] cinq filles direi apres  
Si comme els vindrent près a près  
Maheut ont nom la premiereine—*etc.* ll. 14915 seq.

the sequence being by this version (1) Maud, (2) Isabel, (3) Sibyl, (4) Eve, (5) Joan. That such was the sequence of their birth was not doubted by Mons. Paul Meyer, who abridged the text—"cinq filles dans l'ordre de leur naissance"—a comfortably definite statement, if the text would really carry it. On the other hand Maud was the first to be married, and only Joan was left unmarried at the death of their father; therefore manifestly this order may be the sequence of their marriages; perhaps the text does not preclude that interpretation; in the case of Sibyl the language positively supports it.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the first and the last do agree with the marriage-sequence, while of the middle one it is all but declared, cannot be thought without significance; it is far from impossible that this matrimonial order is what the composer actually intended to express; of language which different students will almost certainly interpret differently, one can

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, ii, 143; *C.D.I.* ii, 109, 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Puis dona li pères Seire, etc.*—l. 14937.

only be sure that the obscurity was either deliberate or inadvertent; that it was intentional is the more probable view; the motive being undiscovered, it can only be said here that the composer does not in terms say his sequence is the order of birth, though that is what he may have intended his verses to assert or to imply; equally he does not say this is the order of their marriages, though plainly of the first and last at least so much is positive. If the date of this work is accurately stated as *circa* 1225, when the eldest of these sisters was aged not more than about 35, the order of their birth was easily ascertainable, we may suppose; it might seem difficult to question such a first-hand statement of simple and unimportant fact, but that it is not in terms stated for a fact. Moreover we cannot be sure that the writer troubled to attain exact accuracy, even under the constraint of poetic fetters; if he began correctly with Maud, he might quite possibly lose the due sequence with the juniors, supposing him to know or care what it was. Manifestly here the poet may set them down simply as they "come to mind" "one after another."

That the poet did begin correctly with Maud seems to be very generally agreed, and he has the support of a record cited by Dr. Round from the close rolls,<sup>1</sup> wherein it is asserted that the marshalsy has been assigned to Maud *que habet esneciam hereditatis*. Such a statement is conclusive, unless contradicted by an inconsistent if equally conclusive assertion of like weight. It is well to be cautious here, for another contemporary record, equally to the point and much more comprehensive, is as mere matter of fact constructively in flat contradiction next year. This record is the *Chancery Miscellaneous Roll*, Hen. III, n° 320 (m. 3 dors.), as abstracted in the *C. D. I.*, ii, 933. Here the partition of the Irish lands is set out with great precision; this was the partition of the estates before the King, 9 May 1247; and here we find Maud, although she was then the only surviving daughter, is not named until fourth of the coheirs; moreover the *caput baroniae*, the castle of Kilkenny, is duly assigned to the first named of the coheirs, which here is Isabel. Further, in this record the shares of those coheirs who were then already represented again by coheirs are in each case duly assigned under the name of the senior parcener; it is exceedingly difficult to reject this sequence, with the necessarily involved assumption that a system properly followed in due legal form as to the lesser parts is ignored as to the principal parts; when moreover we see the *eisnecia* share, Kilkenny, is not here assigned to Maud, but to Isabel. If it must come to a choice between records which are in conflict, the verbal statement of the one is not of greater weight than the legal formality of the other, which has all the appearance of being strictly consistent in its parts, though it make no assertion in words upon a fact unnecessary to state, since it lies patent on the surface. On the other hand the close roll entry does assert Maud's *eisnecia*,

<sup>1</sup>New *Complete Peerage*, II, 611, note b, quoting Claus., 30 Hen. III, m. 7 (22 July, 1246).



though the statement is unnecessary; the essence of the matter was that Maud obtained the marshalsy; there was no need to advance any reason why she should be preferred to the representative of a sister, for her sisters themselves were all dead; therefore the alleged reason was possibly not the true reason, if the alleged seniority of Maud were also the fact. Assuming that the marshalsy ought to descend to the senior coheir, as this assertion would seem to recognize, then undoubtedly it is a difficulty that Richard earl of Gloucester, son of Isabel, and now over 24 years of age, was presumably well able to support his claim if his late mother Isabel had in truth been the eldest daughter, as indicated in the *Chancery Roll*; and on that it may be considered whether the main purpose were not to exclude him, and next if the simple fact that Maud was the sole survivor<sup>1</sup> were not seized upon as a convenient pretext for ignoring the seniority while affecting to observe it and while accomplishing the fact disregarding it. Lastly it must appear that those making the partition, of whom a part had been chosen by the executive, and a part by the heirs, can have had no common object in advancing any misstatement, or for departing from the proper sequence, if they did know facts it was their business to learn; and again that they could have had no common end in relegating the sole survivor Maud to the fourth place in the series, and to the least considerable of the Irish honours<sup>2</sup> (co. Carlow) unless they knew full well that there was her proper place, although for a year past the marshalsy had been in Victorian phrase "called out of abeyance" in her favour, irrespective altogether of whether that act were of grace or of policy.

Under the assumption that the close roll entry declaring Maud's eisinicia is correct in its fact, we must then suppose that these shares in Ireland were set out in their relative dignity, and that the coheirs "tossed for choice" or by some device among themselves evaded the sequence the mere ages of the sisters would dictate; if that seem rather a bolus to swallow, then alternatively we must assume that Isabel was really the eldest, and that Maud's alleged seniority is a terminological inexactitude,—and perhaps only the ultra-refined purists will boggle over such an assumption,—for it has never been suggested that Maud and Isabel were twins. Being at present in no position to advance any third record<sup>3</sup> in support of either sequence, these coheirs are hereinafter marked by Roman capitals in the sequence shown by this chancery roll; viz. :—[A] Isabel (2) : [B] Joan (5) : [C] Sibyl (3) : [D] Maud (1) :

<sup>1</sup> This fact is deemed to be the explanation of the phrase "Matilda countess of Warene and her parceners" on the Close Roll, as abstracted in *C. D. I.*, ii, 26.

<sup>2</sup> The lady placed last is Eve, to whose heirs is assigned an honour hardly recognizable but appertaining to the castle of Dunamase, amplified out to monetary equality of annual value by the scraps and trimmings from the other shares. The "elder" sisters' representatives obtained (a) Kilkenny, as above: (b) Wexford: (c) Kildare: and perhaps no one familiar with the state of Ireland in that period would for a moment think of ranking these honours in any other order.

<sup>3</sup> See however the reference cited *C. D. I.*, ii, 2186.

[E] Eve (4):—in order that the ladies may be indicated according to both theories. It will at once be observed that by either notation Isabel was older than Sibyl, who was older than Eve; it is easy to find conjectures why Joan should be last to marry, which are not conjectures as to her age. The presentment of Maud in the first position by *l'Histoire* is some twenty years or more before the marshals came to her, one must in candour admit; and only by invoking the long arm of coincidence therefore can we associate the later fact with an early marriage; both details being in strict accord are with infinitely greater probability explained by priority of birth. It is assuredly not impossible to imagine some compensatory adjustment as between English and Irish lands, and guessing is one of the industries upon which the unemployed can always fall back; but short of such speculations, Sibyl and Eve married better than Joan did, as well as sooner; Joan does rather look like the lame duck among these swans; it is perhaps not improbable that with fuller knowledge the actual sequence of birth may be found eventually as Maud, Isabel, Joan, Sibyl, Eve, if the sequence of the chancery roll *can* be shewn erroneous. Without any expression of opinion upon a point of fact only to be determined by more evidence, Maud's share is conveniently to be taken first here, simply because it returned to the Crown within sixty years of the partition.

[D] (1) MAUD: HONOUR OF CARLOW.

According to *l'Histoire*<sup>1</sup> Maud's marriage is to be fixed at a date shortly before Easter 1207; namely just before her father William was at last permitted to go to Ireland, which was early in 1207. In the *Complete Peerage* it was dated "about 1212." On the slight basis of the earlier date Maud's birth has been referred to about 1190; it is of course equally supposable that she was born in any other year before say 1200, nor by the dates of her issue is there any necessity to require a date earlier than 1200 by anything considerable; equally there is as yet nothing to indicate that she was not born as early as 1190; to her first husband she had borne three sons at the time of his death in 1224/5, and to her second husband she bore another son in 1235; it is far from sure that she did not bear to a third husband a daughter in the spring of 1248. In that case, of which later, it is certain that Maud was not born in 1190, if just possibly by 1200.

Maud's first husband was Hugh Bigod third earl of Norfolk, who had done homage for his father's lands 2 August 1221,<sup>2</sup> and was dead 18 February 1224/5, when Maud's dower is to be assigned.<sup>3</sup> Of this marriage no daughters are known; the sons were:—

(i) Roger fourth earl of Norfolk, afterwards Marshal of England. Alexander II king of Scots had bought the custody of this heir etc.;

<sup>1</sup> II. 13335-13353.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts, i, 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

as recited in a fine 29 October 1227 on the death of William Longespee etc;<sup>1</sup> and accordingly Roger was to be married to the king's sister Isabel 1 June the octave of the Trinity 1225, as appears by a fine of 20 May 1225.<sup>2</sup> He was then much under age and he died s. p. not long before 25 July 1270, when he was probably under 60 years old.

(ii) Hugh Bigod, the justiciar of England, who died about 1266, being dead by 7 November of that year, when his son and heir Roger (afterwards fifth earl) did homage for his lands.<sup>3</sup> It is not unusual to see Hugh's death referred to the battle of Lewes, though he is expressly named among those who fled thence at the last moment, and further is found assisting the efforts of the Queen in Flanders some months later. But it is perhaps likely his heir Roger was of age only in November 1266, and if his birth could be fixed to November or October 1245 it would then be possible to attain some measure of certainty as to his mother, of which further presently.

Hugh had been one of the executors of his mother Maud.<sup>4</sup>

(iii) Ralph Bigod third son of Maud was dead 28 July 1260, in the lifetime of both his brothers; there is great reason to suppose that he died without issue. This Ralph's wife was Bertha de Furnival, who was also his executrix.<sup>5</sup> Much of the wild confusion in the Bigod pedigree has been caused by heroic efforts to drag in under this Ralph issue of which he cannot have been the father, and other issue of which he cannot be shewn the father. The gentleman calling himself "Plantagenet" Harrison, who had his own views as to the representation of the blood of the Angevin kings of England, was firmly persuaded that Edward I was in truth the son of Roger fourth earl above; which he held to be a reason why Roger fifth earl should surrender his earldom, lands, and everything he had, to Edward I; not that the eccentric Mr. Harrison always knew which Roger he meant. In the generation of this Hugh the justiciar he is quite at variance with record facts, but at least he did not invent either the scandal or the confusion. The latter he seems to have taken from Milles' *Catalogue of Honour*;<sup>6</sup> that work, like sundry other quasi-original sources, is mainly in accord with, and doubtless based in some degree upon, a Tintern chronicle of which the chief genealogical portions are reproduced, errors and all, in the *Monasticon*.<sup>7</sup> Inasmuch as the Bigods acquired their interest in Tintern only by the marriage of this Maud, it might be thought that, as for her issue at least, this chronicle can be accepted, but in fact its statements cannot be contemporary, nor approximately so even, for it is in

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, i, 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 448.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 333.

<sup>6</sup> Fol. (1610), p. 504 etc.

<sup>7</sup> Edit. 1817—30 vol. v, p. 265 seq.

error on the descent of the earldom itself. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that all these early genealogies of Bigod are more or less erroneous, since they are constantly being reproduced, and so perpetuating misapprehensions, even as to these relatively clear parts of the Bigod pedigree, of which the twelfth century portion is chaotic.

When Roger the fourth earl died in 1270 his heir was Roger (fifth earl) his nephew the son and heir of Hugh the justiciar, and the king had taken the homage of Roger the heir for the lands late of Roger his uncle 25 July 1270.<sup>1</sup> It appears that Hugh the justiciar was thrice married. The first wife was Joan daughter of Robert Burnel; so Milles, as aforesaid, who is very positive that "his children were by Burnel's daughter."<sup>2</sup> If the heir possibly was so, which is quite doubtful, this is manifestly not true of all. The date of Hugh's marriage with "Burnel's daughter" has not been found; but by 1244 Hugh was married to another Joan, daughter and sole surviving heir of Nicholas de Stuteville; she was widow of Hugh Wake who was already dead 2 January 1241/2 when Joan his widow fines 10,000 marks for custody of the lands and marriage of (her son) the heir;<sup>3</sup> which heir was in custody of Joan and Hugh Bigod, 18 February 1247/8.<sup>4</sup> Dugdale cites the Pipe Roll of 29 Henry III (Yorks.) that Hugh was married to Joan (de Stuteville) by 1244;<sup>5</sup> and no earlier date has been found. It was suggested above that Roger the heir was possibly not born till the autumn of 1245, in which case he would plainly be the son of this second wife; and Dugdale cites Esc. 54 H iii, No. 25, that Roger was 25 at his succession in 1270, *ergo* born in or about 1245. In the *Complete Peerage* his birth is calculated to 1240, apparently on a statement that he was 66 at his death in December 1306. If the figures are correct, that was the year of his birth, obviously; but that he was in fact 66 may need some proving. If he were indeed born in 1240, it is not clear why he must wait till November 1266 for seisin of his father's lands. Hugh the justiciary has not been found alive later than 10 April 1266, by an entry of that date on the patent roll.<sup>6</sup> Joan's death is dated 1276; she was living 12 July 1264;<sup>7</sup> and one must confess failure to recognize "Hugo le Bigod et Margeria ux' ejus" who take a writ of novel disseisin under Somerset in January 1257/8.<sup>8</sup> She looks like a third "wife."

This Roger fifth earl married first Alina (often found Aliva in print) daughter of Philip Basset of Wycombe, and widow of Hugh le Dispenser who was slain at Evesham 4 August 1265. Roger had done homage for

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, ii, 519.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* So many copyists read this name Burnel that it may be assumed they find that misprint in some more accessible work.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, i, 364.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Baronage*, i, 135 a.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 580.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

<sup>8</sup> Roberts, ii, 269.



all the lands of Philip 3 December 1271,<sup>1</sup> but Alina dying without issue, Roger married second Alice daughter of John de Aveynes, in the year 1290.<sup>2</sup> By this wife likewise Roger had no issue, and dying 11 December 1306 his earldom, marshalsy, and estates, including the county of Carlow with its castles mostly in ruinous disrepair, passed to the King, by means of a surrender to that end which had been made in 1302.<sup>3</sup> It is usually stated that the heir was then John Bigod, brother of the earl, assumed to be own brother. The age of this John is given by Inquisition evidence as 40 years in 1306; which if a precise statement would imply that he was born in 1266, or near about. Since his father Hugh was certainly dead in 1266, that age may mean only that John must be at least so many years of age. If this 40 years was anywhere near the fact, then it is certain John was not son of Burnel's daughter. Though much has been written on the "disinheriting" of this John, and on the unconstitutional and invalid "surrender" of the earldom, and so forth, very little has been advanced as to the reason why John was thus excluded. But one should not overlook the possibility that the age given for John might be his exact age; and in that case there is the obvious indication that he was gravely suspected to be a bastard. Until John's legitimacy can be questioned on plainer grounds than a possibly haphazard statement as to his age, however, he must be still deemed legitimate as heretofore; and on that assumption it will follow that in his issue was continued the representation of Maud le Marshal and her first husband Hugh Bigod.

Maud's supposed daughter by Hugh le Bigod is a most interesting because elusive lady. Nothing definite has ever been found as yet upon her parentage; she is most obscurely called a sister of Ralph Bigod, which is an extremely oblique way of indicating her relation, if she were in fact sister to Hugh the justiciar and Roger fourth earl, Ralph's more famous brothers. But this oblique expression has the air of an attempt to escape the impossible assertion, frequently found, that she was daughter of Ralph, to which the answer is that she was certainly older than he or his brothers. This Isabel married first Walter de Lacy's son Gilbert, who was living 12 August, and dead v. p. 25 December 1230; and secondly John Fitz-Geoffrey the justiciar of Ireland, before 11 April 1234.<sup>4</sup> That Isabel may have been daughter of some as yet unknown Ralph Bigod cannot well be denied; that she was daughter of this Ralph and Berta de Furnival, as constantly asserted, is a chronological impossibility. The indication that she was of the line of the Marshals in some way arises from the fact that Connell was her "maritagium,"<sup>5</sup> and this was a Marshal manor. Notwithstanding many assertions on her parentage, no scrap of evidence, other than such as can be evolved by "emendation"

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, 554.

<sup>2</sup> Flor. Wig., ed. Thorpe, ii, 243.

<sup>3</sup> C. D. I., v, 54, etc., 617.

<sup>4</sup> Watson, *Genealogist* N. S. xxi, 1904.

<sup>5</sup> C. D. I. 1, 2121.



from the erroneous Bigod pedigrees of the before-noted chronicles, has ever been quoted; and the question who she was must remain open pending the discovery of good evidence directly to the point.<sup>1</sup> By the dates of her issue, she was born about if not actually in the year 1205.

Maud le Marshal was married to her second husband, before 13 October 1225<sup>2</sup> William earl Warenne, the son of Hamelin and Isabel de Warenne. William died 27 May 1240, when his heir, by Maud, was John earl of Surrey, then aged 5 years. Maud's dower as widow of William included *inter alia* Clayton, co. Sussex, which manor was to be taken into the king's hand 7 April 1248;<sup>3</sup> whereby it is clear that she was then lately dead. Within the period 1240–1248 however it is said that Maud married third Walter de Dunstanville, whom Milles calls "baron of Castlecote." By a chancery inquisition, Wilts, 54 Hen. III, no. 10, made at Castlecombe 8 February 1269/70 sir Walter de Dunstanville had died 14 January last leaving a daughter and heir Parnell who would be 22 on 22 February next, and was then wife of Robert de Montfort.<sup>4</sup> This Parnell was by this evidence born in February 1247/8, and without presuming to declare her a daughter of Maud, dead within six weeks later, one would be glad to know who was Parnell's mother. If this be a daughter of Maud, then it is quite impossible that Maud was the eldest daughter of William, and born in or anywhere near 1190. The representation of Maud and her second husband William passed by the said John earl of Surrey to the Fitz-Alans, and so through the Mowbrays to the Howards; and in the Mowbrays the descendants of Maud by her second marriage regained the marshalsy which her grandson by the first husband had surrendered to the Crown.

#### [A] (2) ISABEL: HONOUR OF KILKENNY.

Isabel is in sundry versions called third daughter of William Marshal the elder and Isabel de Clare; that she had her mother's name is obvious, but no indication of the year of her birth has been observed. She married first about or by the year 1217 Gilbert de Clare earl of Hertford and Gloucester, her third cousin. He died 25 October 1230, at a place called Penros in Brittany by divers authorities: "de partibus illis rediens,"

<sup>1</sup> It is much to be desired that the gift in free-marriage should be adequately examined as associated with the case of the bastard daughter. In the *Amicia* tracts Mainwaring, who devoutly if pardonably believed the charming dogma torn to rags by Mr. Round that "the law was always the same," made great play with the doctrine that such gift proved legitimacy; but he utterly failed to discredit the alleged bastardy of *Amicia*, which was his main purpose. To the non-legal intelligence it might appear from numerous specific cases a plain inference that the gift in free-marriage was expressly invented, on the contrary, in order to make a secure provision for the bastard daughter, albeit subsequently applied to the purpose of endowing the bride legitimately born.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Peerage*.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, ii, 31. Roger her son and heir has done homage, &c.—10 June 1248, *C. D. I.*, i, 2943.

<sup>4</sup> Wilts Inqq. *British Record Soc.*, p. 53.

according to Matthew Paris<sup>1</sup> and Hubert de Burgh fined 7000 marks for custody of his lands and marriage of his heir, 6 November 1230.<sup>2</sup> Their son and heir Richard Earl of Gloucester<sup>3</sup> was born 4 August 1222, and married first Margaret de Burgh. This Margaret was daughter of Hubert by his fourth wife Margaret of Scotland, as previously; we read that she had a sister "Magota of whom nothing further is known."<sup>4</sup> If Magota be no myth,<sup>5</sup> she was possibly spirited away; she and Margaret were apparently regarded with some jealousy by the Crown, and though the facts are by no means clear it seems this marriage was "clandestine" (by which we are to understand perhaps only that it was without the King's licence) and that Margaret was immediately taken from the earl, neither being ten years old, if the date of this marriage was perhaps but little before the fall of Hubert in 1232. The fate of Margaret is unknown; the only point suggestive that there were two daughters of Hubert with the same name may seem to lie in the detail that whereas Margaret (or Margeria) was still living in the summer of 1241,<sup>6</sup> nevertheless the earl married secondly 2 February 1237/8 Maud daughter of John de Lacy earl of Lincoln by Margaret daughter of Robert de Quency earl of Winton, Maud being thus step-daughter of Walter Marshal, Isabel's brother. The earl Richard dying in 1262 was buried 28 July at Tewkesbury. By Maud he left a son and heir Gilbert earl of Gloucester and Hertford, of full age 1 September 1264,<sup>7</sup> who married first Alice, otherwise Yolande, de Lusignan, from whom he was divorced 18 July 1271.<sup>8</sup> The earl Gilbert married secondly Joan of Acre, born the year after his divorce, daughter of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile. Joan's marriage was 2 May 1290<sup>9</sup>; she died 19 April 1307,<sup>9</sup> having remarried in 1296 Ralph de Monthermer, to whom she bore two sons, etc. The earl Gilbert, called the Red Earl, had died in 1295, leaving by Joan a son and heir Gilbert last earl of Gloucester and Hertford, whose age is called 18 years, 2 June and 29 May 1307, in inquisitions on the death of his mother, from which it would appear that he was born in May 1289;<sup>10</sup> but his age was 16 on 11 May 1307.<sup>11</sup> This earl was slain at Bannockburn,

<sup>1</sup> *Majora*, iii, 200.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts, i, 205.

<sup>3</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 140, 428, 471.

<sup>4</sup> Courthope, *sub* Kent.

<sup>5</sup> It seems this Magota is but Margot, the French diminutive for Margaret, and that there was but one daughter of this marriage to survive, the Margaret upon whom Hubert her father had settled the manor of Portslade, Sussex, probably at the time of his separation from her mother, and whereof she had been deprived upon the fall of Hubert in 1232; it was restored to her however by the King in 1234, on his reconciliation with Hubert 23 May that year, and she was still holding it in May and June 1241. Cf. Roberts, i, 342, 344, and *Flor. Wig.* (Thorpe), ii, 176.

<sup>6</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 750. The lands extended, *ibid.*, 1618.

<sup>7</sup> *Flor. Wig.* ii, 206:—This divorce, "apud Norwyciam celebratum."

<sup>8</sup> The continuator of Florence says however "ultimo die mensis Aprilis," *ibid.* ii, 242.

<sup>9</sup> *C. D. I.*, v, 653, seq.

<sup>10</sup> Wilts Inqq. *British Record Soc.* pp. 337, 339.

<sup>11</sup> Glouc. Inqq. *ibid.* pp. 73-89; in one of these the age is however 17.

24 June 1314,<sup>1</sup> and leaving no issue his three sisters were his heirs. These were :—

(i) Eleanor, wife (a) of Hugh Despenser the younger, by whom she left issue. Walsingham<sup>2</sup> says Hugh was hanged at Hereford on a gallows 50 feet high on a Monday (? 24 November) 1326, and with other details quotes an epigram, so fully explained that he might have written it himself, whereby appears the detail that whereas the beheading was done with a sword, the quartering was done with an axe. The representation of Eleanor passed by her descendant Isabel Despenser to the Nevills and Beauchamps, her issue of successive marriages with Richard earl of Worcester and Richard earl of Warwick being fully treated in the *New Complete Peerage*, under Abergavenny.<sup>3</sup> Eleanor was wife (b) of William Zouche “of Mortimer,” after 5 February 1327/8, who was dead 7 March 1336/7 ; of this marriage it appears there was no issue surviving. Eleanor died 30 June 1337.

(ii) Margaret, aged 22 in 1314, was wife (a) of Piers Gaveston, before 5 August 1309, when she is named with him in a charter settling on them etc. the earldom of Cornwall, previously granted to him 6 August 1307;<sup>3</sup> of this marriage there was issue apparently only one daughter surviving; Piers was taken at Scarborough, but seized and beheaded 19 June or 1 July 1312 at Warwick, by Guy earl of Warwick, whom Piers, in the day of his insolent prosperity, had unfortunately called the Black Dog of Arden. He was buried at the Friars Preachers Oxford, but 3 January 1314/5 the King translated the corpse of his familiar to Langley.<sup>4</sup> Margaret was wife (b) of Hugh de Audley, married at Windsor 28 April 1317 ; created earl of Gloucester 1337, who died 1347, Margaret having died in 1342, and their daughter and heir Margaret carried their representation to the issue by her husband Ralph earl of Stafford.

(iii) Elizabeth, married (a) John de Burgh son and heir of Richard (the red) earl of Ulster, which John died v. p. 18 June 1313, leaving their son William earl of Ulster, father of Elizabeth wife of Lionel duke of Clarence. Elizabeth de Clare married (b) as second wife, Wednesday 4 February 1315/6 at Bristol Theobald de Verdun II, who dying at his castle of Alton Staffs, Tuesday 27 July was buried S. Sequanus 19 September 1316 in the abbey of Croxden adjacent.<sup>5</sup> Of this marriage was an only daughter Isabel, born at Amesbury on S. Benedict. 10 Ed. II, to whom queen Isabel was godmother ; and thither Edward II likewise went to treat with his niece the lady Elizabeth of another marriage with one Roger Damory, thoughtfully taking that aspirant along with him.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walsingham, i, 140.

<sup>3</sup> Courthope, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> i, 185.

<sup>4</sup> Walsingham, i, 133, 143.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. Croxden*, Cott. *Faustina* B VI, fo. 80r.

<sup>6</sup> Proof of age of Isabel, *British Record Soc.*, Wilt. Inq., vol. iii, p. 71 :—This inq. twice calls the father of Isabel *Theobald de Fontibus*, the reason for which name has

This Isabel de Verdun married Henry Ferrers of Groby, and so her representation passed to Henry Grey duke of Suffolk, and his daughters the Lady Jane and her sisters. Elizabeth de Clare married (c) the said Roger d'Amory, by whom she had another daughter, Elizabeth, who married in 1336 John Bardolf, grandson of Hugh first baron by writ, who was great-grandson of Dodo and Beatrix aforesaid; the grandson of John and Elizabeth was Thomas lord Bardolf, attainted 1406. The lady Elizabeth de Clare died 4 November, 1360, having perpetuated her name by the foundation of Clare Hall Cambridge.

As widow of Gilbert earl of Hertford and Gloucester, Isabelle Marshal married secondly in the early days of April 1231<sup>1</sup> as first wife Richard earl of Cornwall afterwards king of the Romans second son of King John. To him she bore *inter alios* an only surviving son Henry, born in November 1235, knighted 27 May 1257 at his father's coronation, murdered at Viterbo by Guy de Montfort 1271. Isabel had died when this son was about 4 years old, and was buried 19 January 1239/40 at Berkhamstead S. Peter, Herts, before the birth of the said Guy, called Henry's "first cousin," *viz.* son of Eleanor the widow of Isabel's eldest brother William Marshal II. The issue of Isabel by her second marriage thus became extinct.

[B] (5) JOAN: HONOUR OF WEXFORD.

Joan is the only one of the coheirs who was given in marriage by her brother, not her father,<sup>2</sup> whence it arrives that she was not married before 1219. Her husband was Warin de Munchensi, of uncertain origin,<sup>3</sup> to whom she was not a first wife. Warin survived till 1255, when William was his son and heir; but Joan was dead 9 May 1247 at the partition of the Marshal estates, and her heir was her son John de Munchensi. This John was also dead s.p. by 20 June following,<sup>4</sup>

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escaped one's observation. Isabel was born 21 March 1316/7, the count being at Clarendon until after Easter, which was 3 April 1317. The inq. however was taken 20 March 1331/2; and from the language it might not unreasonably be supposed that S. Benedict 4 Dec. 1316 was the date indicated for Isabel's birth.

<sup>1</sup> *Majors*, iii, 201; *Wendover*, iii, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *l'Histoire*, II. 14947-54, where the poet goes out of his way to assure us Joan was *not* disparaged, but *was* provided with a rich and noble marriage: details it was manifestly needless to assert of her sister Isabel's marriage to the earl of Gloucester and Hertford, or in the case of Eve whose husband was not remarkably rich, nor an earl.

<sup>3</sup> In Mr. Round's *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* a "certain stranger" Hubert de Monte Canesil is a witness to n°. 582, one of a curious set of charters by Ferrers, this instrument professing to be dated 1141. It is hardly necessary to remark that the Ferrers pedigree is full of difficulties, some of which are caused less by lack of information than by superfluity of imposture. In this instrument the consideration is the weal of his soul, and his father's and his mother's, and most of all the release of a mark of silver, *rent etc.*, all not more dubious perhaps than the actual site of Montcanesil; this surname being usually Latinized de Monte Canisio, and sometimes Monte Cavino, or Calvino.

<sup>4</sup> Roberts ii, 14; *C. D. I.*, ii, 1109, 1330.



leaving as sole heir his sister Joan de Monchensi, wife of William de Valence, half-brother of Henry III. This William was in 1264 created earl of Pembroke, but he was already married to Joan 24 March 1248/9.<sup>1</sup> He was dead by midsummer 1296,<sup>2</sup> and is perhaps best known to-day by his magnificent tomb in Westminster abbey.

In respect of lands in Ireland, the inheritance of other her coheirs, William and Joan his wife rendered to the said other heirs an annual money payment in the nature of purchase for the said lands, and thus arises a measure of confusion at times between the lands descending directly to Joan and those descending originally to the said other coheirs, but thus held by Joan and her husband. William and Joan had pardon for their share of the dower of Eleanor the king's sister, *viz.* as widow of William Marshal II, together with arrears due, 2 July 1251.<sup>3</sup> At the death of William de Valence in 1296 his heir, and Joan's, was their son Aymer, who had married a coheir of Raoul de Clermont (de Néele) Constable of France, but died s.p. in 1323; and by inquisition at Gloucester 27 August 1324 Aymer's heirs were John de Hastings, his nephew, son of his deceased sister Isabel and John de Hastings; and his nieces Joan and Elizabeth, daughters of his deceased sister Joan and John Comyn of Badenoch: which Joan was wife of David de Strabolgi earl of Atholl, and her sister Elizabeth Comyn<sup>4</sup> was afterwards wife of Richard Talbot to whom she carried Goodrich castle; from them descended the earls of Shrewsbury. The representation of Joan countess of Atholl passed by her great-granddaughter Elizabeth de Strabolgi to *her* two daughters by Sir Henry Percy of Athol, both of whom were twice married and left issue. John de Hastings, the coheir of his uncle Aymer in 1324, died in the next year, and in 1339 his son and heir Lawrence Hastings was created earl of Pembroke. While still a minor *his* grandson John Hastings was slain in a tournament at Woodstock, 1391, and this earldom of Pembroke then became extinct; but the co-representation of Isabel de Valence remained among some at least of the Hastings claimants.

[C] (3) SIBYL: HONOUR OF KILDARE.

Sibyl, bearing the name of her ancestress Sibyl of Salisbury, was the third daughter by both these enumerations. At the time of the partition, 1247, she was dead, leaving her interest among her seven daughters and coheirs; but her share was not perhaps divided among them immediately after that partition, though it had been divided, it may seem, in the lifetime of the countess of Lincoln, but after Eleanor had become wife of Roger de Leyburne, as presently;<sup>5</sup> data which would fix the division to

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 2983.

<sup>2</sup> *Inq. p.m.* 21 June at Gloucester; and at Wexford 27 November 1296. *C.D.I.*, iv, 306.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, ii, 109.

<sup>4</sup> She was then aged 24, and her sister Joan was 30.

<sup>5</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 896, 1096.



not before July 1264. Sibyl had married William de Ferrers, afterwards earl Ferrers, or earl of Derby, best distinguished in that complicated pedigree as the son of king John's earl, who had obtained a "charter of restitution" 7 June 1199, and died at a great age 22 September 1247. Sibyl was thus dead before her husband succeeded to the earldom so established to his father, and her daughters were Agnes, Isabel, Maud, Sibyl, Eleanor, Joan, Agatha; this is not only the sequence in which the daughters constantly appear in legal proceedings among themselves, but is that in which all, with another, are named 28 June 1248 in the matter of the dower of Margaret countess of Lincoln, widow of their uncle Walter<sup>1</sup> as again, with two others, 26 August 1250.<sup>2</sup> After the death of Sibyl their mother, William Ferrers their father remarried Margaret, daughter of Roger de Quency earl of Winchester by his first wife Helen of Galloway; Roger's second wife was Anselm's widow, as before; and within a matter of six weeks after her death he married thirdly one of the daughters of Sibyl, as presently, who was now the stepdaughter of his own daughter Margaret; in short these widowers exchanged daughters so to express it; or from the daughters' point of view, each had married the father of her stepmother. In the absence of close attention to dates, such transactions are apt to confuse. Before noting the marriages of each of these daughters of Sibyl, it may be well to observe generally that William de Valence and Joan had entered into bargains resembling purchase of the shares of Isabel, Sibyl, and Joan; also that Eleanor though thrice married left no issue, and her share was eventually divided between Agnes, Maud, and Agatha. If the aforesaid Isabel, Sibyl, and Joan participated in that division, either in their own persons or otherwise, the fact does not seem to appear on the records, nor any reason why they did not in some manner participate.

(i) Agnes the eldest daughter of Sibyl was at the time of the partition wife of William son of Eustace de Vescy, by Margaret a bastard daughter of William the Lion king of Scots; accordingly the honour of Kildare is assigned to "William de Vescy and his parceners," he only being named, as husband of Sibyl's eldest coheir. William was dead 25 October 1253, when his lands are to be taken into the king's hand.<sup>3</sup> His son and heir was John de Vescy, heir apparent also of Agnes, but dead s.p. in his mother's lifetime, leaving a widow Isabel.<sup>4</sup> Agnes had dower in England in the manors of Meauton' and Langeton' co. York, and Tuggehole in Northumberland.<sup>5</sup> She held lands in Dorset of the inheritance of the earls of Pembroke,<sup>6</sup> and was dead 10 June 1290,<sup>7</sup> by which date her son William is her heir and has done homage for her lands 18 June 1290. He was appointed justiciar of Ireland 12 September 1290, from which

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 2949, 3066.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 3080.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, ii, 174.

<sup>4</sup> *C. D. I.*, iv, 365.

<sup>5</sup> Roberts ii, 181.

<sup>6</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 914.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 673, 691.

office he was removed by 4 June 1294.<sup>1</sup> William was dead 26 July 1297, and Isabel is to have her dower: it was assigned at Tughales aforesaid.<sup>2</sup> William had surrendered all his lands to the king before February 20, and had received in exchange a full pardon for all debts, 18 February 1297, and by 22 June 1297 he had had a regrant for the term of his life of the castle of Kildare etc.<sup>3</sup> the lands being extended after his death. These simple facts sufficiently refute the stories of William's declared duel and flight, invented to "explain" how the honour of Kildare came to the Fitz Gerald's in the person of John fitz-Thomas; the record of an assuredly queer business is that William was the plaintiff, and that John himself twice failed to appear.<sup>4</sup> This little discrepancy with record in the Kildare pedigree, added to the serious doubt who John fitz-Thomas really was,<sup>5</sup> and the borrowing for him from the Fitz-Maurice's of their great monkey legend, all suggest that much remains unexplained: and such impressions are not removed by observing how speedily William's regrant of Kildare was followed, within a month or closely, by his death. In respect of his grandmother Margaret, William was a competitor for the crown of Scotland; he left no issue surviving though he had had a son John de Vesey, whose wife was Clemence,<sup>6</sup> who had her dower at Sprowston.

The representation of Agnes thus failed.

(ii) Isabel the second daughter of Sibyl was at the time of the partition wife of Reynold<sup>7</sup> Mohun of Dunster: they were both living at Michaelmas 1255,<sup>8</sup> and it appears Reynold died in the following year. Isabel his widow had formerly been widow of Gilbert Basset: she was

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, iii. 768: iv. pp. 120, 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 426, 448, 889.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 865, 373, 374, 375, 414, 415.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 481.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 135, 137, 147.

<sup>6</sup> It is on divers grounds difficult to suppose that John fitz-Thomas (created earl of Kildare 14 May 1316, died 10 November following) was born at a date differing by much either way from 1255. That John fitz-Thomas who granted the church of Shanid &c. was apparently born about 1200 or so, and therefore cannot be this earl dying much over a century later. The earl, however, held Shanid it seems *cf.* Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, ii. 164, and if we are not to suppose "fitz-Thomas" a mere surname, it would appear necessary to assume a Thomas [? "fitz-John"], possibly son of the first John fitz-Thomas (Fitz-Maurice) and father of the earl. There seems to be no trace, however, of this hypothetical Thomas, and it may safely be affirmed that the earl's father is yet to seek. Concerning his mother there is similarly no kind of evidence: and it is thus impossible to conjecture even upon what grounds the honour of Kildare was granted to the future earl. That such grounds were either unknown or to be concealed, centuries ago, is sufficiently demonstrated by the invention of the "declined duel" story.

<sup>7</sup> *C. D. I.*, iv. 865.

<sup>8</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii. 5, 29, 184. This name is doubtless often rendered Reginald, but there seems no reason to suppose that name was in general use prior to the nineteenth century, nor indeed to think it different in any respect from such a barbarism as "Gulielm" would be for William, or "Carol" for Charles. It must be conceded, however, that seventeenth-century examples of "Reginald" can be cited.

<sup>9</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii. 471.

herself dead 11 November 1260,<sup>1</sup> and by a Wilts inquisition taken at Mildenhall 19 February 1260/1<sup>2</sup> it was found that Isabel held that manor in free marriage of the gift of sir William de Ferrers her father with other lands of the dower of sir Gilbert Basset, and that her heir was her son William son of Reynold Mohun, and aged 6 years. The marriage of Isabel's heirs was assigned to William la Zouche for 200 marks etc. 18 January 1261/2.<sup>3</sup> In respect of Isabel's Irish possessions William de Valence paid £30 per annum<sup>4</sup> 24 October 1252; and when he was in arrears in the sum of £45, 18 October 1259, she is described as Isabel Basset,<sup>5</sup> suggesting by that name that Gilbert was her second husband.

In the Irish calendar as abstracted there is a confusing error: it names "Reginald and Isabel his wife, John *their* son and Joan his wife," under the date 8 May 1252; this Joan being the sister of Isabel, as presently, and married to the said John by 1248; and in respect of his said wife Joan, John was acting in the lifetime of Isabel, not his mother as the same record alone would indicate, when 25 January 1252/3 he surrenders for himself and Joan, as likewise Reynold surrenders for himself and Isabel, to William de Valence and Joan, etc.<sup>6</sup>

William de Mohun, Isabel's heir, died at Ottery 25 August 1282;<sup>7</sup> and Beatrix his wife is to have her dower assigned. His heir was his son Reynold, under 6 years of age, and by this inquisition it appears that the manor of Mildenhall was not held by the Marshal heirs *in capite*, but of the heirs of Lungespee, who held of the abbot of Glastonbury, who held of the King.<sup>8</sup> Reynold was still living 12 December 1284, when his age was returned as 7 years,<sup>9</sup> but dead the following year, for in Trinity Term 1285 the daughters and heirs of William are Eleanor, Mary, and Margaret; and on 14 June the custody of William's lands in Ireland is granted to William de Oddingseles.<sup>10</sup> Of these coheirs Eleanor the eldest married John Carew, and so passed Ottery to that family for a generation, but her son and heir Nicholas died s. p. in 1324; Ottery being passed to his younger brother of the half-blood John Carew, who married another Margaret Mohun, of Dunster. Mary the second coheir was wife of Sir John Meriet; Margaret the youngest coheir died under age and without issue.<sup>11</sup> It is thus manifest that the representation of the blood of William de Mohun of Ottery, heir of Isabel the second daughter of Sibyl, must be confined to descendants of his daughter Mary (Meriet); she was born in 1282.

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 691.

<sup>2</sup> *Chan. Inq.*, 45 Henry III, No. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, ii, 365.

<sup>4</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 103, 139, 142, 145.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 628.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 29, 140, 142.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 1963, 2013, 2025.

<sup>8</sup> Wilts. Inq. *Brit. Rec. Soc.*, i, 141.

<sup>9</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 2324.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 54, 86.

<sup>11</sup> In his instructive paper on "The Origin of the Carews" (*Ancestor*, v, 44) Mr. Round has discussed the claim of sir Peter Carew to lands in Ireland, modestly assessed as half the kingdom of Cork.

(iii) Maud the third daughter of Sibyl was already called Matilda de Kyma, 28 June 1248.<sup>1</sup> But of which Kyme she was then widow has not been noted. Simon de Kyme was lately dead 28 August 1248, when his executors are to give security for his debts; and 20 October following William the brother and heir of Simon has done homage for Simon's lands.<sup>2</sup> Of this first marriage Maud had no issue.

Maud remarried William de Fortibus, otherwise William de Vivon, son and heir of Hugh de Vivon by a daughter of William Mallet.<sup>3</sup> This second husband was dead by May 1259, and Maud's quarentene is the manor of Shepton-Mallet, co. Somerset, his lands lying in Surrey, Somerset, and Dorset.<sup>4</sup> By 16 December 1261 her lands and goods are distrained because she has not surrendered the daughters and heirs of the said William, namely her own daughters, etc.<sup>5</sup>

Maud was again married by Michaelmas 1272 to "Emeric" de Rochechouart,<sup>6</sup> and under date [25 November] 1274 "Matilda wife of Emeric" and "Matilda de Kyme" as abstracted appear different persons, though they are the same Maud.<sup>7</sup> She is dead 24 October 1299, her four daughters being her heirs.<sup>8</sup> They were all by the second husband William de Fortibus, namely:—

(a) Joan de Vivon, eldest daughter, who claimed her purparty in the profits of the county of Kildare 6 October 1302, and was still claiming it Trinity term 1307.<sup>9</sup> Joan's marriage, if any, has not been observed.

(b) Cecilia, wife of John Beauchamp of Holt, co. Worc., who has licence 22 June 1301 to give all her tenements in Ireland, as well of her purparty as of those granted to her by Guy and Sibyl (next to follow), to Robert Beauchamp her son the King's "valettus"<sup>10</sup>; he however was dead 10 June 1304 when the said lands are to be restored to Cicely.<sup>11</sup> To her descendants, in England at least, is confined the representation of her mother Maud, the third daughter of Sibyl; but it is not unlikely that of Cicely's younger sisters the posterity may have been long continued.

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 2949.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts, ii, 39, 43.

<sup>3</sup> See Roberts, i, 109; ii, 71. This William de Fortibus (married to Maud by 26 August 1250, *C. D. I.*, i, 3080) is not to be confused with William de Fortibus III, earl of Albemarle, who died in 1256.

<sup>4</sup> Roberts, ii, 301.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 365.

<sup>6</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 935, etc. Roche. Chouart (Haute Vienne) in Poitou is 20 miles west of Limoges. Of the several Vicomtes Aymer contemporary with Maud's husband, see Moreri.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 1070.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 580, 670, 816.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 129, 660.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 816.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 315.



(c) Sybil, by 23 October 1299 was the wife of Guy de Rochechouart;<sup>1</sup> they granted the lands of her purparty to Cecily her sister, as above.

(d) A fourth daughter was already dead in her mother's lifetime, leaving an heir Aymer "de Archiaco," a minor at the death of Maud his grandmother, but of age by 31 October 1304, when he is to have seisin of his purparty.<sup>2</sup>

(iv) Sibyl the fourth daughter of Sibyl was wife of Frank de Bohun of Midhurst; they had married without licence, and 21 September 1247 William de Ferrers her father has terms for payment of £200, his fine for that transgression.<sup>3</sup> In the Irish calendars she appears by misprint or otherwise as Isabella, 10 February 1254/5.<sup>4</sup> They were both living 18 October 1259.<sup>5</sup> At Michaelmas 1257 Frank said he had no lands which had descended from the "earl marshal" in Ireland, nor in England any lands in exchange for such lands in Ireland; etc.; *i.e.* because Wm. de Valence etc. paid to Frank and Sibyl £30 (per an.) in respect of Sibyl's portion.<sup>6</sup> Frank died 14 September 1273;<sup>7</sup> and Sibyl was dead 3 March 1273/4 when John de Bohun her son and heir is to come to do homage for his lands on the king's return to England and John gives 30 marks for his Irish lands, and 20 marks for his English lands, that he may not be obliged to go to the king at present for his seisin.<sup>8</sup> John has licence 10 June 1280 to sell his lands held of the king in Ireland to John de Saunford; but such licence had been enrolled the previous year.<sup>9</sup> In Easter term 1277 Thomas de Bohun is named as a coheir in the rank of Sibyl, and would thus seem to be here either in error for John, or as John's attorney.<sup>10</sup> John died 28 September 1284, and 28 February 1284/5 Joan his widow, daughter and heir of Bartholomew de la Chapelle of Waltham, Lines., remaining in England has attorneys in Ireland.<sup>11</sup> Joan is amerced, etc. 6 October 1292<sup>12</sup> and she survived till 1327-8. John's heir was John de Bohun of Midhurst, still a minor and in the king's custody Easter 1289;<sup>13</sup> he has only a falcon gentle or one mark of rent in Ireland. His lands in Sussex are to be extended for purposes of dower of his mother Joan; he was still a minor 6 April 1295; and he was apparently dead 7 April 1296,<sup>14</sup> his next brother James de Bohun was son and heir of their father and a minor; he proved his age at Michaelmas 1302 and is to have seisin.<sup>15</sup> James also was dead 30 May

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, iv, 580.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 278, 363, 364. One Archiac is some 10 miles south of Cognac.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, ii, 19.

<sup>4</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 428.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 628.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 557, 628, *cf.* 103.

<sup>7</sup> *New Complete Peerage*, ii, 199.

<sup>8</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 998. Dallaway (*Arundel*, p. 22) miscalls John husband of Sibyl his mother.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 209, 293. Though John may have lived to attain his majority, 2 June 1296, he survived but little later.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 126, 137.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1683.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1333.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 23, 25, 31.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 500.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 54, 480, 481.



1306; inquisition, and custody of his lands, etc.;<sup>1</sup> he had married Joan younger daughter and coheir of sir William de Braose of Bramber; she is to have dower of all his lands 28 May 1307;<sup>2</sup> their son and heir was Sir John de Bohun of Midhurst, first baron by writ (1363, etc.), born 14 November 1301.

(v) Eleanor the fifth daughter of Sibyl was wife of William de Vaux, (Vallibus) who had married her without licence, and was fined accordingly in the sum of 200 marks, July 1247.<sup>3</sup> He was dead by 9 May 1251,<sup>4</sup> and 5 December 1252 Eleanor had no lands to be seized, and for 80 marks balance of the said fine John his brother and heir has terms.<sup>5</sup> Eleanor remarried Roger de Quency earl of Winchester, formerly husband of Maud widow of Anselm youngest brother of Sibyl mother of Eleanor, which Roger by Maud was father of Margaret second wife of William de Ferrers, and so stepmother of Eleanor. Roger had married Eleanor without licence, and fines 300 marks accordingly, but by the king's grace is quit on payment of five marks of gold (= 50 marks), Hilary term 1252/3.<sup>6</sup> Roger dying without male issue all his goods and chattels are to be seized etc. by reason of the debts in which he is bound to the king, etc., 5 July 1264; and 9 November following Eleanor is to have her dower in the manor of Stivinton, etc.<sup>7</sup> Eleanor soon after married third Roger de Leyburne; he was dead 7 November 1271, and Eleanor countess of Winton is his widow, etc.<sup>8</sup> Eleanor is frequently called also Eleanor "de Vallibus" after Roger de Leyburne's death. She was still living in Michaelmas term 1274, but dead 25 November that year, and leaving no issue by any of her husbands her share in the honour of Kildare "descended to Matilda, Agatha, and Agnes" her sisters.<sup>9</sup>

(vi) Joan the sixth daughter of Sibyl was by 1248 the wife of John de Mohun, son of the aforesaid Reynold by his first wife "Hawys Fleming."<sup>10</sup> John was dead 10 February 1254/5.<sup>11</sup> William de Valence and Joan his wife had agreed to render to John and Joan £30 per annum for their interest in the manors of Ferns and Odogh, 24 October 1252.<sup>12</sup> That payment was to be continued 18 October 1259<sup>13</sup> to Joan and her second husband sir Robert Aguilon, to whom she was remarried by 12 November 1258.<sup>14</sup> Joan was still living 3 November 1267, but died about Michaelmas 1268;<sup>15</sup> and by 12 June 1269 Robert had remarried Margaret widow of Baldwin (de Redvers) earl of Devon and daughter

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, v, 530, 534, 649.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 654.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, ii, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 3132.

<sup>5</sup> Roberts, ii, 146, 160.

<sup>10</sup> See Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Dunster*, for corrections of the Mohun pedigree.

<sup>11</sup> *C. D. I.*, i, 2949; ii, 428, 471. He had died in Gascony.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 103.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 628.

<sup>6</sup> Roberts, ii, 149: *C. D. I.*, ii, 428, 471.

<sup>7</sup> Roberts, ii, 410, 416

<sup>8</sup> Roberts ii, 553.

<sup>9</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 1043, 1070, 1096; 935.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 604, 831.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 850, 851.

of Thomas count of Savoy by Margaret of Foucigny.<sup>1</sup> By John de Mohun Joan had issue, John, who succeeded his grandfather Reynold, had livery in 1269 and died 1279; leaving issue a third John, who had livery in 1290, and summons to parliament in 1299. He was father of a fourth John, who died in 1322, father of a fifth John and of the aforementioned Margaret Mohun of Dunster, wife of John Carew. The fifth John, K.G., had only one daughter leaving issue; her son was Richard Strange of Knockyn, whose granddaughter Joanna wife of George Stanley passed the representation of Joan Ferrers and John to her son Thomas Stanley second earl of Derby. Joan also left issue by her second husband Robert Aguillon. He was dead in Trinity term 1286, and James de Mohun his executor has sold all Robert's goods and chattels at the manor of Berton in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Joan was mother of Robert's heir Isabel, aged 28 in 20 Ed. I, *i.e.* born *circa* 1263, and married by 1282 to Hugh first lord Bardolf by writ, which Isabel left issue of that marriage and died in 1323.

(vii.) Agatha the seventh and youngest daughter of Sibyl was unmarried and in the king's custody in 1248.<sup>3</sup> She was "adjudged of full age" by 12 June 1250 when she is to have seisin, &c.; but she is still in the king's custody 26 August and 4 February 1250/1, when Ralph Fitz-Nicholas is her guardian, as still two years later in Hilary, 1252/3.<sup>4</sup> Also in July 1253 Eudo la Zouche gives 150 marks to the king for the marriage of Agatha daughter of William earl Ferrers if the said earl will consent.<sup>5</sup> She is still called Agatha Ferrers 10 February 1254/5<sup>6</sup>, but by Michaelmas 1255 she was wife of Hugh Mortimer of Salop,<sup>7</sup> a younger son of Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore and Gladys Dhu. Hugh and Agatha have a pardon etc., 26 October 1266 in consideration of a horse they had sent to the king etc., at the siege of Kenilworth.<sup>8</sup> Hugh is living 4 July 1271<sup>9</sup> and Agatha survived till the year 1306. Henry Mortimer was her son and heir and aged 30+, 12 June 1306.<sup>10</sup> Her younger son Hugh Mortimer had been her attorney in 1200.<sup>11</sup>

[E] (4) EVE: HONOUR of DUNAMASE.

It is fairly clear that Eve was the youngest born of the surviving daughters of William Marshal the elder and Isabel; equally that she

<sup>1</sup> This Margaret the daughter is called countess of Kyburg (12 miles N.E. of Zurich) as widow of Hermann count of Kibourg, landgrave of Alsace. (*Cf.* Moreri *sub Savoye*). Margaret was widow of Baldwin, who died s.p. in 1262 (*cf.* Roberts, ii, 381). According to Moreri Margaret was dead in 1283, and her younger sister "Avoye" was the countess of Devon.

<sup>2</sup> *C. D. I.*, iii, 245, 246.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 2949.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 3063, 3080; ii, 140.

<sup>5</sup> Roberts, ii, 166.

<sup>6</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 428.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 471, 641.

<sup>8</sup> Roberts, ii, 447.

<sup>9</sup> *C. D. I.*, v, 538.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 888, 896, 904.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 687, etc.

bore the name of Dermot's daughter her maternal grandmother. In the partition of 9 May 1247 her representatives were to have for their portion the castle and town of Dunmas, now Dunamase in Queen's County, and it appears that the barony of Offaly (in King's County) twelve knights' fees, was also of her share.<sup>1</sup> This honour was the least valuable, and was brought up to the average by the inclusion of trimmings from the more important shares; though it is assigned as the burgh of Dunmas, in the subdivision of this honour the *caput* of Eve's *baronium* appears to have been the castle of Legh' (Lea, Queen's County).<sup>2</sup> The patent fact that this Dunamase share was the least considerable makes it difficult to doubt that it was the share of the last coheir; and thus greatly strengthens the proposition that the sequence of the daughters in *l'Histoire* is that of their marriages, not of their births. Eve herself was dead at the time of the partition, having died in 1246; she was buried under a stone effigy in the church of Abergavenny, still in good preservation, though her squirrel has long been broken away from her left hand.

Eve's husband was William de Braose, son of "Reginald" (for whose lands he had done homage 13 July 1228)<sup>3</sup> by his first wife Grace (de Briwere); he is the William who was hanged in 1230 by Llewellyn ap Jorwerth the father of his stepmother Gladys Dhu; by most accounts because Llewellyn had taken William in adultery with his wife, but with which of his several wives is by no means clear. Assuming the adultery to be either a fact or a pretext however, William was not captured in the act, if we are to take as it stands one of the many accusations against Hubert de Burgh, namely that he had "betrayed" William to Llewellyn, "by letters" according to Wendover,<sup>4</sup> such letters, if any, being far more probably one of the resourceful measures of that moralist Peter Bishop of Winchester, who did not shirk the publicity incident to his advancement of his own bastard Peter of Rivaulx. By Eve William left three daughters and heirs; Maud, Eve, and Eleanor; they were minors in the King's custody 12 November 1234.<sup>5</sup> In divers pedigrees other daughters are assigned to William, but there is no precise evidence that they existed; of these one frequently recurring is Isabel, called eldest daughter and wife of David ap Llewellyn ap Jorwerth, who was however doubtless the daughter of some other William.<sup>6</sup> Bridgeman found a fifth coheir, equally unknown to records.

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 866, 867, 868, 970, 1039.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 970.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts, i, 174.

<sup>4</sup> iii, 33; and *Majora* iii, 222; but "in adulterio deprehensus" *ibid.*, 194.

<sup>5</sup> Roberts, i, 267.

<sup>6</sup> See generally Elwes, *Genealogist*, vol. iv, 1880, etc. Nevertheless Isabel, wife of David, is inferentially called daughter of *this* William (*Majora* iv, 385) namely, as entitled, according to the Welsh claim, against Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford (father of the husband of Eleanor) "eo quod tertiam partem tertie sororis David maritatæ non concessit"; where if the contention were just, and Isabel also legitimate, one would expect to find "quartam" not "tertiam," a detail the

(i.) Maud the eldest daughter of Eve was married by May 1247 to Roger Mortimer of Wigmore; and the burgh of Dunmas etc. is accordingly assigned in the partition to "Roger Mortimer and his parceners."<sup>1</sup> This Roger was eldest brother of Hugh Mortimer, who sent the horse to Kenilworth as aforesaid, husband of Agatha Ferrers. In connexion with the bitter animosity shewn by the Mortimers to Simon de Montfort, there is a point which has not yet received any attention, much less solution. Among the brutalities after Evesham, the hands of the mutilated earl were sent to this Maud at Wigmore. That main fact seems to be true, however grossly overlaid with improbabilities of detail, not to mention metaphysical fantasies and absurd impossibilities. But we are to recognize that these savage and disgusting acts always had a definite meaning, and a "humorous appropriateness," to adopt the view then obtaining; as witness, sixty years later, the grossest of all such acts in the murder of the pæderastic Edward II. The meaning conveyed by sending to Maud the *hands* of Simon may be unknown now, but it is absurd to doubt it was intelligible then not only to Maud herself, but probably also to those recording the circumstance; and since with the hands went other *membra* also, it is manifest that the meaning was in some aspect matrimonial. With this may be taken two other details, no less dubious in themselves than incongruous here. Simon de Montfort was accused, perhaps quite unjustly, of obtaining the king's sister in marriage by previous seduction. The Wellesborne "Montforts" are usually thought to have no basis for their claim to descend from a son of Simon, and those instruments by which Richard de Wellesborne, not de Montfort, calls himself son of earl Simon are perhaps properly deemed spurious. But if these claims are not wholly baseless, then it is perhaps not impossible that Richard was a son of Simon and of Maud de Braose; and that Maud, whether seduced or not, was abandoned by Simon that he might marry Eleanor. Without presuming to assert that these diverse beads may all be threaded on the same string, it is permissible to hope they may admit of better setting by those who can explain the virulent hostility of the Mortimers, and the unusual mutilation of the earl, and the point at which Maud in particular is drawn into the matter.

Roger Mortimer was dead about 27 August 1282, leaving with other issue Edmund Mortimer, born apparently about 1260, eldest surviving son and heir, who died 7 August 1304, leaving by Margaret Fiennes with other issue Roger his son and heir, then aged 17, who was created earl of March 9 November 1328, and hanged at Smithfield 29 November 1330, leaving issue. Inquisition on the death of Maud 21 April 1301

explanation whereof appears by no means clear. The castle of Haverford and 68*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* of land in Haverford were assigned as the portion of ( ), the wife of D[avid] ap Llewellyn, formerly prince of North Wales.

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 933, 970.



found Edmund her son and heir and aged 30+ (*viz.* about 40)<sup>1</sup> and though she is therein called Maud de Mortimer, it appears she had remarried sir John de Brampton, by whom however she had no issue.

(ii) Eve the second daughter of Eve was wife by 15 February 1247/8 of William de Cantilupe, *anglice* Cantelow,<sup>2</sup> who died in September 1254. Their son and heir George, born 29 March 1252, had done his fealty 1 May 1273, and died 18 October following.<sup>3</sup> By contract ratified 1 September 1254 he had married Margaret de Lacy daughter of Edmund earl of Lincoln,<sup>4</sup> and leaving no issue his heirs were his two sisters. Of these the elder was yet again Eve, oftener Joan however, who had died in 1255, wife of Henry de Hastings who had died in 1268. In 1273 their son and heir John de Hastings was coheir of George, and in right of his mother acquired the barony of Abergavenny. John was born 6 May 1262, and was dead 28 February 1312/3 having married Isabel de Valence, by whom he had John, father of Lawrence earl of Pembroke as aforesaid. The younger sister of George was Milicent, who by 18 October 1273 was wife of Eudo la Zouche;<sup>5</sup> by whom she had a son and heir William la Zouche, who had done his homage as son and heir of Milicent de Montalt 18 March 1298/9,<sup>6</sup> by which date therefore Milicent was dead. Eudo his father was living 28 April 1279, but by 25 May 1280<sup>7</sup> Milicent his widow had remarried John de Montalt, who was living 17 Ed. I.<sup>8</sup> Milicent's heir William was aged 22 in 1298/9; he had summons to parliament in 1308, "creating" a barony, Zouche of Haryngworth, which fell into abeyance in 1625.

(iii) Eleanor the third and youngest daughter of Eve was wife of Humphrey de Bohun son and heir while he lived of Humphrey earl of Hereford and Essex, and brother of Maud the wife first of Anselm Marshal aforesaid and after of Roger earl of Winchester aforesaid. In right of Eleanor Humphrey the son acquired the lordship of Brecknock, and died at Beeston castle Cheshire 27 October 1265. By some accounts Humphrey is included among the slain at Evesham, 4 August preceding, and it is possible his death resulted from injuries there received. Eve had fined 800 marks for the custody and marriage of her daughter Eleanor, of which sum 650 marks was unpaid 30 January 1241/2 when the Earl of Hereford and Essex, Eleanor's father-in-law, has terms for

<sup>1</sup> *Chan. Inq.* 29 Ed. I, n<sup>o</sup>. 53. Extent of her share, *C. D. I.*, ii, 2028.

<sup>2</sup> One place named Chanteloup is in Manche (see Round, *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*), and it appears, from the names of ecclesiastics in Moreri's *Dictionary*, that there was a village so called somewhere in the diocese of Bordeaux.

<sup>3</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 956, 985, 987.

<sup>4</sup> *New Complete Peerage*, i, 23.

<sup>5</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 1008.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 54, iv, 599.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 1554, 1659.

<sup>8</sup> Helsby's *Ormerod*, i, 58. It is not unusual to see John de Montalt called *first* husband of Milicent.

the payment of that balance.<sup>1</sup> Eleanor was dead 10 February 1254/5,<sup>2</sup> and her son and heir Humphrey de Bohun succeeded his grandfather in 1274 as earl of Hereford and Essex and Lord High Constable, and died 31 December 1298. The representation of this earl ultimately devolved upon his grandson, grandson also of Edward I, William de Bohun, created earl of Northampton 16 March 1336/7, whose son and heir Humphrey earl of Hereford and Essex and Northampton left two daughters and coheirs at his death in 1372. Of these the elder was Eleanor wife of Thomas duke of Gloucester, whose representation passed to her descendants the Staffords, earls of Stafford; and Mary the younger was wife of Henry, son of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, who ascended the throne as Henry IV. Her eldest son was Henry V: her fourth son, Humphrey, created duke of Gloucester 16 May 1414, was at the same time created earl of Pembroke: this was the fourth, perhaps more accurately the fifth, creation to this chequered dignity. Though it has been revived on yet other five occasions, the later beneficiaries, while more or less remotely allied to Henry VIII, have not been recognized as among those by blood entitled to quarter the arms<sup>3</sup> of the illustrious Marshals.

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<sup>1</sup> Roberts, i, 367.

<sup>2</sup> *C. D. I.*, ii, 428.

<sup>3</sup> Party per pale or and vert a lion rampant gules.

## THE EARLDOM OF ULSTER

PART I.—INTRODUCTORY TO THE INQUISITIONS OF 1333

By GODDARD H. ORPEN

[Read 26 NOVEMBER 1912]

IN succeeding papers I hope to give full abstracts of the inquisitions taken in 1333, after the murder of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, concerning the lands held by him at his death in Ulster, and in some outlying districts. Abstracts of the Inquisitions taken about the same time concerning his lands in Connacht have already been given in the pages of this *Journal* by Mr. H. T. Knox, together with his comments thereon.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Knox, indeed, had procured from the Public Record Office, London, complete transcripts of all the De Burgh inquisitions touching Irish lands; but not feeling able through ill-health to continue the work of editing them, he has handed over these transcripts to me, together with some useful notes thereon, and thus it has fallen to my lot to complete his work.<sup>2</sup>

These inquisitions were taken eighteen years after Edward and Robert Bruce had begun to deal a series of staggering blows to English power in Ireland, and at a time when the restraining arm of the earldom had recently waxed weak, and then altogether disappeared, so that in many places the picture presented by the inquisitions is one of the waste and ruin of what had been a promising civilization. To connect this picture with what had preceded it, and indeed to properly appreciate the import of many of its details, it is necessary to bear in mind the broad outline of the history of the province from the time of John de Courcy. Much of this history has never been written; and much of it, even after such research as I have been able to make among the documents and sources, remains to me obscure. While recalling some of the main events of Ulster history, I shall here chiefly confine myself to noticing such ascertained facts as may help us to gauge the extent of English rule and influence from time to time. In particular, I shall note all changes of tenants in chief, the periods of time when Ulster was in

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<sup>1</sup> See the volumes for 1902 and 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Though I freely acknowledge in general terms Mr. Knox's assistance, I have found it impossible to distribute "the *sum cuique*" in particular cases; and I make no attempt to shift the responsibility for anything in these papers (except for the transcripts of the Inquisitions) to other shoulders than my own.

the King's hand, and in general all important dealings with the land that have been recorded, so as to lead up, as far as may be, to the state of affairs disclosed by the inquisitions.

The orderly progress of the lordship of Eastern Ulster was much impeded by the conflict with the Crown in 1203-4, which ended in the banishment of John de Courey and the creation of Hugh de Lacy as Earl of Ulster in his room. Another six years saw Hugh de Lacy in his turn retreating into exile before King John in person, and then for sixteen years Ulster was administered by seneschals for the Crown. At length, in 1226-7, after further fighting and much harrying of the land, Hugh de Lacy was once more restored. These violent changes did not conduce to economic progress, and yet in the space of apparently little more than a year, ending with this last restoration,<sup>1</sup> the considerable sum of £936 4s. 4d. was received by the King's bailiff of Ulster, as appears by the following entry in the *Close Roll*:—

Return by inquisition taken by Geoffrey de Marisco, Justiciar of Ireland, of sums received there by Robert de Vallibus:—

From the bailiwick of Antrim, . . . . .	£390	3s.	10d.
From the bailiwick of Carrickfergus, excepting the vill, . . . . .	£208	19s.	3d.
From the vill of Carrickfergus, . . . . .	£22	9s.	6d.
From the bailiwick del Art (the Ards), . . . . .	£117	1s.	9d.
From the bailiwick of Blathewic ( <i>ni Blaitheamaic</i> now the baronies of Lower Castlereagh and Lower Ards), . . . . .	£135	10s.	0d.
From the bailiwick of Ladeathel ( <i>Leth Cathail, Lecale</i> ), . . . . .	£62	0s.	0d.
Total, . . . . .	£936	4s.	4d.

It would seem that this account did not include Coleraine and the Twescard (*Tuaisceart*), or the northern part of the present county of Antrim. At this time the district appears to have been held directly of the Crown. Large tracts here had been granted by King John in 1212 to Alan Earl of Galloway and his brother Thomas Earl of Athol, extending apparently along the whole north-eastern coast from the Glynnys of Antrim to Lough Foyle,<sup>2</sup> and in 1210 John had already rewarded Duncan of Carrick, uncle of Alan and Thomas, for the capture of the unfortunate Maud de Braose, by a grant of Wulfrichford (the Ulfreks-fiordr of the Northmen, now the haven of Larne) and the land to the north, including Glenarm.<sup>3</sup> The grants to Alan and Duncan had been confirmed by Henry III,<sup>4</sup> and the seisins of these Scottish nobles were

<sup>1</sup> Robert de Vallibus came to Ireland with William Marshal, May 26, 1224 (*C. D. I.*, vol. i, No. 1193), was granted letters of protection on the King's service, presumably as bailiff or seneschal in Ulster, on April 13, 1225 (*ibid.*, 1246), and was ordered to deliver the castles of Ulster to Walter de Lacy on June 25, 1226 (*ibid.*, 1385).

<sup>2</sup> See *Ireland under the Normans*, vol. ii, 290-3 and authorities there referred to.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> In 1220; *C. D. I.*, vol. i, No. 912.



expressly reserved to them when Hugh de Lacy was restored.<sup>1</sup> Hugh, however, in company with Aedh O'Neill, had recently destroyed the castle of Coleraine,<sup>2</sup> erected by Thomas of Galloway in 1213, and had harried the lands of the Scottish lords, who evidently opposed his attempt to recover his fief by force. These lords were much impoverished in consequence, and were apprehensive of the results to them of Hugh's reinstatement.<sup>3</sup> In 1228 the castle of Coleraine was rebuilt,<sup>4</sup> presumably by Hugh de Lacy, and this seems to mark the resumption of the grant to Thomas of Galloway. Some temporary reconciliation may have been made with Alan, to whom Hugh gave one of his daughters in marriage,<sup>5</sup> but it seems probable that sooner or later Hugh recovered possession of all the lands granted to the Scottish lords.<sup>6</sup> Certainly when we next get clear information as to this northern district, shortly prior to the transfer of Ulster to Walter de Burgh, it was in separate custody from the rest of the earldom, and the tenures of the Scottish nobles had disappeared.

But though the effective occupation of Ulster by the Normans was for many years confined to the present counties of Down and Antrim and parts of county Londonderry, the original grant or licence to John de Courcy included so much of the northern province as he could conquer.<sup>7</sup> Hence attempts were made, without permanent success, against Tirconnell and Tirowen and parts of Irish Uriel, not only by John de Courcy, but also in 1212-3 by John de Gray, the King's justiciar.<sup>8</sup> After his restoration Hugh de Lacy appears to have remained on good terms with his former ally, Aedh O'Neill, up to the death of the latter in 1230. Disputes then arose between the families of O'Neill and MacLoughlin concerning the succession to the throne. In 1238 Hugh de Lacy and Maurice FitzGerald, now justiciar, interfered on behalf of Brian, son of Aedh O'Neill, dethroned Donnell MacLoughlin, and obtained the hostages of both the Cinel Connell and the Cinel Owen.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. i, No. 1372.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Ulst.*, 1222.

<sup>3</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. i, No. 1218, 1473.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Ulst.*, 1228.

<sup>5</sup> *Matt. Paris.*

<sup>6</sup> After Alan's death in 1234, Hugh de Lacy interfered in the succession to the Galloway fief, *Matt. Paris. Chron. Maj.*, vol. iii, p. 64. In 1242 Patrick, son of Thomas, Earl of Athol, was murdered, and John Byset and his uncle Walter were outlawed in consequence, and fled to Ireland (*Fordun's Chronicle*), where they obtained lands about Glenarm and in the parishes of Carncastle and Ardelinis and in Cary and Rathlin island. See extent *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 1500, and cf. *Pipe Roll* 4 Edwd. 1, 36 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 32. These lands would seem to have included some of those granted previously to Duncan of Carrick and Alan of Galloway.

<sup>7</sup> A un Johan Uluestere  
Si a force la peust conquere.

*Song of Dermot*, ll. 2734-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ireland under the Normans*, vol. ii, pp. 288-294.

<sup>9</sup> *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1238.

Eventually in 1241 Donnell was killed by Brian O'Neill, who then remained undisputed king until his death in 1260.

Hugh de Lacy assisted Richard de Burgh in the conquest of Connacht in the campaigns of 1230 and 1235, and had received as his reward the five northern cantreds of that province. Two of these cantreds he immediately granted to Maurice FitzGerald,<sup>2</sup> and they formed the nucleus of the Geraldine Manor of Sligo. Hugh also granted Tirconnell and perhaps Fermanagh to Maurice.<sup>3</sup> This latter grant was probably the reward to Maurice for his participation in the expedition of 1238, when the hostages of Tirconnell as well as of Tirowen were taken. From this time Maurice FitzGerald frequently appears fighting in Tirconnell. Thus in 1242, supported by Felim O'Connor, he entered Tirconnell, and the chieftains of the Cinel Connell came into his house and gave him hostages.<sup>4</sup> These submissions seem for the time to have been real and not merely nominal. In July, 1244, Henry III invited the kings of Tirconnell and Tirowen and the principal chiefs of Ulster and Uriel (as well as those of Connacht and Munster) to join him in an expedition against the Scots. As peace was made with Alexander, their services were not required; but they would not have been invited had it not been thought that they were prepared to come.<sup>5</sup>

Meantime, in 1242, Hugh de Lacy died, and his fief of Ulster reverted to the Crown. How precisely this happened is obscure. There is no doubt that Hugh left at least one daughter, Matilda, by his first wife, Leceline de Verdun. On her marriage (c. 1234) with David FitzWilliam, baron of Naas, Hugh gave her the castle of Carlingford and all the land which he had with her mother in Cooley and Uriel, and in the county of Limerick, and all his land of Morgallion (the Manor of Nobber) in Meath.<sup>6</sup> Hugh's second wife, whom he probably married late in life, was Emmeline, daughter and eventual co-heiress of Walter de Ridelisford; but it does not appear that he had issue by her. She was granted her

<sup>1</sup> *Gormanston Register*, f. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Red Book of the Earls of Kildare*, H.M.C., 9th Rep., p. 266a. The two cantreds were Carbury-Drumcliff and Luighne.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266a. Maurice's granddaughter, Amabil, afterwards gave all her lands in Sligo, Tirconnell, and Fermanagh to John FitzThomas of Offaly; *ibid.*, p. 267a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1242.

<sup>5</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. i, No. 2716. The northern chieftains were: Dovenald, King of Tinchunill (Tirconnell); Felim, son of the late King Oraly (*O' Raghallaigh*, O'Reilly); O'Hanlon (*O'hAnluain*); Brian O'Nel, King of Kinelun (*O'Neill of Cinel Eoghain*); O'Chatan (*O'Cathain*, O'Kane); O'Hynery (*O'hInneirghe*); Donald Mackadmel (*MacCathmail*, MacCawel); MacAnegus (*MacAenghusa*, McGuinness); MacKartan (*MacArtain* or *MacCartain*); MacGilemuri (*Mac Gilla Muire*, MacGilmurry); O'Flen (*O'Floinn*), King of Turteri; MacMathaven (*MacMathghamain*, MacMahon); and Mac O'Calmerly (*O'Gailmredhaigh*, O'Gormley).

<sup>6</sup> *Gormanston Register*, f. 191 d. Matilda's Lacy died c. 1280; *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, Nos. 1571, 1741.

dower out of Hugh's lands in Ireland, "except the county of Ulster, which was to be retained in the king's hand."<sup>1</sup> She was given in re-marriage to Stephen Longespee,<sup>2</sup> and survived until 1276, when her heir to the lands coming from her father was her daughter by Stephen,<sup>3</sup> then the wife of Maurice, son of Maurice FitzGerald. We do not know the precise terms on which Hugh de Lacy was restored to his lands. No actual grant appears to have been enrolled, but at the time of the earl's death the king refers to agreements made between him and the earl touching the earl's lands,<sup>4</sup> and the resumption by the Crown may have been in accordance with these agreements. At any rate the resumption does not seem to have been contested.

It is true that it is stated in some late fourteenth-century annals, and has been long supposed, and is asserted even by writers of our own day, that Walter de Burgh succeeded to the lands of Ulster and the earldom in right of his wife, a daughter of Hugh de Lacy,<sup>5</sup> but contemporary evidence is inconsistent with this title. Walter de Burgh obtained the county of Ulster under a grant from Prince Edward in exchange for Kilsheelan and other Munster lands.<sup>6</sup> This grant was made in or a little before 1264, when Walter is first called Earl of Ulster in the Irish Annals.<sup>7</sup> Indeed in the Chronicle of Henry of Marleburghe, under the year 1264, is the entry: *Walterus de Burgh factus fuit comes Ultoniae*.<sup>8</sup> Walter obtained seisin of his Connacht and Munster lands in 1250, after having given security that he would not marry without the king's licence.<sup>9</sup> At his death in 1271 his widow was Avelina, daughter of John Fitz Geoffrey, who was justiciar from 1245 to 1256.<sup>10</sup> Richard, Walter's son and heir by Avelina, was nearly, if not quite, of age when he obtained seisin in January, 1280.<sup>11</sup> He was born then about 1259, and Walter must have married Avelina not later than

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. i, No. 2663.

<sup>2</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. i, No. 2600.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 1249.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, No. 2616.

<sup>5</sup> The statement appears first in the *Laud MS. Annals*, printed Chart., St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 315. It is virtually copied by Grace (c. 1537), and followed by Hanmer (ed. 1571), Dowling (ob. 1613), Ware (ed. 1705). Leland (1773), Gilbert (1865), Joyce (1893), D'Alton (1910), &c.

<sup>6</sup> Prince Edward's feoffment is mentioned *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 860. It was in exchange for the manor of Kilsilan (*ibid.*, Nos. 1520, 1548), and probably for the vills of Kilfeakle and Clonmel, and the lands of Estremoy and Owney, which thus came into the king's hand and were granted by the king, along with Kilsilan, to Otho de Grandison in 1281 (*ibid.*, 1847). Richard the Red Earl afterwards acquired Estremoy and Owney; *C. D. I.*, vol. iii, 681; vol. v, 327.

<sup>7</sup> *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1264. *C. D. I.*, vol. i, No. 2551 is misplaced. It should be dated 1269. The Royal Letter calendared, *ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 860, is the king's reply.

<sup>8</sup> *Collectanea Hiberniae*, MS., T.C.D., E, 3, 10.

<sup>9</sup> *Excerpta Fide Rolls* (Roberts), vol. ii, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> The clue to Avelina's parentage will be found in *C. D. I.*, vol. iv, No. 638.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 1629.

1258/9 and possibly some years earlier. A previous marriage, if any such can be supposed to have taken place, with a daughter of Hugh de Lacy cannot, therefore, have been the occasion of Walter's obtaining Ulster.<sup>1</sup>

From the time of Hugh de Lacy's death in 1242 Ulster was in the king's hand, and was administered by the king's seneschals up to 1254, when, with the rest of the royal demesnes in Ireland, it was granted by him to his son Edward. Ulster was then administered by Prince Edward's seneschals for a further period of about ten years, until it was granted to Walter de Burgh as already stated. During this period some sporadic attempts were made to defend the English borders and to make the king's suzerainty over the northern chiefs a reality. In 1245 Maurice FitzGerald erected the Castle of Sligo, and in the following years repeatedly invaded Tirconnell, took hostages, and set up kings, but without any permanent result. In 1248 John FitzGeoffrey, the justiciar, built a bridge across the Bann at Coleraine, and erected a castle at Drumtarsy (now Killowen) on the western side of the bridge, and "since the power of the foreigners was over the Gael of Ireland," the Cinel Owen gave hostages to the justiciar. In 1252 Maurice FitzGerald, or perhaps his son, rebuilt the Castle of Caol-uisce on the Erne in Fermanagh, and John FitzGeoffrey, the justiciar, rebuilt the Castle of Moy Cova in Iveagh, County Down.<sup>2</sup> At the same time Brian O'Neill once more submitted to the justiciar, and delivered his own brother as a hostage.<sup>3</sup> But this submission was no more sincere than former ones. Next year Brian levelled the Castle of Moy Cova and other castles, and made a destructive raid into the plain of Down, when some undefended towns were burned,<sup>4</sup> and in 1257 O'Donnell razed the Castle of Caol-uisce, burned the town of Sligo, and

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, quite possible that in the lifetime of the parents, when Walter was not more than twelve years old, he was betrothed to a daughter of Hugh de Lacy, but for this there is no evidence.

<sup>2</sup> The precise sites of these castles are uncertain; but I incline to think that the site of the Castle of Caol-uisce, originally built by Gilbert de Angulo in 1212 (*Ireland under the Normans*, vol. ii, p. 289), will be found somewhere near Belleek, while the Castle of Magh Cobha, originally erected before 1188, may be marked by the Crown Mount near Newry. I have recently visited this work, which is a typical Norman mote of the first class, and a castle here near Newry and the pass to Dundalk would seem to have been required from the first. In *Ireland under the Normans*, vol. ii, p. 117, I suggested that the mote of Dromore might represent this castle: but the Crown Mount seems to suit the references at least as well, and the strategical requirements better. See, too, *English Historical Review*, 1907, p. 442. The *Annals of Loch Cé*, 1252, seems to ascribe both castles to "Mac Muirís"; but cf. *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, Nos. 32 and 124. Both O'Donovan and Hennessy confuse this Caol-uisce with Narrow Water, Co. Down.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Ulster*, 1252.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1253: *ocus sráid bhailidha do losead*. The Four Masters turn this into *toisceter an Sraidbaile leis*, meaning Dundalk: They seem to have been some towns in Dufferin. See *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 411.



in a fight, in which he was mortally wounded, routed a pursuing body of foreigners.<sup>1</sup> During all this disturbed time King Henry and his son Edward were concerned with Gascony, with making provision in Ireland and elsewhere for the queen's foreign relatives, with Edward's marriage to Eleanor of Castile, with obtaining the crown of Sicily for Henry's younger son Edmund, with anything and everything rather than with the maintenance of good government in England, and at least the preservation of order in Ireland and Wales.

In 1258, at a conference at Caol-uisce, Brian O'Neill tried to form a confederacy of the Gael against the English under himself as *ard-ri*. But the attempt was only partially successful. Aedh O'Connor, King of Connacht, i.e., of the five eastern cantreds, submitted to him, on condition apparently of getting Breffny to himself,<sup>2</sup> but it is clear that neither O'Brien nor O'Donnell submitted to O'Neill. If we are to believe the historiographer of Thomond, O'Brien actually claimed the position of *ard-ri* for himself.<sup>3</sup> The Cinel Connell were with good reason at this time specially embittered against the Cinel Owen, and their new chief, Donnell Og, had just rejected O'Neill's demand for hostages with the retort that "every man should have his own world." In this retort the spirit of the clans found utterance—a spirit incompatible with political unity.

The outcome of this conference appeared in 1260, when Brian O'Neill, "King of the Gael of Erin," supported by Aedh O'Connor, advanced as far as Druim-derg, near Downpatrick, and there met with a signal defeat. Brian himself was killed, and his death is the subject of a remarkable contemporary dirge,<sup>4</sup> but, as the editor's notes make clear, he had little title to be regarded as "king of the Gael." It would seem that he was not supported by the chieftains of Tirconnell, Fermanagh, or Irish Uriel, except O'Hanlon, while the Irish of Uladh held aloof or opposed him. We learn, indeed, from the *State Papers* that the confederacy was defeated by local levies of the commonalty of the city and county of Down, apparently under the leadership of Sir Roger des Auters and the

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1257. The account in the Four Masters of a single combat between Maurice Fitz Gerald, "the justiciar," and O'Donnell is clearly apocryphal. Maurice, who had not been justiciar since 1245, died this year in the habit of a monk at the Franciscan Friary at Youghal which he had founded (Clyn and Dowling). His obit is entered before O'Donnell's raid in the older Irish annals, and they make no mention of the single combat. Maurice obtained seisin in 1216, and in 1257 must have been at least sixty-two years of age. He had given his lands in Sligo, Fermanagh, and Tirconnell, as well as his lands of Offaly, to his son Maurice some time before his death. *Red Book of the Earls of Kildare*, H. M. C., 9th Rep., p. 266a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Loch Cé*, *Ann. Ulster*, 1258.

<sup>3</sup> See the account in the *Cuithreim Thoirdhealbhagh* quoted in Miscellany, Celtic Society, pp. 177-9.

<sup>4</sup> The poem of Gilla Brighde Mac Conmidhe in the same Miscellany, pp. 146-172.

Mayor of that city.<sup>1</sup> These leaders were accordingly rewarded by grants of land. Roger des Auters was provisionally given to farm "the land which belonged to O'Haugharn in the county of Culrath (Coleraine)," and Roger le Taillur, the Mayor, was provisionally granted the farm of the vill of Ardglass and some neighbouring villis.<sup>3</sup> But though O'Neill's attempt thus signally failed, the combination of the kings of Tirowen and Connacht was the most formidable native effort that the English in Ulster had to meet in the thirteenth century.

The *Irish Pipe Roll* for the 45th year of Henry III (1260) has happily been preserved, and it contains two accounts concerning Ulster.<sup>4</sup> The first is the account of Nicholas de Dunheved, Knight, Prince Edward's seneschal. It appears that the farm of the seneschalship of Ulster was let to him for 300 marks a year, so that there are no entries of the rents paid, but the account consists mainly of fines for defaults, trespasses, &c. Most of these concern Englishmen, but the following relate to the Irish:—

"Brian O'Neill owes 1000 cows for a trespass." This entry was carried forward from the previous roll, and the trespass must have been prior to Brian's raid to Down, when he met his death. "The same Brian owes £100 for an aid to the King for his war in Gascony." The King's expedition to Gascony took place in 1253-4, and for it he besought an aid from the magnates of Ireland.<sup>5</sup> O'Neill also owed "3092 cows of a fine made with the Justiciar"—perhaps for the raid into Ulidia in 1253, when the castle of Moy Cova was destroyed—and "400 cows arrears of rent." This was, perhaps, the rent for the year before his death, as later in the account there is an entry of "3200 cows due for rent of Cinel Owen for several preceding years." "The Irish of Turtri owe £200" for the Gascon aid, and "430 cows for a fine"; and McGuinness, McCartan, Mac Duilechan, and two others whose names are harder to identify, owed smaller numbers of cows for fines. From another entry in the account 3s. 4d. would appear to have been the equivalent of a cow. The entries against O'Neill were clearly "bad debts."

The other account is that of Henry de Mandeville, custos of Twescard,

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 661. Clearly the feudal host was not summoned, and the statement which has appeared in our histories, that the justiciar, Stephen de Longespee, was present, is not supported by any early authority, and is inconsistent with the above.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No 677. This land appears to be the "villa Ohatheran" in the account of Henry de Mandeville, to be presently mentioned. In 1262 it was granted by Prince Edward under the form "Hochageran" to Robert de Benmays, or Beaumes (de Bello Manso), *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, Nos. 1782, 1976. It appears in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation* as "Hathrantone," in the inquisition of 1333 (apparently) as Harggdon, and is now the parish of Ballyaghran (Reeves, *Ecc. Ant.*, p. 75). It would seem from this exceptional confiscation that no other Irishman of any importance dwelling among the English joined O'Neill.

<sup>3</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 678.

<sup>4</sup> See *Facsimiles National MSS. of Ireland*, Pt. ii, Pl. 73.

<sup>5</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, pp. 46-7.

for four terms ending November 1, 1262. Here the rents from the following places are accounted for :—

Dundrif (perhaps Dundarave to the east of Bushmills), . . .	£26 13 4
Dunsumery ( <i>Dunsohairche</i> , Dunseverick?) including 87½ crannocs of oatmeal sold for £5 16s. 8d., . . .	£17 0 0
And one mark of the old increase, . . .	£0 13 4
Portkaman (now included in the parish of Dunluce to the west of Bushmills), <sup>1</sup> . . .	£20 0 0
Portros (Portrush, <i>i.e.</i> the parish of Ballywillin), . . .	£40 0 0
Land in Ohatheran's vill (now Ballyaghran parish. See above), .	£3 0 0
The vill which is called La Pere ( <i>i.e.</i> La Pierre, perhaps Ballyclogh, "the town of the stone or stones," in the parish of Dunluce), . . .	£4 0 0
Villa Ossandali (perhaps Mount Sandall <sup>2</sup> near the Salmon Leap on the Bann), . . .	£10 13 4
Erthermoy ( <i>Airther maighe</i> , parish of Armoy), . . .	£20 0 0
Ardbegan (part of the possessions of the Dominican Friary of Coleraine at the dissolution), . . .	£2 13 4
Burgages of Conlrath ( <i>Cuil rathain</i> Coleraine), . . .	£23 0 8
Villa Monasterii (probably the Church-lands formerly belonging to the monastery of Coleraine), <sup>3</sup> . . .	£4 0 0
Drumtarsy <sup>4</sup> (now Killowen, a suburb of Coleraine, west of the Bann), . . .	£16 0 0
Lochkel (Loughguile <sup>5</sup> ) with the demesnes thereof set to farm, .	£64 11 4
Increase thereof, . . .	£0 16 6
From Henry de Mandeville for two carucates in Drumtarsy, .	£2 0 0
For 410 crannocs of the greater hundred measure of oatmeal of the issues of the mills of Twescard and of the mill of Ohatheran, . . .	£147 0 0
Issues of the fishery of the Bann, . . .	£40 6 8
Issues of the fishery of the Lynne ( <i>i.e.</i> the Salmon Leap now called "the Cutts" near Coleraine), . . .	£1 6 8
Land which Alan de Logan holds in Drumgenath and Drumcarbii, . . .	£0 15 0
Pleas and perquisites, . . .	£19 19 6
Total, . . .	£464 9 4

During Earl Walter's time there was peace in his Ulster lands. Aedh Buidhe O'Neill, who after a contest with his rival, Niall Culanach O'Neill, succeeded to the throne of Brian, seems to have been on friendly

<sup>1</sup> Reeves, *Ecel. Ant.*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Mount Sandall was, I think, the site of the castle of Cill Santain or Cill Santail erected by John De Courcy in 1197. See *English Historical Review* for 1907, p. 443.

<sup>3</sup> These Church-lands, which had become merged in the See of Armagh, had been occupied by the Anglo-Normans, but Hugh de Lacy in 1241 granted to Albert of Cologne, Archbishop of Armagh, the manor of Nobber in compensation for them. See *Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates*, pp. 24-40.

<sup>4</sup> Where a castle was built, as above mentioned, in 1248.

<sup>5</sup> The early importance of this manor is evident. Compare the account of William fitz Warin, *infra*, p. 41. The ruins of Lisanoure Castle and the earthworks enclosing them probably mark the *caput* of the manor.

terms with the new earl. In 1265 Earl Walter accompanied him on an expedition against O'Donnell, which, however, led to no important results. A document dated October 2nd, 1269, which by a rare chance has survived, discloses the interesting fact that O'Neill's wife was a cousin of the earl.<sup>1</sup> It also shows the subordinate position of the king of the Cinel Owen, relative to the Earl of Ulster at this time. It indicates that the debts of cows due from Brian O'Neill in the account already quoted were not exceptional, and prepares us for the position held by subsequent Ulster chieftains, as stated in the inquisition of 1333. This document is in Latin, and the material parts are thus rendered:—"53 Henry III, Oct. 2nd, Antrim. Odo Onel Rex Kenlean (Aedh O'Neill, king of Cinel Eoghain) is bound to the nobleman, his lord W. de Burgh, Earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht, in 3,500 cows to be paid as follows:— . . . And he is bound to deliver to the said earl four hostages. . . If he cannot do this, then he is bound to return and revert to the said earl, and subject himself in all things to his person and will. And he has promised to bind himself under pain of excommunication to keep Aleanor his wife, cousin of the said earl,<sup>2</sup> honourably and faithfully, furnishing her with necessaries; and all her rights, as well in lands as goods, which are considered to belong to her according to the use and custom of his country, he will cause to be rendered to her. To keep this agreement he has sworn on holy relics (Sacrosancta) to the earl. If he break the agreement the earl may drive him from his regality, which he is bound to hold of him (ab eo tenere debeo), and give or sell it to anyone else."

Earl Walter died in 1271, when little more than forty years of age. His son and heir Richard, afterwards known as the "Red Earl," was then a minor about twelve years old, and once more we have an example of the evils attendant on a minority. It needed the strong hand of a resident lord to keep order in a great feudal fief, and a seneschal appointed by the king, even if an upright man, lacked the necessary prestige and power. William FitzWarin, the new seneschal, appears to have been an upright man; but before his arrival, Henry de Mandeville, a former seneschal, seized the bailiwick of Twescard, and is alleged to have been guilty of various extortionate, unjust, and violent proceedings. The facts are set forth as found by the jury on an inquisition taken before William FitzWarin, in December, 1272.<sup>3</sup> This was the beginning

<sup>1</sup> It is among the MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, H.M.C., 3rd Rep., p. 231. In the same collection is a document which, though corrupt, appears to be a bond of about the same date from M. O'Flynn, king of Tuirtri, to assist Hugh Bissett to recover a cattle-spoil from Eachmarcach O'Kane, King of Keenaght.

<sup>2</sup> The relationship appears to have been as follows: Aedh married a "daughter of [Miles] McCostello" (Ann. Ulst. 1263, vol. ii, p. 337), and Miles McCostello's wife was "daughter of the Earl of Ulster," i.e., Hugh de Laey (Ann. Loch C  , 1253). Walter de Burgh's mother was Egidia, daughter of Walter de Lacy, Hugh's brother. Therefore Walter de Burgh and Eleanor McCostello were second cousins.

<sup>3</sup> *C.D.I.*, vol. ii, No. 929.



of a quarrel between the Mandevilles and William FitzWarin, which broke out at intervals during the next few years. In 1273, the mayor and commonalty of Carrickfergus report that O'Neill and O'Kane, invited by the Mandevilles and their friends, had raided the property of William FitzWarin and done much mischief, when they were driven to confusion by the seneschal and Hugh Byset.<sup>1</sup> It is instructive to note that several Irish chieftains take credit to themselves for having assisted the seneschal by pursuing and routing the king's Irish enemies.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of this quarrel it appears that Henry de Mandeville was slain. For his death William FitzWarin was prosecuted before the King and was acquitted. When Richard de Burgh, son and heir of Walter, was given seisin of his lands in 1280 he seems at first to have favoured the Mandevilles. He appointed Thomas de Mandeville as his seneschal; and at the instance of the sons of Henry de Mandeville he took into his hands all William FitzWarin's land in Ulster,<sup>3</sup> and seized and destroyed his chattels. Next year peace was made between Earl Richard and William, and Thomas de Mandeville was ordered to restore the chattels. This, however, was not done, and further outrages were committed by the Mandeville party. In July, 1282, an inquisition was taken before John de Saunford, Escheator of Ireland, and in the finding of the jury the various acts of pillage and violence are set forth. The Escheator then formed a Court before which William FitzWarin presented his complaint. The defendants answered that they could not plead without the earl, whose tenants both they and the plaintiff were. Ultimately it was arranged that the matter should be tried in the earl's court, and that only if right were denied him there should William

<sup>1</sup> *C.D.I.*, vol ii, No. 952.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 953. These chieftains seem to have been N[iall Culanach] O'Neill, Aedh O'Neill's rival, here called "King of Ynchenn" (Inishowen), MacDunlevy, "King of the Irish of Ulster" (Uladh), O'Flynn, King of Tuitre, O'Hanlon, "king of Ergallia" (Uriel). [He had killed MacMahon, King of Uriel this year, and may have assumed the kingship in his stead], MacGillamory, "chief of Anderken (*Ui Dearca Chein*), and MacArtain, "King of Onelich." In the inquisitions of 1333, MacArtain is called "King of the Irish of Owagh" (*Ui Eachach*, Iveagh). Perhaps for "Onelich" we should read Ouelich, representing *Abhalaig*, now Ouley, a townland near Rathfriland in Iveagh.

<sup>3</sup> From the inquisitions it appears that the principal lands in dispute were the wards of Cary and Munerie. The former, printed Cachery for Cathery (*Cathrighe*), was co-extensive with the parish of Culfeightrim, and the latter, disguised as "Mamym," "Maunmery," and, in the inquisition of 1333, "Manybery," is now the parishes of Ramoan and Grange of Drumtullagh. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.*, p. 332. William FitzWarin also held the land of "Lerges," probably Lerkas in Kinelarty (*Eccl. Ant.*, p. 30), and some land of the Bishop of Connor at "Sallover," now the parish of Solar, and his castle, called Crosscarnawy, was perhaps Carncastle, near Ballygally Head. The pass of "Imberdoilan" mentioned is the Moiry pass on the old road from Newry to Dundalk. Edward Bruce fought his way through the pass of "Innvermulane," and rested at "Kilsagart" (Barbour); and see Grace's *Annals*, 1343.

seek right before the king.<sup>1</sup> We hear no more of the dispute, and may suppose that justice was done by the earl.

In the absence of border-warfare or any more stirring events this quarrel between the Mandevilles and William FitzWarin looms large in the records; but the dispute was mainly confined to Twescard and the damage to the property of the disputants.<sup>2</sup> That Ulster generally did not suffer much would appear from the account of William FitzWarin for less than two years ending January, 1276,<sup>3</sup> when he accounts for £1,379 10s. 3½d., made up as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Rent of demesnes, burgages, mills, &c., of Carrickfergus manor, with pleas and perquisites, works of betaghs, &c., . . . . .	176	7	4
From demesnes, pastures, fisheries, &c., of the manors of Lochkel (Loughguile) and Culrath (Coleraine) in Twescard, . . . . .	259	17	10
Rent of demesnes, burgages, &c., of the manors of Portros (Portrush), Portcoman (Bushmills), and Antrim, . . . . .	178	9	10
From the manor of Artken (Ardkeen, Upper Ards), with the fishery of Balimithegan (perhaps Ballymakeagan, in the parish of Comber: see <i>Eccl. Ant.</i> , p. 16, note), . . . . .	60	19	8
From the manor of Dun (Downpatrick), . . . . .	76	9	7
From different Ulster counties, viz., Maulyn ( <i>Magh Linne</i> ), Craicfergus, &c., . . . . .	18	10	0
From farm of Ulster, . . . . .	608	16	0½

Here, though a large part of the earldom was apparently let to farm, we have the names of several manors. This account, however, does not include wardships and escheats, which are separately accounted for by John de Saunford, and amount to upwards of £170.<sup>4</sup> Moreover it must also be borne in mind that considerable portions of Ulster were held at this time in dower, and the issues thereof do not appear in this account. Emmeline de Lacy, Countess of Ulster, died in 1276, and by her death the important manor of Dundonald<sup>5</sup> came into the king's hand, as well as the castles of Antrim and Rath (Dundrum), and the sheriffdoms of Down and Nova Villa (Newtownards).<sup>6</sup> It seems that by some rearrangement, made perhaps when Earl Walter was enfeoffed, she was given her dower out of these castles and lands in Ulster, though, as we have seen, on Hugh de Lacy's death her dower was restricted to his other lands. Also, Avelina, widow of Earl Walter, was at first "unwisely endowed with five of his castles in the marches of Ulster, which (in 1272) were in a hostile state, and of almost all the homages of the hostile Irish of

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, no. 1918. It is to be noted that in the king's writ William FitzWarin's lands are said to be held of the king *in capite*, while the Mandevilles plead that both he and they were tenants of the earl. There was therefore a question of tenure involved, in which the earl, no doubt, gained his point.

<sup>2</sup> 36 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 32, and *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 2130.

<sup>3</sup> *Ir. Pipe Roll*, 9 Edw. I, 36 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> 36<sup>o</sup> *Rep. D. K.*, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 2073.

Ulster.”<sup>1</sup> A new arrangement appears to have been made, and Avelina was endowed with other lands, including the castle of Galway.<sup>2</sup> She seems to have died about 1280. This is one of many examples tending to show that the feudal law of dower was a great tax on the successor and a fertile source of military weakness.

In 1283 Earl Richard married his cousin Margaret de Burgh, great-granddaughter of Hubert de Burgh Earl of Kent, and the dower-lands of Emmelina were given to him by the king for his wife’s life.<sup>3</sup> At the same time Hugh de Lacy’s former manor of Ratoath was granted by Queen Eleanor to the Earl in fee-tail special, and he was replaced in seisin of the former De Burgh property in Wethny (Owney, county Limerick).<sup>4</sup> The young earl was now evidently high in favour at the king’s court. In the grant of Ratoath he is called “the queen’s cousin.” How this relationship was formed is obscure to me. His wife seems to have been the special object of the royal favour, and possibly the relationship was really with her, but I have been unable to trace it.

In 1286 the Earl of Ulster led an army into Connacht, and the annalists state “he obtained sway in every place through which he passed and received the hostages of all Connacht; and he afterwards took with him the army of Connacht and obtained the hostages of the Cinel Connell and the Cinel Owen, and he deposed Donnell son of Brian O’Neill and gave the sovereignty to Niall Culanach O’Neill on this occasion. In 1291 the earl again set up a king over the Cinel Owen, plundered Tirconnell, and obtained “deceptive hostages” from the men of Connacht.

The earl at this time was the most powerful man in Ireland; but he had a rival in John fitzThomas, head of the Geraldines of Offaly and afterwards first Earl of Kildare. This John by gift or descent had acquired most of the FitzGerald property in Connacht, and had also begun to interfere in the succession of the kings of Connacht in opposition to the earl.<sup>5</sup> In 1293 he took prisoner Aedh son of Eoghan O’Conor, who ten days previously had been made king by the justiciar, William de Vesey. Aedh, who was soon released, in 1294 threw down the castle of Sligo, which had been rebuilt by FitzGerald the year before, and we may suspect that Aedh was the nominee of the earl as well as of the justiciar, and that both were supposed to have connived at the outrage on FitzGerald. However that may have been, it was in the December of this year that FitzGerald took the earl prisoner and detained him in the castle of Lea for thirteen weeks, until his liberation was effected by the Parliament at Kilkenny. “In consequence of the earl’s caption,”

<sup>1</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 950.

<sup>2</sup> 36 Rep. D. K., p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, No. 2099.

<sup>4</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. ii, Nos. 2102-3.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1288.

we are told, "all Erin was thrown into a state of disturbance."<sup>1</sup> By the intervention of the king a truce was arranged, and after many preliminaries the seals of the parties were put to an agreement in 1298, the short effect of which was that Sir John acknowledged his trespass, and rendered all his lands in Connacht, Ulster, and Uriel to the earl; that these lands were to be valued and 120 librates thereof were to remain to the earl as amend for Sir John's trespass, and that for the lands beyond that amount the earl was to make an exchange to Sir John of lands of equal value in Leinster and Munster.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement, which gave the earl exclusive control in Connacht and Ulster, seems to have been eventually carried out.

In 1296, or a little earlier, the earl gave his sister Egidia in marriage to James the Steward of Scotland, and granted them his castle of Roo, the borough and demesne belonging to the said castle, and all the service and rent of the lands of the English enfeoffed by the earl in le Kenauth (Keenaght) to the said castle of Roo belonging on the east side of the river of Roo, with the island near the castle and all the earl's land of Rennard (perhaps Keenaght?), with all farms and feoffees as well within as without the borough.<sup>3</sup> This castle was at or near Limavady on the river Roe,<sup>4</sup> where the demesne is still called Roe Park. This grant and the reference to the place in the Inquisition of 1333 prove its early importance as an Anglo-Norman centre. The following deed records the acquisition of some land, probably in Keenaght, by the earl:—6 Edw. [1] Dec. 1 [1278] Dermicius Ocaan Rex Fernecreue [Diarmaid O'Cathain King of Fir na Craibhe] surrenders to Richard Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connacht all the land of Glen Oconcahil, which he held of the earl immediately, to hold to the earl in fee. Dated apud Novam Villam de Blawyc [Newtown Ards]. Witnesscs: W. de Mandeville then Steward of Ulster, Thomas de Mandeville, Hugh Byset, William de Athy, and Walter de Say, Knights, Roger de Sancto Bosco, Matthew de Hanewode, and others.<sup>5</sup>

Earl Richard took part in Edward's war against Balliol, King of Scotland in 1296<sup>6</sup>; and in August, 1297, he was summoned to join the King in his ill-timed expedition to Flanders, but it seems that the earl's conditions were too hard for the King to grant, and the earl did not

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1294.

<sup>2</sup> *Justiciary Rolls*, pp. 235-6.

<sup>3</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. iv, No. 338.

<sup>4</sup> In the "Ecclesiastical Taxation," *ibid.*, vol. v, p. 215, the church of Roo in the deanery of Bynagh has the high value of £20. Its identity with the parish church of St. Kynnic of Drumgossa (Drumachose) appears in a grant from Nicholas Fleming, Archbishop of Armagh, to "Odo McThaig," printed by Spelmann, *Gloss. s.v.*, Corbe, ed. 1687, p. 152; and see Reeves' *Colton's Visitation*, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> From the MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, H. M. C., 3rd Rep., p. 231. The name Glen Oconcahil appears to be lost, unless it be a blunder for Glenn Concahdhain, now Glenconkeine, in the parish of Ballynascreen (?).

<sup>6</sup> *C. D. I.*, vol. iv, No. 276.



go.<sup>1</sup> In 1301 he was again summoned to Scotland by the King, who besought his assistance in a remarkable letter; but it seems that again his terms were too hard and he did not go.<sup>2</sup> He went, however, in 1303, when he is said to have made thirty-three knights before setting out, and when he seems to have got his own terms.<sup>3</sup>

In 1305 the earl obtained a grant of free chace in all his demesne lands of Torterye, Kenath, Kenalowen, Inchyoen, Menkeue, and Moccherne, in the earldom of Ulster, and in Oenye and Estermoy, in county Limerick.<sup>4</sup> The first four names represent Tuirtri, Keenaght, Cinel Owen, and Inishowen. "Menkeue" should probably be written Menkoue, i.e. *Magh* or *maighin Cobha* (Moy Cova), and "Moccherne" I take to represent *Mughdhorn*, (Mourne) in county Down. Oenye, more usually written Otheny, and Estermoy represent *Aes tri muighe* and *Uaithne*, now the baronies of Clanwilliam and Owey, county Limerick.<sup>5</sup> In consideration of his services in Scotland the king wiped out all the earl's debts at the Exchequer, and these are said to have exceeded £11,600.<sup>6</sup>

In 1305 the earl built the new castle of Inishowen.<sup>7</sup> This castle appears in the inquisition of 1333 as the castle of Northburgh. It was situated at the mouth of Lough Foyle in the parish of Moville, and seems to have been identical with the Greencastle there. It was evidently built to maintain the overlordship of Tirconnell.

The earl's children were married into the highest families of the three kingdoms. In 1302 his daughter Elizabeth was given in marriage to Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and afterwards King of Scotland.<sup>8</sup> In 1308 John de Burgh, his eldest son and heir apparent, was married to Elizabeth de Clare, daughter of Gilbert, late Earl of Gloucester, and through her mother, Joan of Acre, granddaughter of King Edward. Upon this marriage the earl enfeoffed his son and daughter-in-law with the manors of Antrim, Coleraine, Portrush, Portecaman (Bushmills), Drumtarsy, Dunsumery (Dunseverick), and Dundryff (Dundarave? near Bushmills), the issues and profits of the river Bann and "del Lyn," and some other lands, rents, and profits in Twescard. Also with a number

<sup>1</sup> *D. C. L.*, vol. iv, Nos. 404, 452.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Annals of Loch Cé*, 1301, it is expressly stated that the earl did not go. For the King's letter see *C. D. I.*, vol. iv, No. 849. This letter should be dated *circa* April, 1301, *cf.* Nos. 785, 788, 799. It seems to be again referred to (out of place) in vol. v, No. 151, 2nd document, where the earl's exorbitant conditions are given in a memorandum and a list of the magnates who proposed to go.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v, No. 488, and *Laud MS. Annals*, p. 331. The Earl of Ulster appears to have been the principal negotiator of the terms of peace on this occasion: *Cal. Close Rolls*, 29 Edw. III, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1305, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> About this time the earl obtained the fee of Estremoy and Otheny; *C. D. I.*, vol. v, No. 327.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 340, and *cf.* p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1305.

<sup>8</sup> *Laud MS. Annals*, "Chart. St. Mary's, Dub.," vol. ii, p. 331.

of manors in Connacht and Munster.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards another tie was formed with the house of De Clare by the marriage of the earl's daughter Matilda with Gilbert de Clare, the young Earl of Gloucester, who afterwards fell in the battle of Bannockburn.<sup>2</sup> In 1312 the two great houses of the Geraldines were linked with that of De Burgh by the marriages of the earl's daughters Catherine and Joan; the former to Maurice fitz Thomas, afterwards created Earl of Desmond, and the latter to Thomas, son of John fitz Thomas of Offaly, afterwards Earl of Kildare,<sup>3</sup> thus sealing the reconciliation between these great Irish houses.

In the time of Earl Richard, from 1286 to 1315, there was comparative peace both in Ulster (in the large sense of the term) and in Connacht. The districts occupied by the English were no longer liable to the raids of Irish tribes; and the only disturbance of any importance arose out of the imprisonment of the earl in 1294. The families of the O'Donnells and O'Neills, and especially of the O'Conors, were at times torn by the contending factions of rival claimants to the respective thrones; but even these disturbances were kept within the bounds of the several territories. There were no inter-provincial, not even any inter-tribal, wars. The earl during this period exercised a power never held by any one man in Ireland before, and he seems to have exercised it wisely and with moderation. The "Pax Normannica" seemed at last to be extending over even the north and west of Ireland.

In 1315, however, Edward Bruce, flushed with the victory of Bannockburn, swooped down upon Ireland and destroyed the fair prospect. It seems that he was offered the crown of Ireland by Donnell O'Neill king of the Cinel Owen,<sup>4</sup> and he was no doubt actuated by the fact that the English kings had drawn from Ireland much of their supplies of provisions and men for the Scottish war. I do not propose to describe here the campaigns of 1315-18, the main facts of which are well known. Bruce's attempt indeed proved a complete failure, but it did incalculable damage to the cause of peace and prosperity in Ireland, and has rightly been regarded as the turning-point of English influence. Bruce was

<sup>1</sup> *Cul. Close Rolls*, 26 Edward III, p. 442. The Connacht manors were Brownrath (*ui Brúin Rath*), Strothir (*Sruthair*, Shrule), Kileolgyn (Kileolgan), Glancoskery (*Clann Coseraigh*, somewhere east of Lough Corrib), Kynaleth (which Mr. Knox takes for *Cinel Fathaidh*; but, seeing that *th* often stands for *ch*, it would seem to represent *Cinel Fheichin* better), and Lomesque (Lough Mask). Mr. Knox, when editing the *De Burgh Inquisitions* touching Connacht, noticed that these territories, along with others, were omitted, and supposed that they were held by knight-service only. (See *Journal*, 1902, pp. 136, 400, 401). He now asks me to point out that the above fees do not appear in the *Connacht Inquisitions* because they were then in the hands of Elizabeth de Burgh, widow of John de Burgh. See *Pipe Roll*, 2 Edward III, 43rd Rep. D. K., pp. 22, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Land MS. Annals*, *ubi supra*, p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341. For these marriages see, too, *Clyn's Annals*, p. 18.

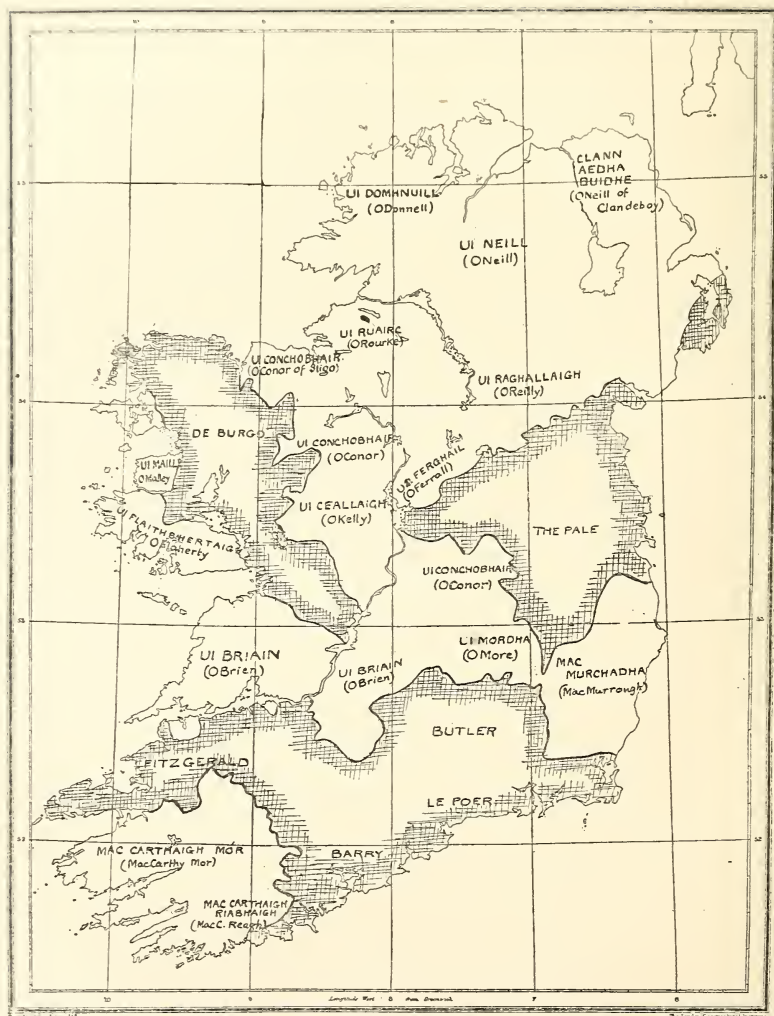
<sup>4</sup> See the "Complaint of the Nobles of Ireland to Pope John XXII" (from the *Scotichronicon* of J. Fordun), translated in King's *History of Ireland*, vol. iii, appendix No. xix.

badly supported by the Irish, who simply took the opportunity of the prevailing anarchy to endeavour each to regain his own little world and plunder whom he could. When Edward Bruce met his fate at Faughard, the Irish annalist describes him as "the destroyer of all Erin in general, both Foreigners and Gael," and gives the contemporary Irish view of his ultimate defeat and death by exclaiming that "no better deed for the men of all Erin was performed since the beginning of the world, since the Fomorian race was expelled from Erin, than this deed; for theft and famine and destruction of men occurred throughout Erin during his time for the space of three years and a half, and people used actually to eat one another throughout Erin." Ulster in particular, the headquarters of Bruce's army, was utterly devastated and denuded of food and underwent all the horrors of acute famine.

Great as was the destruction wrought by Bruce's invasion, its immediate effects in Ulster were economical rather than political. As long as Earl Richard lived no great change resulted except a general impoverishment. The earl died in 1326, and from about this time we may note an increasing spirit of turbulence among the English settlers, especially in Leinster, over which there was no strong lord; and this spirit of turbulence soon spread to Connacht and Ulster, and gave the Irish clans an opportunity of which they were not slow to avail themselves. Earl Richard's heir was his grandson William, then in his sixteenth year. In 1328, while still under age, he was knighted by the king and given seisin of his lands. The earl's authority, in Connacht at any rate, was exercised by his uncle Edmond and his relative Walter son of William (Liath) de Burgh. In 1331 these two rulers came to blows. Walter's high-handed proceedings in Connacht were not approved of by the earl and his uncle; and it is said by an Irish annalist that he was trying to seize the throne of Connacht for himself. However this may have been, Edmond took him prisoner, and he was starved to death in Northburgh Castle (1332). This was followed by the murder of Earl William on June 6th, 1333. He was killed near Carrickfergus by John de Logan and some of the Mandevilles at the instigation, it was said, of Gyle de Burgh, wife of Richard de Mandeville, in revenge for her brother Walter. This murder marks the beginning of the break-up of the great earldom, and of the extinguishment of direct English influence over a large part of Ireland.







IRELAND UNDER HENRY VIII  
(Irish territories unshaded)

## THE POLICY OF SURRENDER AND REGRANT

## I.

BY W. F. BUTLER

[Read 26 NOVEMBER, 1912.]

EVER since the reign of Elizabeth the general history of Ireland has been closely bound up with the question of the ownership of the soil. All the political upheavals of the last three centuries have originated either from the land question or from the religious one—often from both inextricably mixed. And both questions, it is admitted, take their rise in the Tudor days.

Yet, curiously enough, the exact facts of what took place under Elizabeth and under the first Stuart king, have scarcely ever, if at all, been studied in any serious scientific manner by any writer in English. Whatever their political leanings, practically all accept without question the statement so often put forward, that the root of all agrarian troubles in Ireland is to be found in the fact that, under the Tudors, the lands, previously the common property of the clansmen, were granted to the chiefs to win them over to the side of the Crown. Thus, say they, the mass of the people were reduced from the condition of landowners to that of tenants, and from this primary injustice flowed and still flows a whole train of evil consequences.

The history of the land settlement aimed at and partially arrived at under Elizabeth and James I has at last been studied fully and dispassionately by the Munich Professor Dr. Bonn. The two volumes of his *English Colonization in Ireland* form the only history of the political and economic conditions of the island that I have ever seen based on a careful study of first-hand authorities and unbiased by political or religious feelings. He brings German thoroughness and the German scientific method to bear on a difficult problem, and he views his subject from a detached standpoint almost impossible to be reached by the native or the English writer.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In some matters of detail Dr. Bonn's views seem to me to contradict our evidence. In Munster, at any rate, as I have shown in a previous article in this *Journal*, the limits of each clan or sept were accurately defined and recognized by their neighbours. And even in Ulster, it can be shown that there was far more cultivation of the land than Dr. Bonn admits. Sometimes, too, he places too much reliance on statements by Sir John Davies or by Petty.

Among the most instructive portions of his work are the chapters dealing with the subject I propose to treat of. I may remark in passing that the greater part of this article was written before I had seen or heard of Dr. Bonn's work. The careful study of his two volumes shows me that, working independently, we had arrived at practically the same results. I have benefited by his industry and by the clearness of his exposition; but the points are few indeed on which our conclusions as to this question differ to any appreciable extent.

To start with, then, my conclusions and Dr. Bonn's, though he does not state them in so many words, are that it must be laid down that the view usually held—the view, namely, that the land was taken from the people and given as a bribe to the chiefs—is absolutely wrong. This is, of course, speaking generally. The Irish chiefs “grabbed” the clan lands, whenever they could—i.e., whenever the Crown permitted. The Crown did permit, or encourage, or propose this in many cases. Dr. Bonn has a whole chapter on this and on the reasons guiding the Crown.<sup>1</sup> This bestowal of the land on the chiefs to the exclusion of the clansmen happened notably in Ulster: and since that province plays the chief part in Irish affairs in the days of Elizabeth, and since the “Plantation of Ulster” was there the outcome of the grants of the clan lands to the chiefs, attention has been fixed on what took place there, to the exclusion of all consideration of what was the course followed in the rest of Ireland.

To show what really happened it will be necessary to consider the events previous to the reign of Henry VIII, which rendered some settlement of the tenure of land in Ireland imperative, the efforts that sovereign made to effect a settlement, the methods pursued by Elizabeth, and finally the continuation of her work under James I, with the modifications introduced into it by the greed of that monarch and his favourites.

When Henry VIII, after the suppression of the rebellion of Silken Thomas, turned his attention to the task of subduing the sixty or more Celtic clans and the thirty great lords of the noble English folk, who between them shared nearly the whole island, he found a state of things in existence without parallel in Europe. Almost throughout the whole island there was a complete divorce between the actual occupancy of the land, and the legal ownership of it. To explain how this state of things originated, it will be needful to give a short sketch of the dealings of the early Anglo-Norman colonists with the land.

By the Treaty of Windsor in 1175, Roderic O'Connor ceded to Henry II the two provinces of Meath and Leinster, and in return was recognized as sovereign over the remainder of the island, paying a yearly tribute to Henry. But this treaty was looked on as non-existent almost as soon as

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, Bk. ii, chap. iii.

it was made; and we find Henry acting on the theory that the whole country belonged to him, and might be granted away to his barons, without any regard to the rights of the natives. The Irish were held to be outside the pale of the law,<sup>1</sup> and in short the maxim was introduced that no native was capable of holding land except as a tenant at will.<sup>2</sup>

But in the very lifetime of the first invaders, it was recognized that the attempt at a complete conquest of Ireland had failed.<sup>3</sup> Sir John Davies, writing in the seventeenth century, attributes this failure, and with truth, to the excessive grants made to the first colonists. According to him, all Ireland was parcelled out between ten great grantees, so that there was nothing at all left to be given to the natives or to subsequent settlers, and the territories granted to one man were so extensive that it was scarcely possible for him to subdue them thoroughly, or hold them if subdued. The settlers contented themselves with occupying the level and more fertile districts, leaving the woods and mountains to the natives, who maintained a precarious independence there until some turn of fortune might enable them to regain their hold of their former possessions.

There are exaggerations in Sir John Davies' statements. It seems certain that there were more than ten tenants in chief in Ireland; but in the main what he says is accurate. A short review of what happened in each province will show how each stood at the opening of the reign of Henry VIII.

Leaving the first grant, Leinster, for the end, we will begin with Meath. This province, comprising the present counties of Meath, Westmeath, Longford, and part of King's County, was given as a county Palatine to Hugh de Lacy, and parcelled out by him among a large number of Norman and English soldiers of fortune, Plunketts, Dillons, and others. They subdued the greater part of the country very completely, expelling the natives or reducing them to serfdom, and covering the district with castles and small towns which were able to defy all the attacks of the Irish.<sup>4</sup>

De Lacy's lordship passed, by the marriage of his great-granddaughters, into the families of De Verdon and De Genneville.<sup>5</sup> The eastern portion, the lordship of Trim, ultimately came to the Mortimers, Earls of March, and so to the Crown, in the person of Edward IV.

<sup>1</sup> "So as it was no capital offence to kill them." Sir John Davies, *Discovery why Ireland was never entirely subdued*.

<sup>2</sup> Or rather, as Dr. Bonn puts it, the legal position of all Irishmen (except the "five bloods," who had the benefit of English law) was that of the English *villain*, only the Irish *villain* had still fewer rights than his English prototype.—*Der Ire war Sache nicht mehr*, vol. i, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Exp. Hib.*, lib. ii, cap. xxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> See the "Song of Dermot and the Earl," and Mr. Orpen's *Ireland under the Normans*, for details of the distribution of land in Meath.

<sup>5</sup> Article on the De Verdons of Louth, *Jour. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ir.*, vol. v, 5th series.



De Lacy's vassals, Plunketts, Petits, and others, thus became tenants in chief of the Crown. This territory formed the chief portion of the Pale, the district within which the authority of England was acknowledged during the fifteenth century, and here almost alone in Ireland the actual occupiers of the land were its legal owners. The De Verdon portion, however, passed through females into various English families who never came over to Ireland. Thereupon the Irish, O'Melaghlin, O'Ferralis, and others, recovered a great portion of the district, the rest being in the hands of Dillons, Nugents, and other descendants of the original grantees of De Lacy, who paid little or no regard to the rights of their nominal overlords. Thus, though the original title of these Norman families was sound, it might be easy to prove against them that in many cases they had neglected to render the services due from them to their overlords.

At the time of the English invasion the old kingdom of Ulster had long ceased to exist. The counties of Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, and Fermanagh formed the kingdom of the Oirghialla, whose ruling family had taken the surname of O'Carroll. The northern Hy Niall, descendants of Connall Gulban and Eoghan, sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, held the present counties of Donegal, Tyrone, and Derry, along with a small district in Connacht, round Sligo. The chieftainship in the twelfth century was chiefly held by the families of Mac Loughlin and O'Muldory, who soon, however, seem to have died out, and in their place appear the O'Neills as head of the posterity of Owen, and the O'Donnells, chiefs of the race of Connall Gulban. The descendants of the old monarchs of all Ulster were confined to the district east of the Bann, the modern Down and Antrim. Their chiefs were of the family of Mac Dunslevy, or, as it seems sometimes to have been called, O'Eochy.

The whole province was granted to John DeCourcy, who, however, found the conquest of his new territories no easy task. Aided by the ships of his father-in-law, the King of Man, he was able to colonize the eastern coast-line from Dundalk northwards. The O'Carrolls and MacDunslevys disappear from view during this struggle,—almost the only case of the destruction of an Irish clan in its contest with a Norman baron. But DeCourcy made no real progress towards a conquest of the interior of the country. The Hy Niall were from time to time forced to give hostages and promise a tribute of cattle; but west of the Bann and north of Armagh the colonists made no permanent settlement.

De Courcy got into trouble with King John, was expelled from Ireland, and his lordship was given to a son of De Lacy of Meath. This De Lacy had an only daughter who married Richard de Burgo, lord of Connaught, and so two whole provinces came, nominally at least, into the possession of one family.

William de Burgo, a near relative of the famous Hubert de Burgh,

had received a grant of the whole or part of Connacht<sup>1</sup> from John in the lifetime of Richard I.

No progress was made with the conquest, and the O'Conors were more than once recognized by the King of England as lords under him of the province. After much warfare and confusion Henry III made a new grant in 1228, giving twenty-five cantreds to William's son Richard, and reserving five cantreds which comprised most of Roscommon and some of Sligo. During the thirteenth century the invaders, taking advantage of the savage internecine warfare between the different branches of the O'Conors, spread over a large portion of the province. The five cantreds reserved by the king were at first left to the O'Conors, then grants were made to various settlers, and these were alternately revoked and renewed in a most puzzling way, the net result being that the O'Conors and the clans under them remained in possession of the greater part of the five cantreds, but without any clear legal title.

In De Burgo's portion of the province the settlers spread over the greater part of Galway, Mayo, and Sligo, but, as, usual, left the mountainous districts unsettled. Leitrim and Cavan had formed a sub-kingdom of Connacht, called Breffny. At the time of the invasion O'Rourke of Breffny had also acquired the kingdom of Meath. Breffny was, therefore, included in De Lacy's grant. We find one of the De Verdons calling himself lord of Breffny,<sup>2</sup> but no permanent settlement was effected.

As the conquest of Connacht was made at a later date than that of the other provinces, the majority of the invaders had already acquired lands in other parts of the island. Thus the FitzGerald, the Butlers, and the Barrys, who received great tracts of country from De Burgo, were already established in other districts, and neglected their new estates. The invaders overran the greater part of the province, but the actual settlers were few in number, and in many cases the grantees left the Irish in possession in return for a rent.

Thus the settlement already contained germs of weakness. The fusion between the two races began in Connacht earlier than in other parts, and the descendants of the invaders took the first steps on the road that led to their becoming "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

The power of the De Burgos, created Earls of Ulster in 1264, reached its height under the "Red Earl." Even the O'Neills in Ulster were forced to pay him tribute and give him hostages. But in his lifetime

<sup>1</sup> See for details as to settlement of Connacht Knox's *History of the County Mayo* (Dublin, 1908), also Orpen.

<sup>2</sup> Article on De Verdons, before cited. In the seventeenth century a certain Richard Plunkett claimed Cavan. (*Cal. State Papers*, 1608-10, p. 221.)

Western Breffny, the modern Leitrim, was given to one of the Nangles whose attempt to conquer it failed. (Knox, p. 314.) Lord Gormanstown claimed part of the county as heir to Nangle in 1592. (*Cal. State Papers*, p. 590.) In *Cal. State Papers*, 1621, p. 334, the claims of Lord Gormanstown and of Mr. J. Rochford to part of Leitrim are again referred to. The Earls of Kildare claimed the northern part. (*Cal. State Papers*, 1591, p. 406.)

came the invasion of Edward Bruce, called in by the Irish in Ulster. Though Bruce failed, the English colony suffered irreparable injury. The settlers were almost entirely cleared out of Ulster, and in Connacht a multitude of small towns and castles were destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Fifteen years later William, third Earl of Ulster, was murdered; and his inheritance passed to his infant daughter, who was brought to England and married Lionel Duke of Clarence. From him the lordship of Ulster and Connacht passed to the Mortimers, and so ultimately to the House of York, and, on the accession of Edward IV, to the Crown.

But in the meantime all Ulster and Connacht were lost to the English. The O'Neills, crossing the Bann, seized on the greater part of Down and Antrim. The remnants of the clans of Orghialla and Ulidia, Mac Gennis of Iveagh, Maguire in Fermanagh, Mac Mahon in Monaghan, O'Hanlon in Armagh, acknowledged O'Neill as their overlord. A few settlers, Savages, Whites, and Bissetts, maintained a precarious hold on the coast-line. Carlingford and Dundalk became the frontier towns of the English settlements.

So, by the opening of the sixteenth century, we find three great Irish lordships covering nearly all Ulster. O'Donnell held Donegal, O'Neill ruled Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Armagh, Monaghan, and Cavan;<sup>2</sup> O'Neill, of Clandeboy, an offshoot from the main stock, ruled the greater part of Down and Antrim. But they ruled by the sword in defiance of English law. A statute, passed in the reign of Henry VI, provided that no length of possession could give an Irishman a legal title to land, and in the eyes of the lawyers all Ulster was the property of the Crown.<sup>3</sup>

In Connacht matters went differently. Two collaterals of the house of De Burgo, or Burke, as the Irish called the name, seized on as much of the province as had been permanently colonized.<sup>4</sup> In time they adopted Irish dress, speech, and customs. One, master of the lands in what is now Galway, took the name of MacWilliam Uachtar; the other, lord of Mayo, became MacWilliam Iochtar.<sup>5</sup> From Norman lords they became Celtic chiefs, ruling in accordance with the Brehon laws, as heads of a clan formed of their kinsmen and followers. The lesser Norman families followed their example. The Nangles became MacCostelloes, the Barretts MacWattins, the D'Exeters MacJordans.

In the general confusion the Irish recovered a great part of the province. A section of the O'Conors became masters of what is now the county of Sligo; the main branch of the clan ruled the greater part

<sup>1</sup> List of these in *Annals of Loch Cé*. 1315. Also a list of towns said in the sixteenth century to have once existed in Mayo is quoted by Knox, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> The O'Donnells laid claim to, and sometimes exercised supremacy over, Fermanagh and parts of Leitrim, Sligo, &c. See *Irish Annals*, also *Cal. State Papers*, 1607, p. 365.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in *Jour. of Kil. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> Knox gives the best account of these Connacht transactions.

<sup>5</sup> The Nearer and the Farther M'William.

of Roscommon; the O'Kellys and the O'Maddens on the east, the O'Flahertys and O'Malleys on the west recovered their freedom.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, by the sixteenth century, one half of Connacht was in the hands of Irish clans, whose title was not recognized by English law. The "degenerate" Anglo-Norman families who held the other half were legally in no better position. The ownership of Connacht was vested in the Crown, and only those landowners who could show a grant previous to the murder of Earl William, and whose lands had not come to them by Tanistry and Gavelkind, were held to have any legal title to their lands. Except in the town of Galway and its immediate neighbourhood, there can scarcely have been a landowner in the province who could comply with these conditions.

When Henry VIII came to the throne, four great families of Anglo-Norman descent held between them somewhat more than half the province of Munster. The Le Poers or Powers owned the eastern part of Waterford. Though they had become quite Irish in speech and manners, their title to their lands had come down to them regularly from the first grantee, Robert le Poer.

Theobald FitzWalter, ancestor of the Butler family, had been granted, in or about 1185, a large district in North Tipperary. His descendants had acquired the greater part of the rest of the county from other grantees. James Butler, created Earl of Ormond in 1328,<sup>2</sup> had been given Palatine jurisdiction over the whole county. But in the confusion following on the invasion of Edward Bruce the natives had expelled the settlers from all North Tipperary. Various branches of the O'Brien family, and the clans of O'Dwyer, O'Kennedy, O'Carroll, and others became masters of all the lands originally granted to Theobald FitzWalter, and had even captured the strong castles of Nenagh and Roscrea. But the Butlers had not abandoned their claims on this district, and in the eyes of the law the Irish were only intruders.<sup>3</sup>

Earl Thomas of Ormond died in 1515, and his estates went to his two daughters. One, married to Sir William Boleyn, grandfather of Anne Boleyn, succeeded to the Irish estates. Her husband resided in England, and the Irish lands were actually ruled by Piers, descended from a younger son of the third earl, the next heir to the title. The Butler lands might easily have gone the way of the De Burgo estates in Connacht.

The district of Clanwilliam, partly in Tipperary, partly in Limerick, was held by a branch of the De Burgos; their title was apparently a good

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<sup>1</sup> Some of them paid tribute to the MacWilliams. The Earl of Clanricarde claimed chief rent from the O'Flahertys in the sixteenth century, and O'Malley owed military service to the Lower MacWilliam (Knox, p. 355). The Earl claimed the castle of Moycullen in O'Flaherty's country (*Car. Cal.*, 1544, p. 211), and received chief rent from it (temp. James I, *Cal. Pat. Rolls Jas. I*, p. 348).

<sup>2</sup> His father, Edmund, had been created Earl of Carrick in 1315.

<sup>3</sup> Some clans such as the MacBriens of Ara were certainly intruders from west of the Shannon. So, too, according to some authorities were the O'Kennedys.



one; still they had become quite Irish in their ways; and Irish ideas of marriage and the descent of lands were not always such as were recognized by the Canon Law or by the Common Law of England.

By far the most powerful lords in Munster were the FitzGerald. The earls of Kildare held Croom and a considerable district in Limerick, with a sound title. The Earls of Desmond claimed to be owners of all Kerry and most of Cork, the greater part of Limerick, and portions of Tipperary and Waterford.

The two first counties, under the name of the Kingdom of Cork, had been given by Henry II in 1177 to Milo de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen. The FitzGerald claimed to have inherited some or all of their rights.<sup>1</sup> But there were doubts as to the validity of these claims; and we find, in Elizabeth's reign, Sir Peter Carew coming forward and being recognized by Elizabeth as the lawful heir of FitzStephen. Moreover more than half Cork and Kerry were actually in possession of the MacCarthys, kings of Desmond, and their subject clans. The Earls of Desmond had indeed forced the MacCarthys to consent to pay the tributes which I have already mentioned; but we may doubt if they ever saw much of the money. The FitzGerald had made repeated attempts to conquer the mountain regions where the MacCarthys ruled; and as late as 1521 the Earl of Desmond had invaded Muskerry with the avowed object of expelling the Irish. But a great defeat and the loss of nearly 2,000 men compelled him to desist from his project.

The Desmond title to the lands in the three other counties seems, at first sight, valid. But it appears certain that in one instance at least the succession to the earldom had not followed the English rules of descent, but had gone by tanistry. The government, while recognizing the FitzGerald position in general, might fairly cast doubt on the claims of the actual holder of the title.<sup>2</sup>

Under the Desmonds were several great vassal families, such as the Barrys<sup>3</sup> and Roches in Cork. Their ancestors had received grants from De Cogan and FitzStephen; and, except for possible irregularities in the succession, there was nothing to be said against their title.

The O'Briens, Kings of North Munster, had held their own in Clare, having extirpated the De Clares, to whom their lands had been given by Richard I. Their authority was acknowledged by the clans in North

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<sup>1</sup> The whole history of South Munster from the death of FitzStephen to the opening of the sixteenth century remains still to be written. In particular we know singularly little as to the growth of the power of the Desmonds in Limerick and Kerry, though for Limerick Father Begley's *History of Limerick* gives much valuable information.

The grant of the "Kingdom of Cork" to De Cogan and FitzStephen raises many problems too intricate to enter into here.

<sup>2</sup> According to the generally received accounts the sixth Earl of Desmond was deposed for having married beneath him, and an uncle usurped the earldom and lands.

<sup>3</sup> The Barrys and the Roches had, in time, become tenants in capite, but were still counted among the followers of the Earls of Desmond.

Tipperary and the eastern districts of Limerick, but was of course quite illegal in the eyes of the Crown.

The history of the first great Irish grant, that of the Lordship of Leinster to Strongbow, is complex. It had passed, through Strongbow's only daughter to William Marshall and, on the death without issue of the last of his five sons in 1247, to his five daughters, who divided the lands between them. One brought her husband, de Vesci, the greater part of Kildare and King's County. William de Vesci was attainted in 1297 and his lands given to his vassal John FitzGerald, baron of Offaly. John's descendants, the Earls of Kildare, ultimately became the most powerful nobles in the island. Their power rested not on the extent of their territory, but on the richness of the land, the strength of their castles, and their neighbourhood to Dublin, which enabled them to overawe the Government. It was strengthened by a system of alliances with the natives. Nearly every Irish chief in Leinster, and some outside that province, paid tribute to the Earls of Kildare as the price of their protection.<sup>1</sup> Yet they had never been able to subdue that part of their territory of Offaly which is now included in King's County. Here the O'Connors and O'Dempseys held their own, and were a thorn in the side of the settled districts of the Pale.

Another daughter brought Carlow to her husband Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Her lands included parts of the modern Wicklow with New Ross and other Wexford lands. But the Earls of Norfolk and their successors, being absentees, were quite unable to defend their lands against the Irish. Donald Mac Art Mac Murrough Cavanagh was elected King of Leinster about 1327<sup>2</sup>; and he and his son Art became masters of nearly half of the old province. Of the County Carlow, only the town of Carlow and a small district round remained in English hands.<sup>3</sup>

Wexford—the portion of another of the sisters—passed ultimately, by marriage, to the Earls of Pembroke. The southern portion of the county, thickly settled by the first invaders, was able to resist the MacMurroughs, even in the absence of its lord. But the Irish had recovered all the northern half of the modern county. All Wicklow, nearly all Carlow, half Wexford was held by the MacMurroughs and their subject clans, in defiance of all the attempts of the Government.

The district of Leix, comprising about half the present Queen's County, had been brought by another of William's daughters to the Mortimers. But the Mortimers, great lords in England and Wales, were absentees.

<sup>1</sup> See list in the *Rental Book of the Earls of Kildare* of the Earl of Kildare's duties on Irishmen. It has been several times printed. See *Journ. of Kil. Arch. Soc.*, New Series, vols. ii and iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. of Kil. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii, New Ser., p. 75. See entry quoted in introduction to *Dowling's Annals*.

<sup>3</sup> One hundred and thirty-eight castles in county Carlow alone are said to have been taken by the Irish before 1435. Letter from Irish Parliament (quoted *Journ. of Kil. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 405).

To guard their Irish lands by English troops was expensive. The English settlers largely disappeared as a result of Bruce's invasion. Irish mercenaries were cheap, so Mortimer confided his castles to the care of the O'Mores, the original owners of the territory. What followed is graphically told by Friar Clyn when recording the death of Lysaght O'More. "This man," he says, "had forcibly expelled the English from his lands and patrimony, for in one night he burned eight castles of the English men, and destroyed the noble castle of Dunamaise belonging to Lord Roger de Mortimer, and usurped to himself the dominion of his fatherland. From a servant he became a lord, from a subject a prince."<sup>1</sup>

As the western parts of the modern King's and Queen's Counties had never been subdued, we now find a great block of native territory running along the Shannon from Athlone to Limerick, and extending eastward to the Barrow. Most of it was claimed by Anglo-Norman lords; all of it was independent.

The fifth of the co-heiresses had for her share the ancient Kingdom of Ossory. The greater part of this territory was thoroughly subdued and thickly planted. Protected by numerous walled towns, it became a sort of inland Pale, where English laws and manners remained after they had disappeared from all the neighbouring districts. The De Spencers, descendants of Isabel le Marshal, kept effectual control of their lands until 1392, when they sold Kilkenny Castle and all their rights to the third Earl of Ormond. As his castles of Nenagh and Roscrea had been taken by the Irish, he made Kilkenny his chief seat. He was already owner of a large tract of the county, held under the De Spencers; now he became overlord of the whole. The nominal ownership of the greater part of the Butler lands passed, as we have said, ultimately to the daughters of the seventh earl; the actual rule, however, at the opening of Henry VIII's reign was exercised by Piers Butler, claiming to be Earl of Ormond.

To sum up, over the whole island there was confusion. Five-eighths of the country was held by the native clans, the "Irish enemy," in defiance of English law and English grants.<sup>2</sup> Of the lords of Norman descent, some, as the Burkes—the King's rebels—were admittedly usurpers. Others, such as the Desmonds, held their lands more by force than by strict legal title. Almost every Norman lord laid claim to vast tracts which were in native hands, and over which the claimants had exercised no authority for two centuries. But by statute no length of occupation could give a legal title to an Irishman. And, to make confusion worse confounded, great estates were legally in possession of

<sup>1</sup> *Clyn's Annals*, 1342.

<sup>2</sup> Both MacCarthy of Muskerry and MacCarthy of Carbery claimed under Elizabeth to have obtained a grant of their lands, the one from Edward IV, the other from Henry VII. If these grants actually existed, they may be accounted for by the fact that one Earl of Desmond was executed under Edward IV, and that another was an active supporter of Lambert Simnel.

English noblemen who never visited Ireland, took no measures to defend their vassals against the natives, and, as a consequence, were scarcely recognized as overlords by such of their vassals as had been able to hold their ground in spite of this neglect.

To give some examples of the confusion that prevailed. The Ormonds owned in theory almost the whole district from the Shannon and Lough Derg to the sea at Arklow. But all north Tipperary, with the two great castles of Nenagh and Roscrea, had been in Irish hands for nearly two centuries.<sup>1</sup> The castle of Tullow in Co. Carlow, if in their hands, was entirely surrounded by the territories of the Mac Murroughs and the O'Nolans. There is still extant a treaty between Earl Piers and Mac Murrough with regard to Arklow. The latter acknowledges that the castle and adjoining district belong to the Earl; but he is to have half the rents, &c., on the fish and timber of the port and town, and all the rents of the adjoining territory, as well as the right of free entry into and occupation of the castle for life, engaging not to quarter Scots or galloglasses on the town. Mac Murrough's seal bears the inscription *Rex Lageniae*; his predecessor in 1475 styles himself in a grant to the monastery of Duisk, *Rex totius Lageniae*.<sup>2</sup>

O'Dwyer of Kilnamanagh acknowledged the suzerainty of O'Brien of Thomond. But his lands were legally part of the Ormond territories, and he paid a yearly tribute to the Earl of Kildare of a nest of goshawks, for protection.<sup>3</sup>

The Barretts of Cork acknowledged themselves by indenture vassals of the Desmonds, and paid them a rent of 12 marks. But they paid another rent of £11 to MacCarthy Mór, and a great part of their territory had been seized by MacCarthy of Muskerry.

O'Connor Sligo declared to Elizabeth's deputy, Sidney, that he owed a yearly rent of 360 marks to somebody for the castle and lands of Sligo. O'Donnell claimed it by "continuance of possession for a thousand years." The Earl of Kildare claimed it as legal owner of the whole county, under a grant from the De Burgo lords of Connacht.<sup>4</sup> Mac William of Clanricarde claimed it, "alleging a composition by mutual agreement" between the O'Conors and his ancestors. If the unfortunate O'Connor paid one claimant, the other two fell on him; and he declared that he ought only hold his lands of the Queen, if she would protect him from all other claimants.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See article in *Journ. Kil. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i, by Prendergast, "On the projected plantation of Ormond under Chas. I."

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. R. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, vol. vi, fourth series, pp. 22 and 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Rental Book of Earls of Kildare*.

<sup>4</sup> The *State Papers*, 1591-92, give a document setting forth at length the claims of the Kildares to Sligo. They also claimed Fermanagh, Tyrconnell, and the north of Leitrim. *Cal. State Papers*, 1591, pp. 406 and 460.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal R. H. Assoc. of Ireland*, vol. i, fourth series, p. 23.



The quarrel between Henry VIII and the Pope awakened the King to the necessity of making his position in Ireland secure. The rebellion of Silken Thomas showed how weak the English hold on the island was. It was only the rivalry between the Butlers and Geraldines which had saved the English authorities from being swept into the sea. Henry determined to bring the whole island into his power.

The old plan of conquest by means of grants to great nobles, who were to make themselves masters by their own resources of the lands bestowed on them, had utterly failed. It was recognized that the Crown itself should undertake the task.

Two plans suggested themselves. A war of extermination might be begun, with the object of rooting out all or most of the natives. This was the scheme which found most favour in Government circles in Dublin.<sup>1</sup> But apart from all humanitarian considerations, it was doubtful if this scheme was feasible. The very vaguest notions were held as to the extent and population of the island.<sup>2</sup> But it was certain that such a policy would force all the natives to combine in self-defence, and that it would tax all the resources of England for several years to carry it through.

The other plan, conquest by conciliation, was Henry's own. In all his dealings with the native Irish, that monarch acted in a spirit of moderation which is in striking contrast with the generally accepted view of his character. It is perhaps fanciful to attribute this to his Celtic ancestry. But it is noteworthy that it was Henry who first admitted the mass of the Welsh to the full enjoyment of the laws of England, and that all the Tudors showed themselves singularly inclined to favour those Irishmen with whom they came in personal contact.<sup>3</sup> They were relentless towards the lords of English origin in Ireland who disputed their will; but scarcely any of the native race who gained access to the Royal presence departed with their requests ungranted.

Henry's plan for a settlement of Ireland was nothing short of revolutionary. The Irish were to be received into the protection of the

<sup>1</sup> See *State Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. ii, p. 323, and Richey, p. 111, vol. ii, for R. Cowly's plans for the destruction or exile of the natives. However, he was willing that some of the Irishry on submission might be allowed to live "within the very myddes of the English pale." (*State Papers*, 329.)

But Allen would not advise the banishment of all the Irish out of their lands. (*Ibid.*, p. 374.) In 1537 the Council of Ireland advised exiling the Irish of Leinster, but allowed that the common people might be retained "for their be no better earth tillers, ne more obedient than they be, soo as thei be never suffred to use feates of war, as commonlye they use nott." (*State Papers*, vol. ii, pt. 3, pp. 409, 412, 415.)

<sup>2</sup> Ireland was said by Surrey to be five times as large as Wales (*State Papers*, vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 73). The document which opens the *State Papers* declares that Ireland might yield a revenue little short of that of England if subdued and pacified. (*State Papers*, vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 15.)

<sup>3</sup> The son of Mac Gillpatrick of Upper Ossory was "bedfellow" to Henry's son, Edward. Notable examples are the favour shown by Mary Tudor to the daughter of O'Connor Faly, and Elizabeth's treatment of Shane O'Neill, Grace O'Malley, and Florence Mac Carthy, after she had come in personal contact with them.

law—a favour which under the Plantagenets they had more than once petitioned for and been denied.<sup>1</sup> They were to be put on full equality with the Anglo-Norman colonists, and therefore—and this was the most startling point in Henry's policy—they were to be capable of holding land in their own country, as freely as any other subject.

There were two obvious difficulties to be faced. Such a policy would irritate the great Anglo-Irish families who claimed to be the legal owners of much of the lands actually held by the Irish. And it was by no means certain that the great Celtic chiefs who had held their own so long against the invaders would now renounce their independence for the sake of a legal title to what they had been very well able to maintain by their own strong hand.

The overthrow of the house of Kildare humbled the pride of the great Anglo-Irish barons. A succession of vigorous campaigns during the years from 1536 to 1539 inclined the greater number of the Irish chiefs to submission. All who submitted received the benefit of Henry's policy of conciliation. This policy is pretty plainly laid down in a letter of instructions to Surrey, Deputy in 1520, showing that, even then, Henry had fixed on the course to be followed in dealing with the Irish. He would not "take anything from them that righteously appertaineth to them." He did not intend to expel them from their lands and dominions. He wished to bring them under English laws, but gradually. He was ready to give them a legal title to their lands.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to this latter point the first step was to get rid of the claims of absentee proprietors to the ownership of much of Leinster, and of those of the houses of Kildare, Ormond, Desmond, and others, to great tracts in various parts of the island. The rights of the house of Kildare had come to the Crown by the attainder of that family. Now the famous Act of Absentees, passed in 1537, confiscated the lands claimed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Berkeley, the heirs general of the Earls of Ormond, and others. In short, all Leinster and Tipperary were vested in the Crown, which already was the legal owner of Ulster and Connacht.

Thus free to deal with the Leinster Irish, we find Lord Leonard Grey, the Deputy, entering into a series of treaties with almost all the chiefs.<sup>3</sup> They recognized the King's authority, promised to serve him in war, and to pay certain tributes. In return the King promises to protect and defend the chiefs and their followers against both English and Irish. By this promise the rights of the chiefs were at least implicitly recognized.<sup>4</sup> But it is evident that Henry's intention was to

<sup>1</sup> Bonn.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> A very large number of these Indentures are given in the *Car. Cal.* under the years 1541 and 1542.

<sup>4</sup> In most cases no definite recognition that the native chiefs owned their lands is

go still further, and grant the Irish a legal title to the lands they actually occupied. The chiefs were to surrender their lands to the Crown, and to receive them back again by letters patent, to hold in accordance with English law. The greater chiefs were to be given English titles and a seat in parliament.

Such were the broad outlines of Henry's policy, which amounted to a total reversal of the policy of the preceding three and a half centuries. What the descendants of the first Anglo-Norman invaders had permanently conquered they were to keep; what the natives had managed to retain was henceforth to be theirs by a clear title.

There was, indeed, one apparent exception to this. The services of Sir Piers Butler, now known as Earl of Ossory, had been so great that he was re-granted all the lands confiscated from the daughters of the seventh Earl by the Act of Absentees. In the grant were included many districts entirely occupied by the Irish, but the clans occupying them had already been received into submission by the king, and it seems certain that he expected the Earl to leave them in peaceable possession, as holding their lands from him.<sup>1</sup>

The results of this policy were seen in the submission of practically every native chief in the island. Those lords of Anglo-Norman descent, who had for long practically disregarded the royal authority—the Barrys, the Burkes of Clanrickarde, and the rest, also made a formal submission. Two of the greatest of the native chiefs, O'Neill, lord of nearly all Ulster, and O'Brien of Thomond, were made earls. The same dignity was conferred on MacWilliam Burke of Clanrickarde. Lesser titles were to be given to minor chieftains. A parliament held in 1541 was attended by the chief or tanist of almost every clan in the island. They were present in the House of Lords, though not actually voting or taking part in the debates. The Deputy's opening speech was translated to them by the Earl of Ormond, and they joined by their acclamations in the Act by which Henry took the title of King of Ireland.

In conformity with the king's plans, patents for their lands were given to the three earls and to some few more of the chiefs.<sup>2</sup> For some reason or other, however, no grants were made out during the rest of

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given. But Macnamara was confirmed in all his rights as chief as long as he lived and behaved as a subject. (*Story of an Irish Sept.*, p. 152.) Mac Gillpatrick was promised that he should have all his possessions to be held by the service of two knights' fees. (*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 514.)

<sup>1</sup> Nenagh and Roscrea again came into possession of the Butlers, but the territory round them was left to the natives: Prendergast, "On the Projected Plantation of Ormond by Chas. I." (*Trans. Kil. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i.)

<sup>2</sup> Viz., to O'Shaughnessy, Macnamara, MacGillpatrick, who was made Baron of Upper Ossory, and to Turlough O'Toole and his brother Art. The case of the O'Tooles is remarkable. Turlough had petitioned that the territory of Powerscourt, occupied by him, should be divided between him and his "sequele." As a result directions were given to have the premises so divided as shall be thought meet by such as shall be appointed by the king, "and after by division made, everie partie to have letters patent of their portion." (*Inquisitions, Leinster*, 17th-19th, Chas. I.)

Henry's reign to the remaining chiefs; and so, the work of settlement had not been properly carried out when Henry died.

Now, it is constantly asserted by modern writers that Henry by his grants to the three earls meant to, and actually did, make them owners in fee of all the clan lands—lands to which they had no shadow of right. And, since the actual wording of the grants was vague, Earl Hugh O'Neill did make claim on these grounds to all Tyrone, Londonderry, and Armagh in Elizabeth's days.

Elizabeth, with whom the Earl was for a moment a favourite, let the claim pass. But the matter cropped up again under James I. O'Cahane of Londonderry claimed that the Earl had no interest in his country beyond a chief rent of 21 cows, and the usual Irish cuttings and spendings. The Earl, on the other hand, declared that O'Cahane had no estate in his lands, but held, he and his ancestors as tenants on sufferance, as servants and followers to the O'Neills.

Sir John Davies, reporting on the whole matter, cites the cases of the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde. Their grants were precisely similar to Con O'Neill's,<sup>1</sup> but they never claimed to dispossess the subordinate chiefs of their freeholds and make them tenants at will. Therefore, only his demesne lands, according to Sir John, had been granted to Earl Con. This shows that the usual view with regard to these grants is quite wrong.

Much about the same time as O'Brien made his submission with the demand to have "to him and his heirs males all such lands, rents, reversions, or services as I [*sic*] had at any time before this day," we find an indenture made between the Lord Deputy and Sioda MacNamara, chief of the leading clan in Clare after the O'Briens, which clearly shows that Henry and his advisers never meant their grant to O'Brien to include the whole of Thomond. This indenture "witnesseth that the said Sioda Macnamara do for himself and all the rest of the said gentlemen and freeholders of the baronies and places aforesaid for their heirs and assigns, covenant, &c., . . . to surrender and give up . . . to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, when he thereunto shall be required, all such manors, castles, rents, tenements, lands, reversions, and all other hereditaments that they and every of them have . . . either in use or possession, and then the said Sioda and the rest aforesaid shall receive and take the same back by letters patent to have and to hold to them and their heirs for ever,<sup>3</sup> &c., &c." It is made by Sioda "for and on behalf of himself

<sup>1</sup> Con was granted "Omnes terrae, tenementa, hereditamenta quae modo habet vel dudum habuit in Tyrone." (*Cal. State Papers*, 1606, p. 210.) It is quite certain that O'Brien of Thomond never claimed more than the demesne lands and the various tributes and duties coming to him from the lesser clans as having been passed to him by his grant, which was similarly worded.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. iii, Part 3., p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *The Story of an Irish Sept*, by a Member of the Sept, p. 150.



and of all the rest of the gentlemen and freeholders of the said sept in the baronies of Dangan, Bunratty, and Tulla . . . as authorized by the said gentlemen and freeholders under their deed and seal."

Not only was there no question here of O'Brien getting all Thomond, but MacNamara was to get nothing except what was actually in his possession. The rest of the landowners were to get letters patent for their properties.<sup>1</sup> There is no robbery of the clan here. But unfortunately the Crown took no steps to secure the lesser owners in their possessions. It is very easy to understand why. Henry and his legal advisers in England were misled by the only system of land tenure with which they were acquainted—the feudal one. To their minds a grant to O'Brien of the lordship of Thomond was precisely analogous to a grant of the County Palatine of Chester, or of any other feudal lordship. It would confer definite well-ascertained rights, but not interfere in the least with the tenures of the lesser proprietors, who held as vassals of the lord. Henry gave O'Brien a legal title to Thomond; but it was assumed that the rest of the landowners already held their lands from O'Brien by what was, as regards him, a legal tenure, which he could not interfere with as long as they rendered the rents and services due from them.

Now, this was actually the condition of a great many districts in Ireland held by the Anglo-Norman Barons. The Lord Barry held his lands under a grant originally derived from FitzStephen and De Cogan, and under him were a multitude of landowners, offshoots of the family of Barry, descendants of early colonists, even here and there some proprietors of Irish origin, all acknowledging the Lord Barry as their feudal lord, and bound to give him fixed rents or services, but owning the fee-simple of their lands. Just as the forfeiture of the heirs of FitzStephen and De Cogan would not deprive the Lord Barry of his lands, so a forfeiture of the latter would not affect his innocent vassals.<sup>2</sup>

Henry's intention was, then, to give the chief of an Irish county the same position as the Earl of Ormond in Tipperary, the Earl of Desmond in Kerry and Limerick, the Lord Barry in Cork. And as the Lord Barry may have been bound to render military service to some superior, and might have under him lesser lords, who again had vassals under them, so O'Brien was to be overlord of MacNamara, who had under him the

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<sup>1</sup> Similarly we find that Brian O'Connor, of Offaly, on his submission asked for the title of Baron, and to be made of free state, and to have his portion of the country, and that his brothers, and all other possessors of lands, may have their portions for themselves and their heirs. (*State Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 560.) And Cusack, in 1541, recommended that he should have his lands by knight's service; all the freeholders taking their lands likewise to be in like case. (*Ibid.*, vol. iii, pt. 3, 328.)

<sup>2</sup> The Lord Barry really was a tenant *in capite* in Henry VIII's time. But his original title came from FitzStephen and De Cogan.

chiefs of various lesser septs, who finally had under them the gentlemen and minor freeholders of the clan.<sup>1</sup>

This plan of Henry's is something very different from the absolute confiscation of the clan lands, and the gift of them to the chiefs which is generally laid to his credit. There was, however, some injustice in it. The succession to the dignities bestowed on the chiefs was to go according to English law, shutting out the claims of the chief's brothers, nephews, and younger sons, who had rights under the law of tanistry. Besides the lands actually in the hands of the chief, the demesne lands attached to his office, in which he had only a life-interest, were now looked on as his private property, and were to go, on his death, to his heirs, according to English law. Thus the clan was deprived of its right of election, and a great tract of land made into private property which had previously been set apart for the maintenance of the chief and the defence of the country.

Yet the actual injustice was felt only by a few near relatives of the chief.<sup>2</sup> The mass of the clan cannot be said to have been injured; rather they profited by the stability of the succession, and they were no longer exposed to the risk of being expelled from their lands by the first Englishman who might obtain a grant of them, and be able to enforce it.

It is worthy of note that Henry, in conferring the new earldoms, took the Irish succession by tanistry into account. Morrough O'Brien, the last king and first earl of Thomond, was not to be succeeded in his new dignity by his son. The latter was to be Baron of Inchiquin, and was provided with a becoming estate; but the earldom and the rule over Thomond were to go to the tanist Donough, son of Morrough's elder brother and predecessor Conor. So, too, Con O'Neill seems to have been allowed to name his successor; for the Earldom of Tyrone was to go to Mathew O'Neill, who was certainly illegitimate, even if he was a son of Con's at all.<sup>3</sup>

Unluckily for the success of Henry's plan, he and his English advisers were totally mistaken in their view of the internal arrangements of an Irish clan. As modern English lawyers are said to have gone astray in India by assuming that landed property there was held on tenures

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<sup>1</sup> To a casual observer there can have been but little outward difference between the lands in East Cork held by the descendants of the Anglo-Norman barons and those in West Cork held by the Irish. Language and manners were the same. But in East Cork the tenures were based on English law. It was only natural to suppose that the land system in West Cork was the same. The lands of the Barretts were intermingled with those of the MacCarthys. The chief of the Barretts was feudal lord of his territory. It was easy to imagine that the Lord of Muskerry held a similar position in his territory.

<sup>2</sup> The whole subject of succession by tanistry is still very obscure. It seems clear that the choice of the clan was limited to the immediate kindred of the late chief. There is some ground for supposing that only those whose father or grandfather had been chief were eligible.

<sup>3</sup> Con's son, Shane, was certainly legitimate.

similar to those recognized by the Common Law, so Henry assumed that there was no essential difference between the English and Celtic systems.

But as a matter of fact, as the descriptions of the MacCarthy territories have shown, the two systems were utterly different, and the failure to perceive this vitiated all Henry's endeavours at a settlement.

So far from the Irish chiefs being feudal lords of their districts, with all other landowners holding from them as their vassals, the land was the collective property of the clans, who held each a definite district by immemorial occupation. Part of the clan lands were set apart to support the chief, the tanist, the brehons, and other officials; part may have become the private property of the leading members of the clan<sup>1</sup>; the rest was divided out amongst groups of kinsmen, *sliocht*, as they were called in Irish, septs to give them the name used by English writers.

The members of these septs were the ultimate owners of the land. The Irish writers call them "the hereditary proprietors"; the *State Papers* refer to them repeatedly as "the freeholders." The head of the sept had his demesne lands like the chief; the rest of the males of the sept had a right to a greater or smaller portion of land.

There is no need to enter upon the thorny problem of how this division of the septlands among the members of the sept was effected. Were those entitled to land really shifted about and their possessions modified on the death of any member of the sept? Or was the state of things in Ireland similar to that in Wales described by Mr. Seebohm? There we find groups of kinsmen holding a definite share of land in common, entitled to divide this land after the death of all the males of one generation, but usually holding together until the fourth generation, when the different groups of second cousins would divide, each forming a new land-holding group.

How can we reconcile the repeated statements of the English writers of Tudor times as to the constant shifting about of individuals, and the uncertain nature of each man's possessions, with the evidence as to a certain amount at least of fixity of tenure contained in the accounts of the Plantations of Longford and Wexford?

Without going into these points it is enough to say that there is reason to believe that there was some system by means of which the number of males having a right to share in the redistribution of the land within the sept was limited. Those members of a sept furthest removed from the senior branch would appear, when this limit was reached, to have passed automatically outside the sept, passing on their share of lands to their

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<sup>1</sup> The evidence from Desmond, Carbery, and Muskerry shows very few, if any, traces of individual ownership. Yet all our modern authorities declare that the chief men of the clan had secured part of the clan lands as their private property. If they had, as their land was divided among all their posterity, individual ownership quickly reverted to the ownership of a sept.

posterity. Hence the number of the septs would have a tendency to increase, while the lands held by an individual sept would diminish.<sup>1</sup>

At the head of each group of kinsmen was a *Ceann Fine*, or Canfinny, as the English authorities call him, having a share of land set apart for him and receiving dues from the rest of the kindred. Several of these kindreds might be included in a sept, whose chief also had his demesne lands and dues from the lands held by the sept; the chief of the whole clan had, likewise, demesnes and dues; finally, the head chief, or king, in large districts like Thomond or Desmond had his rights. But the lands thus burthened by all these payments were in no sense the property of the chiefs. The ownership was vested in the sept; and each member of the sept had a right to a share of land during his life.

Now when the English lawyers came to bring this system into relation with English law, they were at once met by difficulties. The idea of collective ownership, if they grasped it at all, was repugnant to them. But the individual members of the septs, having only a life-interest in land, and their portions being, as the lawyers conceived, constantly shifted and redivided, could not—though constantly referred to as freeholders—be regarded as freeholders in the English legal sense.

Looked at from the lawyers' point of view, the chief, already holding a great extent of land as his demesne, receiving dues which looked like rent from the rest, constantly redividing the sept lands, and moving individuals from one portion to another, looked very much like a landlord.<sup>2</sup> The members of the septs, thus shifted about, appeared as tenants at will. Thus, if the chief had a loosely worded grant in general terms from the Crown, giving him all his lands, &c., it would be quite possible to understand it as making him owner in fee of the whole tribal territory.

<sup>1</sup> This seems the only way of explaining the constant formation of new septs which we have noticed among the MacCarthys and O'Sullivans, each with its fixed share of land.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Davies declares in his letter to the Earl of Salisbury, 1607, "but touching the inferior gentlemen and inhabitants, it was not certainly known to the State here whether they were only tenants-at-will to the chief lords, whereof the uncertain cutting which the lords used upon them might be an argument." And in his letter of 1610 defending the Plantation of Ulster he denies that the clansmen had any certain estates of inheritance. This last is in flagrant contradiction to what he himself had said of Feormanagh in 1607.

(To be continued.)



# A NOTE AS TO THE TIME HERALDRY WAS ADOPTED BY THE IRISH CHIEFS

By E. C. R. ARMSTRONG

[Read 25 MARCH, 1913]

THE examination of some Irish seals and seal matrices has led me to put together, though with great diffidence—as the subject is obscure and the monuments so scanty that any conclusions can only be regarded as tentative and liable to be upset by further evidence—the following notes on the subject of Irish heraldry, that is, heraldry as adopted by the Irish chiefs and gentlemen after the Anglo-Norman invasion. There have been a few papers connected with Irish heraldry published in the *Journal* from time to time, notably one by the Rev. Canon ffrench, entitled “The Arms of Ireland and Celtic Tribal Heraldry.”<sup>1</sup> If it is my misfortune to have to differ somewhat from Canon ffrench’s conclusions, this is to a large extent due to the fact that my definition as to what can be properly called heraldry is of a much stricter kind than that adopted by Canon ffrench.

That the bearing of certain symbols and devices by tribes and cities goes back to prehistoric times, and has been met with in many parts of the world, and in very different ages, must be at once admitted. A number of examples could be adduced showing that on the coins and seals of the Greeks and Romans, Persians and Egyptians, devices of various kinds are displayed as distinctive symbols of persons, towns, and countries. On the Greek coins a series of such devices can be seen; Corinth has the Pegasus, Athens the owl, and so on. The seal rings of Roman nobles often bore devices that have much similarity with heraldic ones. Tacitus speaks of the coloured shields of the Germans “*scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt.*”<sup>2</sup>

The characteristic horned and decorated helmets of the Norsemen may also be mentioned. The writings of modern ethnologists furnish instances of the employment by primitive peoples of various symbols of distinction, such as the painted shields of the Masai<sup>3</sup> and the various strange and mysterious ‘totems’ which have been shown to lie at the base of so many primitive beliefs. Most of us have seen at one or other of the Colonial and

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, ante, vol. xxxv, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Germania*, chapter vi.

<sup>3</sup> See *Die Masai*. M. Merker, Berlin, 1904.

Foreign Exhibitions held in the United Kingdom, Indian villages with the tents of the braves decorated with symbols of somewhat heraldic appearance. It is also certain from the evidence of the historical tale of the *Battle of Magh Rath* that in Ireland badges and devices were worn in early times, and that certain tribes or clans were distinguished by particular banners; but that "the ancient Irish had a heraldry of their own,"<sup>1</sup> that is, if we take heraldry in its general meaning, I do not think can be allowed.

It is doubtful if the use of miscellaneous devices such as are mentioned above ever evolved into a true heraldic system. Heraldry seems to have appeared in an almost fully developed state quite suddenly in Western Europe, and I think the term heraldry can only be used to denote a regular system of personal or territorial devices borne according to fixed rules, being hereditary in families, and often definitely attached to certain Lordships.<sup>2</sup>

Heraldry, in this sense, cannot be shown to have existed anywhere at an early period. The earliest evidence for a true heraldic bearing in England has been shown by Dr. Horace Round to be the seal of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, which can be dated at not later than 1146.<sup>3</sup> The first English king to display arms on his seal is Richard the First, who bears on his seal of 1189 a rampant lion. On the Continent the oldest instances of the use of armorial bearings are to be found on the seals of the kings and nobles of the twelfth century, though, as noted below, a few are claimed as going back to the eleventh. On such seals the owner is shown either seated on a throne or fully armed on horseback, having his arms displayed on his banner, shield, and horse-trappings; sometimes the arms are shown alone on a smaller seal (the counter seal) used to make a second impression at the back of the large, so-called, seal of dignity. The earliest armorial seal known on the Continent is stated by Dr. Wyss,<sup>4</sup> following the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, Paris, 1759, t. iv, p. 376, to be a seal attached to a document of Robert I of Flanders, dated 1072, which displays the lion of Flanders. Dr. Wyss also mentions a seal of Count Raymond of Toulouse dated 1088, bearing the cross of Toulouse. According to Mr. Oswald Barron, however, the earliest seal with the arms of the Counts of Flanders is that of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, who bears on his seal of 1164 a lion.<sup>5</sup>

Armorial seals only became numerous after the middle of the twelfth century, and in Germany, where armory had an early and vigorous rise,

<sup>1</sup> Canon French, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Modern research is showing more and more that what have been usually regarded as the arms of great nobles were really the arms of great lordships. (See *Archæologia*, vol. lvi, p. 35.)

<sup>3</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. li, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, Band vi, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiii, p. 312.

there are very few armorial seals of so early a date; they only came into general use in the first half of the thirteenth century, and among the lesser German nobility the use of armorial seals is rare before the middle of the thirteenth century.

It may be objected that the absence of heraldic bearings on seals does not prove that such bearings did not exist, as older seals might have been lost, or arms may have been in use for a considerable time before they were placed upon seals; but as soon as heraldry had reached a certain point of development it is fairly certain that arms, as a most convenient means of identification, would have been placed upon seals. Accordingly, there are numerous equestrian seals of the end of the twelfth century which show no armorials, whereas the seals of later members of the same families display arms. In diplomatics it is considered a safe rule to regard armorial seals that are dated to the first half of the tenth century as false.<sup>1</sup>

Even in the most splendid days of heraldry arms were more fully displayed in the tournaments than in actual warfare; and there is no doubt that the general adoption of the custom of using armorial seals must have greatly helped to codify and solidify heraldic practice.

I think it may be taken as established that heraldry, in the ordinary sense of the term, both in England and the Continent, was only being shaped and more or less codified at the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. The conquest of Ireland and introduction of feudalism was a slow process, and it was only very gradually that English manners and customs made any permanent impression. Turning to the Irish seals and seal matrices for evidence, we shall find that, though there are very few available, such as there are lead us to the opinion that heraldic devices were not adopted by the Irish chiefs until late times. It is hardly to be expected that the Irish chiefs would be very anxious to copy any portion of the feudal system under which many of them were deprived of their possessions.

My friend, Mr. M. J. M'Enery, Assistant Deputy Keeper of Public Records in Ireland, has kindly examined some of the records under his charge, and informs me that he has found no documents with seals of Irish chiefs or gentlemen as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth century. As an indication that seals were by no means common in Ireland in early times, it may be mentioned that in a charter, which can be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, given in Ireland in favour of the Cistercian order by a number of Irishmen and their wives, it is stated in the donation that, as they do not possess seals, "Donatus Karbreach, rex Tuadmonie" (d. 1242), at their request, has ordered his own seal to be placed to the deed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wyss, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Celtique*, vol. vii, p. 85. (I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Westropp for this reference.)

In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy preserved in the National Museum there are a few matrices inscribed with the names of Irish chiefs, of which the dates can be approximately fixed. Two are silver, and of equestrian type; of these one belonged to Domnall MacCarrthaigh, junior, King of Desmond, who died in 1303.<sup>1</sup> The matrix shows an effigy of the king on horseback galloping to the right, with a sword in his right hand. His head is turned to the front, and is uncovered; he carries no shield, his horse has no trappings, and there is no trace of armorial bearings. The second belonged to a Mac Con, Chief of Hy-Caissin, and the design is similar to the first, and, like it, shows no armorial bearings. This matrix is also probably of fourteenth-century date. There is a third Irish equestrian matrix extant, which is preserved in the British Museum. The matrix is described as made of brass, and is attributed to Brien, King of Keneleogain, who died about A.D. 1276. He is described as "In armour, with flat helmet, sword, and shield, with uncertain heraldic charge thereon. Riding to the r.(ight) on a pacing horse."<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 1.—MATRIX AND IMPRESSION OF THE SEAL OF BRIEN, KING OF KENELEOGAIN.  
(Natural size.)

I am enabled, by the kindness of the Keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities in the British Museum, to figure this seal, which has not, so far as I am aware, been illustrated before in any Irish publication. Examination of the figure will show that no heraldic charges can now be seen on the shield, and it may be questioned if there ever were any.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, vol. iv, p. 721; *Irish Penny Journal*, vol. i, p. 357; and *Annals of Ulster*, vol. ii, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, vol. iv, p. 695, No. 17,334.

<sup>3</sup> It is safer to leave the equestrian seal of Felim O'Connor, illustrated by Ware in the *Antiquities of Ireland*, vol. ii, pl. 1, No. 3, out of account, as the seal has been lost since the seventeenth century, and the drawing figured by Ware, which shows some charges on the shield, may not be accurate.



There are a few matrices in the Royal Irish Academy's collection, inscribed with the names of Irish persons, but I do not think any of them can be earlier than the fourteenth century. The silver matrix of Brian O'Brian<sup>1</sup> has for a device a griffin; and the seal of another O'Brien (Donogh), which I should also place in the fourteenth century, has for a device a galley and two fishes.<sup>2</sup> A silver matrix, inscribed with name of MacCraith Mac I Dafid,<sup>3</sup> has for a device a wyvern, and another matrix, inscribed with the name of Brian O'Harny, has for device an antique gem set in silver.<sup>4</sup> The bronze matrix of Domnall Kavanagh displays a seeded fleur-de-lys, and a silver matrix inscribed with what appears to be the name of Maurice O'Donnell has for a device a griffin.<sup>5</sup> There is also in the Academy's collection a plaster impression from a brass matrix preserved in the British Museum which is inscribed with the name of Donogh O'Kennedy, and has for device a bird. Only two Irish matrices in the collection display shields of arms, a matrix inscribed with the name of John MacArt, which bears a shield charged with a sceptre, and another inscribed with the name of Godfrey Dougherty, which has a shield barry of six pieces. A large, rough bronze matrix, inscribed with the name of "Johannes . O'Reli . Miles," has for device a hand between two wheel-like figures; but from its appearance I should not consider this matrix earlier than the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

There is also one other silver matrix in the Academy's collection, which is inscribed with the name of Maurice O'Neill, and has for device a shield charged with the hand of O'Neill; but this matrix has a rather curious appearance, and I prefer to leave it out of the discussion for the purposes of the present paper. In any case it is referred by Dr. Petrie to the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Colonel Claude Cane possesses a very interesting matrix inscribed with the name OCahan. The matrix is bronze and oval in shape, measuring  $1\frac{7}{8}$  by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches; it is  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch in thickness, and has a stout tubular handle  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length. From its appearance the matrix probably belongs to the seventeenth century, and is a curious

<sup>1</sup> *Irish Penny Journal*, vol. i, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper on "Matrices of Irish Seals," *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxx, Sec. C, p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> So read by Petrie (*Irish Penny Journal*, vol. i, p. 381). I cannot make out the last word of the name.

<sup>4</sup> *Irish Penny Journal*, vol. i, p. 381.

<sup>5</sup> *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxx, sec. C, p. 476.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. G. H. Orpen has suggested that the owner of this matrix may be identified with John Roe (O'Reilly), who is mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 1811, under the year 1583, as follows:—"Turlough, son of Donnell O'Brien. and John Roe, the son of Hugh Conallagh, son of Maelmora O'Reilly, went to England, and were invested with the order of knighthood on the one day, in the summer of this year, in the presence of the Sovereign, Elizabeth." The knighthood would account for the "Miles" on the matrix, and the late appearance of the matrix agrees well with this identification.

<sup>7</sup> *Irish Penny Journal*, vol. i, p. 380.

example of complicated and decadent armory. The design, which is enclosed in a beaded border, is an oval-ended shield of arms composed of the coats of O'Neill and O'Connor, viz., a fesse per pale between in chief over a crescent a dexter hand supported on the dexter by a horse rampant on the sinister by a lion rampant over each a star; in base, a salmon swimming in the sea on the fesse, dexter three lizards in bend to the sinister, sinister an oak-tree, over all an inescutcheon charged with a Calvary cross. The shield is surmounted by a coronet set with many pearls, which has a decidedly foreign appearance. On each side of the shield is a rampant lion. Under the shield is the name OCAHAN.

Colonel Cane also has a brass signet ring supposed to have belonged to an O'Cahan; the bezel of the ring is engraved as a signet, and bears a cat-a-mountain turned to the left between the letters T.C.<sup>1</sup>

Having discussed the matrices, we must now come on to the question of seals.

The earliest armorial seal appears to be that of Hugh Reamhar O'Neill, of late fourteenth-century date. This seal, which is illustrated, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i, old series, p. 255, shows a shield charged with the hand of O'Neill, and on each side is an ornamental animal rather like a wyvern.

*The British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, volume iv, p. 723, gives a list of eighteen Irish heraldic seals, but of these only two are as early as the thirteenth century, and none are inscribed with the names of Irish chiefs. The fine armorial seal of Donall Reagh Mac Murrough Kavanagh, illustrated, *Journal, ante*, vol. xvi, p. 23, is late in date (1475), and the interesting little armorial seal of Owen Roe O'Neill, illustrated, *Journal, ante*, vol. xii, p. 17, is attached to a letter dated 1644.

Among the fiantis of Elizabeth preserved in the Irish Record Office are a number of surrenders by chiefs of Irish and Norman descent, and I have examined the twenty-nine mentioned on p. 31 of Appendix III, Index to the Calendar of Fiantis of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Of these two were apparently sealed with blobs of plain wax, and of the remainder the seals had disappeared except in the following cases:—

(No. 4222) Sir Lucas Dillon sealed with a small oval seal a good deal broken, on which the arms appear to be a lion rampant between three crescents, over all a fesse, and thereon a crescent.

(No. 4263) Sir Tirlagh O'Brian sealed with a similar seal with quartered arms, first and fourth the familiar three lions, second three piles meeting in point, and a third a pheon.

(No. 4987) Conill O'Molloy sealed with a similar seal of quartered arms, the first and fourth being apparently a chevron, and in chief either

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Cane has deposited both the matrix and the ring on loan in the National Museum, Royal Irish Academy Collection, where these interesting objects can be seen.

a star or a flower, second a chevron between three stars, and fourth a stag, and apparently some other figures.

(No. 5063) Feaghan O'Ferrall Boy sealed with an oval seal much defaced, which apparently bore arms of a saltire impaling another coat.

(No. 5236) Hugh Boy O'Heyne sealed with a small oval seal bearing the monogram I.H.S.

There are few, if any, sepulchral monuments of Irishmen displaying heraldry of sufficiently early date to be of use for our purpose,<sup>1</sup> and there are no early rolls of Irish arms available. Ulster's Office was not established until 1552, and though there are a few heraldic mss. extant which give some Anglo-Irish arms, such as the illustrations in the ms. in the Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth<sup>2</sup> (1617), and Thomas Wall's *Book of Crests*<sup>3</sup> (1530), they are all late in date.

As far, therefore, as the evidence of seals goes, we have the following results:—

No early armorial seals of Irish Princes or Chiefs have been shown to exist up to the present.

In the fourteenth century armorial seals were exceptional, and the Irish chiefs and gentlemen were still sealing with miscellaneous devices such as galleys, wyverns, griffins, antique gems, &c.

I therefore think we are justified in drawing the conclusion that heraldry in the ordinary sense of the word was only very slowly accepted by the Irish chiefs, and that its adoption on any large scale in Ireland did not take place until the fifteenth century, or even later.

<sup>1</sup> Of 204 coats-of-arms drawn from tombstones by G. V. Du Noyer, only one is dated between the fifteenth and sixteenth century, five belong to the sixteenth, and the rest are later (*Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, vol. x, pp. 179 and 405). See, however, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. iii, old series, p. 266, where the O'Cahan monument at Dungiven, supposed to be *circa* end of the fourteenth century, is stated to show armorial bearings, and also *Journal, ante*, vol. xxii, p. 70, for the O'Brien monuments in Limerick Cathedral, the supposed early dates of erection of which I regard as doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> See *National MSS. of Ireland*, vol. iv, pt. i.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Ancestor*, vol. xi, p. 183.

## Proceedings

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the 65th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on Tuesday, the 28th of January, 1913, at 5 o'clock, p.m.

COUNT PLUNKETT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*, in the Chair.

Also present :—

*Past Presidents*.—John Ribton Garstin, D.L., F.S.A.; Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., LL.D., F.S.A.

*Fellows*.—Francis Eirington Ball, LITT.D.; H. F. Berry, I.S.O., LITT.D.; G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A.; John Cooke, M.A., M.R.I.A.; Victor G. Davey; Louis E. Deane; S. A. O. FitzPatrick; William Fry, J.P., F.R.G.S.; P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A.; Seaton F. Milligan, J.P., M.R.I.A.; S. G. Murray; Professor R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A.; M. J. McEnery, M.R.I.A., *Hon. Gen. Sec.*; P. J. O'Reilly; Andrew Robinson, M.V.O.; William C. Stubbs, M.A.; John F. Weldrick; T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.; John White.

*Members*.—Joseph Bewley; H. A. Cosgrave, M.A.; H. S. Crawford, M.R.I.A.; William J. Dargan, M.D.; J. A. Geoghegan; Mrs. G. C. Geyer; P. J. Griffith; W. B. Joyce, B.L.; Rev. F. J. Lucas, D.D.; Francis M'Bride, J.P.; R. Percy McDonnell, F.R.C.S.I.; Colonel J. K. Milner; W. Murphy; C. McNeill; Andrew Roycroft; R. B. Sayers; Thomas C. Townshend, B.A.; Henry Bantry White, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Hon. Fellow, Fellows, and Members were elected :—

### AS HONORARY FELLOW

Morris, Rev. Canon Rupert Hugh, D.D., F.S.A., 4, Warwick-square, London, S.W., Editor of *Archæologia Cambrensis* : proposed by the Council.

### AS FELLOWS

Barton, The Hon. Dunbar Plunket, M.A., Judge of the High Court of Justice, 19, Clyde-road, Dublin : proposed by Count Plunkett, F.S.A., *President*.

Coleman, James, 2, Rosehill-terrace, Queenstown, Co. Cork (*Member*, 1888) : proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., *Fellow*.

Fausset, Rev. Charles, B.A., Clonmethan Rectory, Oldtown, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1908) : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

Fry, William, J.P., F.R.G.S., ex-President Incorporated Law Society, Wilton House, Merrion-road, Dublin (*Member*, 1908) : proposed by Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., LL.D.

Moulder, Victor J., 7, Lower Downs-road, Wimbledon, London, S.W. (*Member*, 1906) : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

White, W. Grove, LL.B., Crown Solicitor for Co. Kildare, 18, Elgin-road, Dublin (*Member*, 1889) : proposed by M. J. McEnery, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*



## AS MEMBERS

- Carolan, Miss Mary, 13, Rathdown-terrace, N. C. Road, Dublin: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*
- Denning, Miss Isabel, 102, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow.*
- Geoghegan, Joseph Aloysius, Ballinteer Villa, Ballinteer Road, Dundrum, Co. Dublin: proposed by H. G. Leask, *Member.*
- James, Miss Frances M., 4, Roby-place, Kingstown, Co. Dublin: proposed by Lieut.-Col. S. A. James, *Member.*
- Librarian, Public Record Office, London, Chancery-lane, London, W.C.: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*
- Paton, William Mortimer, A.R.I.B.A., 6, St. Kevin's-park, Dublin: proposed by P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A., *Fellow.*
- Peacock, Mrs. Reginald, 1, Ovoca-terrace, Blackrock, Co. Dublin: proposed by Miss U. T. E. Powell, *Member.*
- Waller, James Hardress, M.I.C.E., Lusk, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary: proposed by J. G. Barry, D.L., *Member.*
- Wells, J. Barker, Epworth, Greystones, Co. Wicklow: proposed by George Duncan, *Member.*

The Report of the Council for 1912 was read, revised, and adopted as follows:—

THE meetings of the Society were well attended during the past year. The Summer Meeting was held at Waterford for the Province of Munster, when upwards of fifty Fellows and Members took part in the Meeting and Excursions. A full report of the proceedings in connexion therewith was published in the *Journal* for the current year. Hospitality was offered to the Society by several residents in the district, to all of whom the thanks of the Society have been tendered by the Council.

The places and dates of Meetings for 1913 are as follows:—

PLACE.	DATE.	REMARKS.
Dublin, . . .	Tuesday, *Jan. 28,†	Annual Meeting, and Evening Meeting for Papers.
Do., . . .	„ Feb. 25,†	Evening Meeting, for Papers.
Do., . . .	„ Mar. 25,†	Do. Do.
Do., . . .	„ *April 29,†	General Meeting.
Sligo, . . .	„ *June 23,	General Meeting and Annual Excursion.
Dublin, . . .	„ *Sept. 30,†	General Meeting.
Do., . . .	„ Dec. 2,†	Evening Meeting, for Papers.

\* Railway Return Tickets will be obtainable for these Meetings at a fare and a third.

† Members of the Society's Dinner Club will dine at the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, at 6.15 p.m.

The attendances for the thirteen meetings of the Council held during the year up to the 11th December are as follows :—

COUNT PLUNKETT, . . . . . 6	E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, . . . . . 11
ROBERT COCHRANE, . . . . . 12	M. J. M'ENERY, . . . . . 11
LORD WALTER FITZGERALD, . . . . . 11	R. A. S. MACALISTER, . . . . . 9
JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, . . . . . 7	G. D. BURTCHAELE, . . . . . 7
H. F. BERRY, . . . . . 7	GODDARD H. ORPEN, . . . . . 1
T. J. WESTROPP, . . . . . 7	GEORGE A. STEVENSON, . . . . . 2
THE RIGHT HON. M. F. COX, . . . . . 4	H. J. STOKES, . . . . . 6
W. C. STUBBS, . . . . . 11	THE RIGHT HON. W. F. BAILEY, . . . . . 1
P. J. LYNCH, . . . . . 11	FRANCIS ELRLINGTON BALL, . . . . . 5
P. J. O'REILLY, . . . . . 13	JAMES MILLS, . . . . . 2
JOHN COOKE, . . . . . 5	

There are four vacancies caused by the retirement of four Vice-Presidents in rotation, one for each Province. The retirement of the three senior Members of the Council, and of three Members for non-attendance, causes vacancies, all of which require to be filled.

Nominations for the above-mentioned vacancies have been received for the positions of Vice-Presidents, and Members of Council. The following have been nominated :—

#### AS VICE-PRESIDENTS :—

FOR ULSTER, . . . . .	THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.C.V.O.
„ LEINSTER, . . . . .	JAMES MILLS, I.S.O., M.R.I.A.
„ MUNSTER, . . . . .	T. J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A.
„ CONNACHT, . . . . .	THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT GOUGH, K.C.V.O.

#### AS MEMBERS OF COUNCIL :—

G. D. BURTCHAELE, M.A., M.R.I.A.  
 RICHARD LANGRISHE, J.P.  
 T. G. H. GREEN, M.R.I.A.  
 S. A. O. FITZPATRICK.  
 CHARLES M'NEILL.

It will therefore be necessary to declare the foregoing as elected to the respective offices for which they have been nominated.

The Society has lost by death twenty-four Members, so far as at present notified.

The following is the List of Deaths recorded in 1912 :—

#### FELLOWS

Handcock, G. F., 5, Hazelwell-road, Putney, London (*Member*, 1893; *Fellow*, 1896).  
 Phené, J. S., LL.D., 5, Carleton-terrace, London (1873).  
 Saunderson, Rev. Robert de Bedick, M.A., Milton House, Sittingbourne (1898).

## MEMBERS

- Carolan, John, J.P., 13, Rathdown-terrace, N.C.R., Dublin (1894).  
 Dulton, John Paul, Camden Hotel, Cork (1908).  
 Daniel, Robert G., J.P., Newforest, Tyrrell's Pass, Westmeath (1897).  
 Fitzsimons, John Bingham, M.D., The Cottage, Lympstone, S. Devon (1868).  
 Geoghegan, Michael, J.P., Prince of Wales Hotel, Athlone (1890).  
 Hall, Thomas, Derrynure House, Bailieborough (1893).  
 Hinch, William A., 24, Cambridge-road, Rathmines (1871).  
 Martin, R. T., 25, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin (1908).  
 Meade, Right Rev. William E., D.D., Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross (1893).  
 Meagher, Very Rev. Canon William, P.P., Templemore (1865).  
 Montgomery, Robert J., M.A., M.D., 28, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin (1897).  
 Moffatt, Rev. John E., M.D., Palmerston Villa, Rathmines (1891).  
 Moore, Joseph H., A.T.M., 5, Brookfield-terrace, Donnybrook (1885).  
 Morton, John, 45, Wellington-road, Dublin (1889).  
 McInerney, T. J., 8, Shamrock Villas, Drumcondra (1902).  
 McKee, Robert, M.A., Harlesden College, London (1892).  
 McTernan, Miss M., 14, Clare-street, Dublin (1905).  
 O'Malley, Arthur M., The Quay, Westport (1899).  
 O'Toole, Arthur, 5, Foster Place, Dublin (1898).  
 Roberts, Edward, M.A., Plas Maesinela, Carnarvon (1897).  
 Thomas, W. J., Mullingar (1897).

## ROYAL CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

The most important event in the year has been the granting to the Society of a Royal Charter of Incorporation by His Majesty King George V. The Charter, which was applied for in 1911, was passed, under the Great Seal, April 22nd, 1912. The granting of the Charter of Incorporation places the Society on an equal footing with the leading scientific Societies in the United Kingdom, and the Council feel that this should be a matter of gratification to every Fellow and Member of the Society.

A copy of the Charter is printed in the appendix.

## ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTION

The correspondence printed in the appendix shows the efforts made by the Council to obtain for Ireland the same advantages that would arise from the preparation of an inventory of the ancient monuments in the country such as is already in progress in Great Britain. The Council consider the reasons offered by Government for the unfair treatment of Ireland as entirely inadequate, and will continue to press for equality of treatment in this matter either in the form of a Royal Commission or in some other manner. They hope in this to have the sympathetic support of all the Irish Members of Parliament and the public, on whose behalf the Council are acting. The existing Acts of Parliament, while administered with zeal as far as they go, are totally insufficient to deal

with all the monuments of the country. Only the fringe of this important work is touched, and the matter is made worse by the insufficiency of the parliamentary vote, which for the past year 1911-12 was only £500 odd for ancient monuments. The want of co-ordination and classification as between what should be county and what government charges is detrimental. In this and other matters the advice and assistance of an Advisory Committee, such as was formed by the Board of Works some years ago by representation from this Society and the Royal Irish Academy, would be helpful; but the Council regret to have to report that the Board of Works have not seen fit to avail itself in late years of the services of this committee. This attitude seems strange in view of the action of the corresponding authorities in England in promoting a Bill in the present Parliament for the express purpose of establishing such an Advisory Board for that country.

#### TARA HILL

In former reports of the Council reference was made to the vandalism which resulted in the destruction of the contours of the mounds known as the "King's Chair" and the "Rath of the Synods." Since their issue the portion of the hill on which these mounds are situated has been vested under the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1892, which will prevent a repetition of such vandalism, but nothing has been done to restore the mounds to their original surface. It is gratifying to learn that the Board of Works have caused an elaborate contour survey to be undertaken of the hill, from which a model or relief map could be made, and that sufficient measurements and data have been preserved which would enable the original contour of the defaced mounds to be restored. We hope the Board of Works will undertake the reparation of the damage done in 1902, now that the mounds are vested in them.

The completion of this valuable survey will enable the scientific investigation of the other mounds to be undertaken, and, as mentioned in the Society's report for 1910, the committee appointed by the Council are prepared to co-operate in this work towards which the Government Grant Committee of the Royal Society have contributed a sum, of which about £44 will be made available for commencing this desirable work, but a much larger sum will be required to carry it through to completion.

#### "GORMANSTON REGISTER"

The *Register of Gormanston*, edited by Mr. James Mills, will soon be ready for distribution. The Editor hoped it would be ready by the date of the Annual General Meeting, but the difficulties of making the index have delayed the completion of the volume.



## ROLL OF MEMBERSHIP

The Roll at the end of the year 1912 stands as follows, after removing the 12 names printed at end of this report as owing subscriptions for three years :—

Hon. Fellows,	.	.	.	.	.	.	11
Life Fellows,	.	.	.	.	.	.	49
Fellows,	.	.	.	.	.	.	138
Life Members,	.	.	.	.	.	.	52
Members,	.	.	.	.	.	.	773
							<hr/>
Total,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1023

The number on the Roll for 1911 was 1053. The decrease is caused by the deaths noted, some resignations, and the removal of the names of all those who had not paid any subscriptions for the previous three years. The numbers elected during the year were—5 Fellows, and 29 Members.

The following are the names which have been removed from the List for 1912 as owing three years' subscriptions, viz., 1909, 1910, and 1911, with the option of being restored to Membership on paying up all arrears :—

## FELLOW

Forshaw, Charles, LL.D., 4, Hustler-terrace, Bradford, Yorks.

## MEMBERS

Carroll, Anthony R., 47, North Great George's-street, Dublin.  
 Carter, Joseph S. Bernard, Galway.  
 Cuthbert, David, Devon Chambers, Hunter-street, Sydney, N.S.W.  
 Finegan, Rev. Peter, St. Patrick's, Dundalk.  
 Green, Miss, 137, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.  
 Le Bane, Daniel, D.I.N.S., Killarney.  
 Lovegrove, E. H., M.A., The Schoolhouse, Stamford.  
 Mahony, Peirce Gun, Kilmurry, Castleisland, Co. Kerry.  
 M'Alcer, H. K., Sixmilecross, Co. Tyrone.  
 Nolan, Miss L., 69, Northumberland-road, Dublin.  
 Sheridan, Mrs., 26, North Earl-street, Dublin.

List of Fellows and Members elected in 1912, and Members transferred to the rank of Fellow :—

## FELLOWS

Davy, Victor George, 1 Maxwell-road, Rathgar, Dublin.  
 Fogerty, George J., R.N., 47, George-street, Limerick (*Member*, 1901).  
 Gaisford-St. Lawrence, Capt. J. C., J.P., Howth Castle, Co. Dublin.  
 Gough, The Viscount, Lough Cutra Castle, Gort, Co. Galway.  
 Plunkett, Joseph M., 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.

## MEMBERS

Anderson, Sir Robert, Bart., Donegall-place, Belfast.  
 Butler, Matthew, 19, Belvedere-place, Dublin.  
 Chancellor, John W., Fernside, Upper Rathmines.  
 Dagg, T. S. C., B.A., 86, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin.  
 Daniel, Miss Isabella, New Forest, Tyrrell's Pass, Co. Westmeath.

MEMBERS—*continued*

Dargan, William J., M.B., M.D., 45, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.  
 Delaney, Joseph Francis, M.R.I.A.I., City Surveyor, Cork.  
 Dickson, Mrs. Mary, Faban Rectory, Londonderry.  
 Douglas, John, 12, South Parade, Waterford.  
 Downes, Nicholas J., Solicitor, Bellevue, Mullingar.  
 Dundon, Miss Annie, The Cottage, Crecora, Patrick's Well, Co. Limerick.  
 Fairholme, Miss Caroline Grace, Comragh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.  
 Geyer, Mrs., Geraldine Castle, Tigua, Ohio, U.S.A.  
 Gillooly, Michael, Fore, Castlepollard, Co. Westmeath.  
 Hannigan, James J., B.E., B.A., County Surveyor, Court House, Monaghan.  
 Keane, Sir John, Bart., Cappoquin House, Cappoquin.  
 MacCaffrey, Rev. James, D.P.H., St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.  
 McDonnell, Robert Percy, F.R.C.S.I., 20, Lr. Leeson-street, Dublin.  
 Mayler, Miss Margaret, Harristown, Ballymetty, Co. Wexford.  
 Morrison, William H., Granville Hotel, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.  
 Murphy, Walter, Gracepark House, Richmond-road, Drumcondra.  
 Ormsby, Robert Daly, Ballynamote, Carrickmines, Co. Dublin.  
 Reade, James F. A., M.I.C.E., 28, Barronstrand-street, Waterford.  
 Scott, William A., Architect, 45, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.  
 Seigne, Miss Margery, Greenane House, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.  
 Symes, Miss Eleanor, Mount Druid, Killiney, Co. Dublin.  
 Talbot, Rev. Robert, Rector of Ballycarney, Co. Wexford.  
 Toppin, Aubrey John, National Museum, Dublin.  
 ua Casaide, Seamus, B.A., Board of Works, Dublin.

On the adoption of the Report the Chairman declared the following elected to their respective offices:—

AS VICE-PRESIDENTS :—

FOR ULSTER,	..	THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.C.V.O.
„ LEINSTER,	..	JAMES MILLS, I.S.O., M.R.I.A.
„ MUNSTER,	..	T. J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A.
„ CONNACHT,	..	THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT GOUGH, K.C.V.O.

AS MEMBERS OF COUNCIL :—

G. D. BURTCHAELL, M.A., M.R.I.A.  
 RICHARD LANGRISHE, J.P.  
 T. G. H. GREEN, M.R.I.A.  
 S. A. O. FITZPATRICK.  
 CHARLES M'NEILL.

The proposed amended Statutes and By-laws under the Charter were discussed, and the final consideration postponed until the February Meeting.

It was proposed, and, after discussion, agreed that the Summer Meeting and Excursions be held in Sligo from the 23rd to the 28th June.

The Meeting then adjourned until 8.30 o'clock, p m.

The Evening Meeting was held at 8.30 o'clock, p.m., COUNT PLUNKETT, F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following papers were read and referred to the Council for publication:—

“The Dominican Church of Athenry.” By Professor R. A. S. Macalister, *Fellow*.

“The Dublin Society for the Support of ‘Decayed Musicians, 1750–1764.’” By W. H. Grattan Flood, M.S.D., *Member*.

“The Seventeenth-century House, Oldbawn, Co. Dublin.” By H. G. Leask, *Member*.

The Meeting then adjourned until 25 February 1913.

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED IN 1912.

American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, vol. xxi, part 1.

Antiquary, The, for 1912.

Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. xii, parts 1, 2, 3, and 4.

“A Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland.” By the Hon. John Abercromby.

Belfast Naturalists' Field Club Proceedings, vol. vi, part 5.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions, vol. xxxiv, parts I and 2.

British Archaeological Association Journal, vol. xvii, parts 3 and 4; vol. xviii, parts 1 and 2.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society Proceedings, no. 61.

Cambridge and Huntingdon Archaeological Society Transactions, vol. iii, part 7.

“Catalogue of the Dryden Collection.” By R. W. Brown.

Chester Archaeological Society Journal, N.S., vol. xviii.

Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal, vol. xvii, nos. 92, 93, and 94.

Det Kongelige Norske Videnskapers Selskaps Skrifter, 1910.

Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, vol. xxxii.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. x, part 7; vol. xi, parts 1, 2, and 3.

Folk Lore, vol. xxii, no. 2.

Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. lxiii.

Irish Builder for 1912.

Kildare Archaeological Society Journal, vol. vii, nos. 1 and 2.

Louth Archaeological Society Journal, vol. ii, no. 4.

Memoires des Antiquaires du Nord, 1911–1912. Aarbøger, 1911.

Numismatic Chronicle, 4th Series, nos. 43, 44, 45, 46, and 47.

Numismatique de Musée National de Transylvanie Tranvaux, vol. iii, no. 2.

“Palæolithic Man and Terramara Settlements in Europe.” By Robert Munro, M.A., LL.D.

Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements for 1912.

Revue Celtique, vol. xxxii, no. 4; vol. xxxiii, nos. 1, 2, and 3.

Royal Anthropological Institute Journal, vols. xli and xlii.

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Journal, vol. lxviii, nos. 272, 273, and 274; vol. lxix, no. 275.

Royal Institute of British Architects Journal, vol. xix, parts 1–4; Kalendar 1912–1913.

- Royal Irish Academy Proceedings, vol. xxix, Sec. C, no. 9; vol. xxx, Sec. C. nos. 1-10.
- Société Royale de Archéologie de Bruxelles Annales, tome xxv, liv. 2-4; tome xxvi, liv. 1-4; Annuaire, tome xxiii.
- Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne Proceedings, 3rd Series, vol. v, pp. 117-240; Aeliana, vol. viii.
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Proceedings, vol. xlv.
- Society of Architects Year Book, 1912; Journal, vol. v, nos. 51-60; vol. vi, nos. 61 and 62.
- Somersetshire Archaeological Society Proceedings, 3rd Series, vol. xvii.
- Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol. liv.
- Thoresby Society, vol. xx, no. 43.
- The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Bibliography of Wisconsin in the War.
- United States National Museum Report, 1911.
- Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. xxxvii, nos. 116 and 117. Antiquities in the Museum.
- Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. xxi, parts 84 and 85.
- Yorkshire Philosophical Society Report, 1911.

# REPORT ON THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION FOR 1911 AND 1912<sup>1</sup>

The diminution in the number of photographs unfortunately continues. Hitherto we had never added less than a hundred photographs; for the last two years we added less than a quarter and less than a third of that number, being 23 for 1911, and 31 for 1912. Mr. H. T. Knox, as usual, heads the list, having given 23. Mr. Charles G. Pilkington Wilson gave 10; the keeper 13; Mr. H. S. Crawford 2; Dr. G. Fogerty 4; Dr. G. U. McNamara 2. This brings the collection to 2762 at present.

CLARE.—Bishop's Island, with cells; Bunratty Castle; Caherahoagh Fort, steps; Cashlaun Gar fort; Cratloe Castle; Creevagh dolmen (Burren) (2); Doonaunroe (Foohagh); Dysert O'Dea cross and church (3); Illaunadoon Head; Moghane Fort, second wall, and Noughaval, O'Davoren's chapel—13 in all.

KERRY.—Bray (Valencia), two clocháns (2); Cahergall (near Cahersiveen); Clynacartan, gallans near; Duncanuig cliff fort, St. Finan's Bay (3); Dundagallán cliff fort (Valencia); Duneaneer Fort, near Doulus Head; and Rincagheragh Castle (near Valencia) (2)—11 in all.<sup>2</sup>

LIMERICK.—Mountrussell ogham stone—2.

MAYO.—Balla, base of Round Tower, &c.; Currykilleen fort (3); Dunfeeny pillar stone; Dunminulla, fortified head; Lismeehan grave (2); Rosserk, Franciscan Convent (2)—10 in all.

ROSCOMMON.—Ballinaphuill fort (near Ballyhaunis) (2); Caurann mound (near Rathcroghan) (3); Carrowkeel fort (Bohola); Glenballythomas grove in Grallagh townland (near Rathcroghan); Kilroddan fort (Tibohine); Lynn church font (near Mullingar); Mullaghdooley mound in Rath Park (near Castlereagh); Rathcroghan fort; Toberelton church (Baslick) (2)—15 in all.

TIPPERARY.—Patrick's Well church, altar (near Clonmel).

WESTMEATH.—Castletown Geoghegan mote (2).

<sup>1</sup> Continued from vol. xli, p. 90, by T. J. Westropp, *Keeper*.

<sup>2</sup> Several of these have been reproduced in the Journal, vol. xlii.



The adjourned General Meeting was held at the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's Green, on Tuesday, 25 February 1913, at 8.15 o'clock, Count Plunkett, President, in the Chair, when the Statutes and By-laws revised under the Charter were discussed, and their adoption moved by Mr. William Fry, seconded by Mr. R. J. Kelly, and passed unanimously. (These Statutes and By-laws which now govern the Society's proceedings will be found in the appendix.)

Lantern slides of the following were exhibited by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Secretary*:—

A Matrix of a Thirteenth-century Seal, and a Bronze Plate engraved with the arms of the Dublin Tailors' Guild.

The following papers were read and referred to the Council for publication:—

“Prehistoric Remains (Forts and Dolmens) in Burren and on its Southern Border, Co. Clare” (illustrated with lantern slides). By T. J. Westropp, *M.A., Fellow*.

“The Northern Road from Tara.” By G. E. Hamilton. Communicated by Everard Hamilton, *Member*.

The Meeting then adjourned until the 25th March, 1913.

An Evening Meeting of the Sixty-fifth Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 25th of March, 1913, at 8.30 o'clock, George Dames Burtchaell, Athlone Pursuivant of Arms, *M.A., M.R.I.A.*, in the Chair, when the following papers were read:—

“A Note as to when Heraldry was adopted by the Irish Chiefs.” By E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

“A Burial Custom of the Iron Age, and a Suggested Explanation.” By Miss Margaret E. Dobbs, *Member*.

and referred to the Council for publication.

The Meeting then adjourned until 29 April 1913.

## APPENDIX

## ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

## ROYAL CHARTER

GEORGE THE FIFTH BY THE GRACE OF GOD

of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the  
British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith.  
To all whom these Presents shall come GREETING.

WHEREAS an humble Petition has been presented to Our Right Trusty and Right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF ABERDEEN, Knight of our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of Our Royal Victorian Order, Our Lieutenant-General and General Governor of that part of Our said United Kingdom called Ireland, on behalf of the Society called the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, hereinafter called the said Royal Society, by Our trusty and well-beloved ROBERT COCHRANE, Companion of the Imperial Service Order, Doctor of Laws, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Past President of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland; PATRICK WESTON JOYCE, Doctor of Laws, Member of the Royal Irish Academy; JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN Master of Arts, Justice of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Louth, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; ROBERT DAY, Justice of the Peace for the City of Cork, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, a Vice-President of the said Royal Society; GEORGE NOBLE PLUNKETT (commonly called Count Plunkett), Justice of the Peace for the County of Dublin, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, Director of the National Museum, Vice-President of the said Royal Society; WILLIAM FRY, Justice of the Peace for the County of Dublin, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; PATRICK J. O'REILLY, Member of Council, Fellow of the said Royal Society; SEATON FORREST MILLIGAN, Justice of the Peace for the City of Belfast, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, a past Vice-President of the said Royal Society; SAMUEL CUNNINGHAM, a Member of the said Royal Society; PATRICK JOSEPH LYNCH, Member of the

Royal Irish Academy, a past Vice-President of the said Royal Society; HENRY F. BERRY, Companion of the Imperial Service Order, Doctor of Letters, a past Vice-President of the said Royal Society; RICHARD LANGRISH, Justice of the Peace for the City of Kilkenny, Senior Vice-President of the said Royal Society; THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD WALTER FITZ GERALD, Justice of the Peace for the County of Kildare, late Captain King's Royal Rifle Corps, a Vice-President of the said Royal Society; HENRY JOHN STOKES, Barrister-at-Law, Fellow and Honorary Treasurer of the said Royal Society; THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, Master of Arts, Member of the Royal Irish Academy; MICHAEL JOSEPH MCENERY, Bachelor of Arts, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, Fellow and an Honorary General Secretary of the said Royal Society; EDMUND CLARENCE RICHARD ARMSTRONG, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, a Fellow and an Honorary General Secretary of the said Royal Society; JAMES MILLS, Companion of the Imperial Service Order, Deputy-Keeper of Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland, a past Vice-President of the said Royal Society; GEORGE DAMES BURTCHAELL, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, Barrister-at-Law, Athlone Pursuivant and Registrar of the Office of Arms in Ireland, a Vice-President of the said Royal Society; ROBERT ALEXANDER STEWART MACALISTER, Master of Arts, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Professor of Celtic Archaeology in the National University of Ireland; THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MICHAEL FRANCIS COX, Doctor of Medicine, and FRANCIS ELRINGTON BALL, Doctor of Letters, Justice of the Peace for County Dublin, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, a past Vice-President of the said Royal Society; setting forth, amongst other things, that in the year 1849, the Kilkenny Archaeological Society was instituted for the purpose of preserving, examining, and illustrating ancient monuments and memorials of the arts, manners, and customs of the past as connected with the antiquities, language, and literature of or relating to Ireland; that the operations of the Society becoming extended from time to time, alterations were made in the style and title of the Society; that on the 27th day of December, in the year 1869, Her late Majesty QUEEN VICTORIA was graciously pleased to order that the Society be called in future the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland; and that on the 25th day of March, 1890, Her said late Majesty was pleased to sanction the adoption of the title of The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and to become its Patron-in-Chief; and that His late Majesty KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH was a Fellow, and also Patron-in-Chief of the said Royal Society.

AND WHEREAS by their said Petition the said Royal Society prayed that there might be granted to the present Fellows and Members of the said Royal Society a Royal Charter to enable them as a Corporate Body recognizable at law to carry on with the Fellows and Members to be elected in future the examination and illustration of the ancient

Monuments and Memorials of Ireland as in the past, and generally the business of the Society.

AND WHEREAS We are minded to comply with the Prayer of the Petition.

KNOW YE therefore that We of Our special Grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent of Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF ABERDEEN, Our said Lieutenant-General and General Governor of that part of Our said United Kingdom called Ireland, and according to the tenor and effect of Our Letter under Our Privy Signet and Royal Sign Manuals, bearing date at Our Court of Saint James's, the 4th day of March 1912, in the Second Year of Our Reign, and now enrolled in the Record and Writ Office of Our Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in that part of Our said United Kingdom called Ireland, have willed, granted, declared, and appointed, and by these Presents for us Our Heirs and Successors, do hereby will, grant, declare, and appoint as follows:—The persons now Fellows, Honorary Fellows, and Members of the said Voluntary Association or Society known as The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and all such persons as may hereafter, according to such Regulations or By-laws hereinafter mentioned, become Fellows, Honorary Fellows, and Members of the Body Corporate, hereby constituted pursuant to the provisions of these Presents, or the powers hereby granted, shall for ever hereafter be one Body Corporate and Politic by the name of The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, hereinafter referred to as the Society, and by the same name shall have perpetual succession and a common seal, with the power to break, alter, and make anew the said seal from time to time at their will and pleasure, and by the same name may sue and be sued in all Courts, and in all manner of actions and suits, and shall have power to do all other matters and things incidental or appertaining to a Body Corporate, and that the Society may use and have a Mace.

AND further of Our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent aforesaid, and according to the tenor and effect of Our aforesaid letters, We have licensed, authorized, and for ever hereafter enabled, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs and Successors do license, authorize, and for ever hereafter enable the Society or any person on its behalf to acquire any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within that part of Our United Kingdom called Ireland, or other interests therein, now held by or belonging to the Society, or by or belonging to any person or persons on its behalf, and also to acquire any additional lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever in Ireland (such additional lands, tenements, and hereditaments not exceeding at any one time in annual value calculated as at the time of the acquisition thereof respectively the sum of Five hundred pounds, according to the Irish Valuation Acts), and to hold all or any lands which the



Society is hereby authorized to acquire in perpetuity, or on lease or otherwise, and from time to time, but subject to all such consents as are by law required, to grant, demise, alienate, or otherwise dispose of the same or any part thereof.

AND We do further, for Ourselves and Our Heirs and Successors, Give and Grant Our Licence to any person or persons, and any Body Politic or Corporate, to assure in perpetuity or otherwise, or to demise to or for the benefit of the Society any lands, tenements, or hereditaments whatsoever within that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, within the limits of Value aforesaid, hereby nevertheless declaring that it shall not be incumbent upon any such person or persons or body to enquire as to the annual value of the property which may have been previously acquired by the Society.

AND We do further grant, declare, and appoint that there shall be in each year at least one general meeting of the Society as hereinafter mentioned, and that there shall always be a Council to direct and manage the concerns of the Society, and that the Council shall have the entire direction and management of the same in the manner and subject to the Regulations or By-laws hereinafter mentioned. But Our Will and Pleasure is that, at all General Meetings and Meetings of the Council, the Majority of the Fellows and Members present, and having a right to vote thereat respectively, shall decide upon each matter propounded at such, the person presiding therein having, in case of an equality of numbers, a second or casting vote.

AND, further, of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent aforesaid, and according to the tenor and effect of Our aforesaid Letter, We have willed, declared, appointed, and granted, and, by these Presents, do will, declare, appoint, and grant that the Council shall be constituted as follows, that is to say, it shall consist of the President for the time being, the Past Presidents, the Vice-Presidents, the Honorary General Secretaries, an Honorary Treasurer, and twelve or more Fellows or Members of the said Society, and that the first Members of the Council, exclusive of the President, shall be elected within six months after the date of this Our Charter, and that the said ROBERT COCHRANE shall be the first President of the Society.

AND We do further will, grant, declare, and appoint that it shall be lawful for the Fellows and Members of the Society hereby established to hold general meetings once in the year or oftener for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, that is to say—that the General Meetings shall choose a President, and such number of Vice-Presidents, representing each Province in Ireland, as such Meetings shall deem necessary, one or more Honorary General Secretaries, and an Honorary Treasurer of the Society, and shall also elect twelve or more Fellows or Members of the Society to be Members of the Council thereof; that the General Meetings shall make and establish such Regulations or By-laws as such Meetings

shall deem to be useful and necessary for the regulation of the Society, for the admission of Fellows, Honorary Fellows, and Members; for the Management of the estates, goods, chattels, library, and publications of the Society, and for fixing and determining the manner of electing the President and Vice-Presidents, Secretaries and Treasurer of the Society, and electing the Members of the Council, and the period of their continuance in office; also of appointing such officers, attendants, or servants on such conditions and at such salaries or remuneration as shall be deemed necessary or useful for the Society, and such Regulations or By-laws from time to time shall or may alter, vary, or revoke, and shall and may make such new and other Regulations or By-laws as they shall think most useful and expedient, so that the same shall not be repugnant to these Presents, or to the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm.

AND We do further will, grant, and declare that the Council shall have the sole management of the income and funds of the Society, and also the entire management and superintendence of all the other property, affairs, and concerns thereof, and shall and may, but not inconsistently with or contrary to the terms of this Our Charter, or to the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm, do all such acts and deeds as shall appear to them necessary or essential to be done for the purpose of carrying into effect the object and purposes of the Society.

AND We do further will, declare, and grant that the whole of the property of the Society shall be vested in the Society, but subject to the powers of superintendence and management aforesaid, provided that no contract shall be made for sale, mortgage, incumbrance, or other disposition of any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or any property belonging to the Society, save with the approbation and concurrence of a General Meeting.

AND We do further declare it to be Our will and pleasure that no Regulations or By-laws shall on any account or pretence whatsoever be made by the Society in opposition to the general scope, true intent, and meaning of this Our Charter, or the Laws and Statutes of Our Realm, and that if any such Regulation or By-law shall be made the same shall be absolutely void to all intents, effects, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.

AND, lastly, We do by these Presents grant to the Society and their successors that these Our Letters Patent, or the enrolment or exemption thereof, and all and singular the matters and things in the same contained shall and may be good, valid, and effectual in the Law according to the true intent and meaning of the same, and shall be taken, construed, and adjudged in the most favourable and beneficial sense, and for the best advantage of the Society, as well in all our Courts of 'Record' as elsewhere, and by all and singular the Judges, Justices, Officers, Ministers, and other subjects whatsoever of Us, Our Heirs

and Successors, any omission, imperfection, defect, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

PROVIDED ALWAYS that these our Letters Patent be enrolled in the Record and Writ Office of Our High Court of Justice in that part of our said United Kingdom called Ireland, within the space of six months from the date of these Presents, otherwise these Our said Letters Patent to be null and void and of no effect, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

IN WITNESS whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

WITNESS Our Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland at Dublin the Twenty-second day of April in the second year of Our Reign.



J. NUGENT LENTAIGNE,

*Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, Permanent  
Secretary to the Lord Chancellor in Ireland.*

Enrolled in the Consolidated Judgments Record and Writ Office of His Majesty's High Court of Justice in Ireland, Chancery Division, on the 29th day of April 1912.

JAMES M. LOWRY,

*Clerk of Judgments, Records, and Writs.*

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## ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTION—LETTERS FROM CHIEF SECRETARY

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CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE,  
DUBLIN CASTLE,

29th December, 1911.

GENTLEMEN,

I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to advert to your letter of the 9th October last, and accompanying Memorial of the President and Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries complaining of the destruction of ancient monuments in Ireland.

With reference to the assertions in the Memorial as to the alleged failure of the provisions of the Irish Land Act, 1903 (section 14), to ensure the preservation of ancient monuments on lands vested in

purchasers under the Land Purchase Acts, I am to state that His Excellency will be glad to be referred to specific instances in support of these assertions. His Excellency is informed that the Royal Society of Antiquaries are under a misapprehension in thinking that where the vendor or his solicitor fails to notify the Estates Commissioners of the existence of any ancient monuments on estates proposed to be sold under the Act of 1903 such monuments pass into the possession of the tenant unconditionally. It will be seen on reference to paragraph 31 of the enclosed instructions to inspectors in the service of the Estates Commissioners that it is the duty of the inspector or surveyor to call special attention in his Report to the existence of any such monuments, with a view to their preservation under the section mentioned. Where the monument is worthy of preservation the Commissioners, in accordance with the provisions of the Act, communicate with the Board of Works, asking whether the Board will consent to the property in the monument being vested in that Department. If the Board refuses to consent, the Commissioners communicate with the County Council, and they vest the monument in the Board of Works or County Council, as the case may be, unless it appears to the Commissioners that there are special circumstances which render this course inexpedient.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

J. B. DOUGHERTY.

THE HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARIES,

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND,

6 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN.

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THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND,

6 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,

30th January, 1912.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of 29th ultimo, enclosing a copy of the regulations made by His Excellency, in pursuance of the provisions of the Irish Land Act, and paragraph 31 of the instructions to inspectors, the Council beg to say that they are fully cognizant of the nature of these instructions, and desire to be permitted to mention that immediately after the passing of the Act, with the view of furthering the vesting of ancient monuments, they placed before the Estates Commissioners certain suggestions, and afterwards they were good enough to receive a deputation from the Council on the subject. These suggestions, as well as the full text of section 14 of the Act, were embodied in the Annual Report of the Council, to be found in volume xxxiv of the JOURNAL of the Society. It is believed the advice offered contributed



ultimately to the framing of the instructions dealing with such monuments. Since that time the steps taken by the Estates Commissioners for the inspecting and vesting of monuments, recorded in their Reports, have been printed in the Society's publications, and the sympathetic manner in which this Department of their work has been carried out has been prominently referred to in the JOURNAL of the Society.

While appreciating the sympathetic ability with which the statutable duties have been discharged by the authorities within the limits of the various Acts of Parliament administered by them, the Council feel it incumbent to express the opinion that an amendment of some of these Acts is desirable. They are convinced that it is not possible to effect, or even suggest, a remedy until the complete list is made of the monuments in the country in accordance with the terms of the Memorial submitted on the 9th of October last.

The Council would, however, mention that it will be seen from the published Reports of the Estates Commissioners, that the properties dealt with by them cover about one-third of the whole of Ireland, and that the monuments dealt with in that area number about 100. Bearing in mind that the estimated number of antiquarian remains in Ireland greatly exceeds 20,000, it will be seen that there is sufficient cause for the concern felt by the Council, in common with the Archaeologists of Great Britain, for the remainder. The making of the inventory asked for is a matter of national importance, and it is trusted that Ireland will be permitted to share in the benefit which similar work is conferring on England, Scotland, and Wales, for the reasons touched on in the Memorial, quite apart from the beneficent operations of any Public Department.

We are, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG,	} <i>Hon. Gen.</i>
M. J. McENERY,	

THE RIGHT HON.

SIR JAMES B. DOUGHERTY, K.C.V.O.

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CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

DUBLIN CASTLE,

10th October, 1912.

GENTLEMEN,

I am directed by the Lords Justices to state that Their Excellencies have been in correspondence with the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, relative to the Memorial of the President and Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, praying for the appointment

of a Royal Commission to make an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments of Ireland.

Their Lordships point out that the circumstances in Ireland in regard to the preservation of antiquities differ from those in Great Britain, inasmuch as section 14 of the Irish Land Act, 1903, provides for all those situated on land which is transferred under the Land Acts being systematically dealt with. In view of this fact, and having regard to the contemplated changes in the Government of Ireland, their Lordships consider that the question whether a Royal Commission should be appointed, and, if so, what its scope and terms of reference should be, should remain over for the consideration of the Irish Government at some future time.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

J. B. DOUGHERTY.

THE HON. SECRETARIES.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES  
OF IRELAND.

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THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

6, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN.

16th November, 1912.

SIR,

WE are directed by the President and Council of our Society to express their disappointment at the reply to their Memorial for the appointment of a Royal Commission to make an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments of Ireland.

In view of the fact that Royal Commissions for England, Scotland, and Wales are now actively at work for a similar purpose, our Council have heard with surprise the principal reason given by the Lord's Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for postponing this work in Ireland, namely, that the circumstances of Ireland in this respect differ from those in Great Britain, inasmuch as section 14 of the Irish Land Act of 1903 provides for all ancient monuments situated on land which is transferred under the Land Acts being systematically dealt with.

In reply, we are directed to repeat, that the ancient and historical monuments and constructions in Ireland exceed 30,000; that while one-third of the land of the country—an area containing at least 10,000 ancient monuments—is being transferred under the Land Acts, the total number of such monuments vested for preservation (pursuant to section 14 above mentioned) in the Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland, and the County Councils, from 1903 to the 31st of May, 1912, amounted only to 77.

We must emphatically state that it does not fall within the function of the Estates Commissioners to prepare an inventory such as is required

for Ireland, and such as is being provided for Great Britain, nor have they the machinery necessary for the purpose. Obviously the preparation of such an inventory would exact specialist knowledge which it would be unreasonable to expect in those engaged in the special work of the Estates Commission.

The powers of the Estates Commissioners appear to be limited to the making of these vesting orders; for, after the orders are made, the monuments vested pass out of their hands, and the Act is silent concerning the fate of:—

- (1) Monuments rejected by the Board of Works and County Councils.
- (2) Monuments considered, but not reserved, by the Estates Commissioners.
- (3) Monuments not brought under the notice of Estates Commissioners.

Our Council have directed us to call attention to the publications issued by the Royal Commissions for England, Scotland, and Wales. These volumes show that the men engaged on such work must have professional training, historical knowledge, and the acumen which can only be acquired by experience in antiquarian research.

The unit of area dealt with by the Estates Commissioners is an estate which may be very large, or small; as there may be a difference of many years in the dates of transfer of adjoining estates, there might be two or more reports from different men, at long intervals, on the unit parts into which a single townland may be divided. Such reports do not possess any archæological or historical value.

We have been directed to state that valuable monuments are disappearing very fast; that unrecorded local traditions are rapidly getting lost; and that the first step towards the preservation of our ancient monuments must be the preparation of a proper inventory of them.

Our Council wish respectfully to protest against the unequal treatment of Ireland in this important matter compared with that accorded to England, Scotland, and Wales; to submit that contemplated changes in the Government of Ireland cannot be regarded as a sufficient reason for postponing this urgent work; and to request that you will submit again the entire question at issue to the Right Hon. the Chief Secretary for Ireland for his good offices to obtain more favourable consideration from the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

We are, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG,	} <i>Hon. Gen. Secs.</i>
M. J. McENERY,	

THE RIGHT HON.

SIR JAMES B. DOUGHERTY, K.C.V.O.,

DUBLIN CASTLE.

DUBLIN CASTLE,

20th November, 1912.

GENTLEMEN,

I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, requesting that the proposal of the President and Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries for the appointment of a Royal Commission to make an inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Ireland should again be submitted to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, and in reply I am to express His Excellency's regret that, for reasons already communicated to you, he is of opinion that further consideration of the proposal must be deferred for the present.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

J. B. DOUGHERTY.

THE HONORARY SECRETARIES,

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND,  
6, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN.

## STATUTES AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

## ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

*As adopted at the adjourned Annual General Meeting, February 25th, 1913*

## OBJECTS.

1. The Society is instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments and Memorials of the Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with the Antiquities, Language, and Literature of Ireland.

## CONSTITUTION.

2. The Society shall consist of—

FELLOWS,

HONORARY FELLOWS,

And MEMBERS elected on or before the Annual Meeting of 28th January, 1913, who shall be Members of the Body Corporate.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS may also be elected.

ADMISSION, PRIVILEGES, AND OBLIGATIONS OF FELLOWS,  
MEMBERS, AND ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

3. FELLOWS shall be elected at a General Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council, with the name of a Fellow or Member as proposer. Each Fellow shall pay an Entrance Fee of £2, and an Annual Subscription of £1, or a Life Composition of £14, which includes the Entrance Fee of £2.



4. HONORARY FELLOWS may be elected by the Society at the Annual General Meeting on the nomination of the Council.

5. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS shall be elected at a General Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council, with the name of a Fellow, Member, or Associate Member as proposer, and shall pay an annual Subscription of 10s.

6. The Entrance Fees and first Annual Subscriptions of Fellows and the first Annual Subscriptions of Associate Members must be paid either before or on notification of Election. Fellows and Associate Members failing to pay as aforesaid shall be reported at the next General Meeting, and their names removed from the list.

7. Any Fellow who has paid an Annual Subscription of £1 for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE FELLOW on payment of a sum of £8.

8. Any Member who has paid an Annual Subscription of 10s. for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE MEMBER on payment of £5.

9. Any Member who has paid his Life Composition, on being advanced to the rank of Fellow, may become a LIFE FELLOW by paying a sum of £7, which sum includes the Entrance Fee for Fellowship.

10. Any Member on the roll on the 28th January, 1913, who has paid his Subscription, and is eligible for election, may be elected as a Fellow, on the recommendation of the Council, without payment of any entrance fee.

11. All Subscriptions shall be payable in advance on the 1st day of January in each year, or on election. The Subscriptions of Fellows and Associate Members elected at the last Meeting of any year may be placed to their credit for the following year. The name of any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member whose Subscription is two years in arrear shall be read out at the Annual General Meeting, and published in the *Journal* of the Society, and the connexion of such person with the Society shall cease, but his liability for moneys due to the Society shall continue.

12. Fellows shall be entitled to receive the *Journal*, and all extra publications of the Society. Honorary Fellows, Members, and Associate Members shall be entitled to receive the *Journal*, and they may obtain the extra publications at a reduced price fixed by the Council.

13. Any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member whose Subscription for the year has not been paid is not entitled to the *Journal*; and any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid, and who receives the *Journal*, shall be held liable for the payment of the full published price of each part.

14. If any Fellow, Member, or Associate Member signifies, in writing, to the Honorary General Secretaries of the Society that he desires to withdraw from the Society, he shall, with the concurrence of the Council, and on payment of all arrears, if any, cease to be a Fellow, Member, or Associate Member of the Society.

15. Fellows and other Corporate Members whose Subscriptions for the current year have been paid shall alone have the right of voting at General Meetings of the Society. Associate Members have not the right of voting, and are not eligible to be elected as officers of the Society or Members of the Council.

#### THE OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

16. The Officers of the Society, who must be Fellows, shall consist of a President, four Vice-Presidents for each Province, one or more Honorary General Secretaries, and an Honorary Treasurer.

## THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

17. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society, the Council, and all Standing Committees, at which he is present, and shall keep order and regulate the proceedings. He shall be *ex officio* a member of all Standing Committees, and he may at any time summon Extraordinary Meetings of the Council, and shall have a casting vote on all occasions.

On the resignation or death of the President during his term of office, the Council shall nominate a past President or Vice-President to act as President until the next Annual General Meeting.

The President is eligible for re-election at each Annual General Meeting, but no President shall hold office for more than four consecutive years.

The four senior or longest elected Vice-Presidents, one for each Province, shall retire each year by rotation, as may be determined by the Council, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the General Meeting at which they retire.

## THE HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARIES.

18. The Honorary General Secretary or Secretaries shall be nominated by the Council for election at an Annual General Meeting, and shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Council and of all Standing Committees. They shall keep the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Society, and cause them to be correctly and legibly transcribed. They shall generally superintend the ordinary business of the Society. In case of a vacancy occurring in the office of Honorary General Secretaries during a year of office, the Council shall appoint a Fellow or Fellows to hold office until the next Annual General Meeting.

## THE HONORARY TREASURER.

19. The Honorary Treasurer shall be nominated by the Council for election at an Annual General Meeting. He shall be *ex officio* a member of the Council and of all Standing Committees. He shall keep the accounts of the Society in proper books, provided for the purpose. He shall not make any payment (other than for current and petty expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall from time to time pay into the Society's Bankers all money received on its account, and shall invest money as directed by the Council. He shall be prepared to produce the accounts at any time if required by the Council, and shall submit the same personally to the auditor. In the case of a vacancy occurring in the office of Honorary Treasurer during a year of office, the Council shall appoint a Fellow to hold that office until the next Annual General Meeting.

## THE CORPORATE SEAL OF THE SOCIETY.

20. The Corporate Seal of the Society shall be in the joint custody of the President, Honorary Treasurer, and one of the Honorary General Secretaries for the time being, who shall affix it to documents on the authority of the Council.

21. The Corporate Seal of the Society shall not be affixed to any instrument for the sale or transfer of any of the Society's property, unless by vote of the Society on the recommendation of the Council.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENTS, OFFICERS,  
AND COUNCIL.

22. The Officers and Council shall be elected at an Annual General Meeting. The nominations must be received at the Rooms of the Society on or before the first

day of January preceding the Annual General Meeting, addressed to the Hon. General Secretaries, and endorsed "Nomination of Officers" or "Nominations for Council." A meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of December, at which vacancies shall be declared: Each Nomination Paper must be signed by seven or more Fellows or Members as proposers; and in the case of a Candidate who has not held such office before, his Nomination Paper must be accompanied by an intimation under his hand that he will serve in that office if elected. In case the number of persons so nominated shall exceed the number of vacancies, a printed Balloting Paper, containing the names of all such Candidates arranged in alphabetical order, distinguishing those recommended by the Council, shall be sent by post to every Fellow and Member whose name is on the Roll of the Society, directed to the address entered on the Roll, at least one week before the day of election. Each person voting shall mark with a cross the name of the Candidate for whom he votes. The Voter shall return the Balloting Paper to the Hon. General Secretaries, on or before the day preceding the Election, in an addressed envelope (which will be supplied), closed, and marked *Balloting Paper*, and signed outside with the name of the Voter: the Balloting Paper itself must not be signed. In case a Voter signs the Balloting Paper, or votes for more Candidates than the number specified thereon, such Balloting Paper shall be rejected. The Balloting Papers shall be scrutinized on the day of election by at least two Scrutineers appointed by the Chairman, who shall report the result at the General Meeting held upon that day. The Hon. Treasurer shall furnish the Scrutineers with a List of the Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions have been paid up to the day preceding the Election, and who alone are qualified to vote at such Election. Those Candidates who obtain the greatest number of votes shall be declared elected, provided that, when there appears an equality of votes for two or more Candidates, the Candidate whose name has been longest on the books of the Society, shall be declared elected.

Existing Officers and Members of Council eligible for re-election may be nominated by the Council for election at the next Annual General Meeting. In case no nomination has been received for any or all of the vacancies for Officers and Members of Council, in the manner prescribed, such vacancies shall be filled up by election at the Annual General Meeting.

### THE COUNCIL.

23. The management of the business of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council. The Council shall consist of the President, Past Presidents, Vice-Presidents, the Honorary General Secretaries, and Honorary Treasurer, all of whom shall be *ex officio* Members thereof, and of sixteen Corporate Members, twelve of whom at least must be Fellows. The four senior or longest elected Members of the Council shall retire each year by rotation, as may be determined by the Council, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting at which they retire. In case of a vacancy occurring for a Member of Council during the year, the Council shall at its next Meeting co-opt a Fellow or Member, to retire by rotation. A Member of Council who has failed to attend four of the Meetings of the Council shall not be eligible for re-election at the next Annual General Meeting.

The Council shall meet on the last Tuesday of each month, or on such other days as they may deem necessary. Four Members of Council shall form a quorum.

24. The Council shall report to the Annual General Meeting the state of the Society's Funds, and other matters which may have come before them during the preceding year. They may appoint such Committees for dealing with special departments of the Society's work as they may think fit. They may nominate for election at a General Meeting of the Society a paid Assistant to the Honorary General

Secretaries and Honorary Treasurer. In the case of a vacancy occurring in the post of such Assistant, the Council may appoint a Temporary Assistant or Assistants until the next General Meeting.

AUDITOR.

25. The Accounts of the Society shall be audited by an Accountant nominated by the Council and approved by the Society, who shall report to the Council before the Annual General Meeting in each year.

HONORARY PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL SECRETARIES.

26. The Council may appoint Honorary Provincial Secretaries for each Province, and Honorary Local Secretaries throughout the country, whose duties shall be defined by the Council, and they shall report to the Council, at least once a year, on all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their districts, investigate Local History and Tradition, and give notice to the Council of all injury being inflicted, or about to be inflicted, on Monuments of Antiquity or on Ancient Memorials of the Dead, in order that the influence of the Society may be exerted for their preservation or restoration.

27. For the purpose of carrying out the arrangements in regard to the Meetings and Excursions to be held in the Provinces, the Honorary Provincial Secretaries may be summoned to attend the Meetings of Council. Honorary Secretaries of the County or Counties in which such Meetings are held may be similarly summoned.

## MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

28. The Society shall meet at least four times in each year on such days as the Council shall determine, for the election of Fellows and Associate Members, for the reading and discussion of Papers on Historical and Archaeological Subjects, for the exhibition of Objects of Antiquarian Interest, and for the transaction of other business of the Society. Excursions may be arranged when practicable.

Twelve Corporate Members shall form a quorum at a General Meeting.

29. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in Dublin in the month of January. The other Meetings shall be held in such places as the Council may recommend. Notice of such General Meetings shall be forwarded to each Fellow, Member, and Associate Member. Evening Meetings may be held at such times as shall be arranged by the Council.

## PUBLICATIONS.

30. No Paper shall be read at any Meeting of the Society without the permission of the Council having previously been obtained. The Council shall determine the order in which Papers shall be read, and the time to be allowed for each. All Papers listed or Communications received shall, if accepted for publication, be the property of the Society. The Council shall determine whether, and to what extent, any Paper or Communication shall be published.

31. All matter concerning existing religious or political differences shall be excluded from the Papers to be read and the discussions held at the Meetings of the Society.

32. The Proceedings of the Society and the Papers read at the several Meetings, when approved of by the Council, shall be printed in the Journal. If the funds of the Society permit, extra publications may be printed.



## GENERAL.

33. A proposal for the enactment of any new Rule, or for the alteration or repeal of any existing Rule, must be in the first instance submitted to the Council; the proposal to be signed by seven Fellows or Members, and forwarded to the Honorary General Secretaries. On such proposal being made, the Council shall lay the same before a General Meeting, with its opinion thereon; and such proposal shall not be ratified unless passed by a majority of the Fellows and Corporate Members present at such General Meeting.

All By-laws and Regulations dealing with the General Rules formerly made are hereby repealed.

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES  
OF IRELAND  
FOR THE YEAR 1913

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART II, VOL. XLIII

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Papers

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THE POLICY OF SURRENDER AND REGRANT

I.

By W. F. BUTLER

[Continued from p. 65]

THE great chiefs, men by no means deficient in education and intelligence, very soon awoke to this possibility. The Anglo-Irish lawyers of the Pale were, no doubt, thoroughly acquainted with the system of land tenure among the natives. We know that the chiefs were very soon in close relations with these lawyers.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly we find, when Elizabeth once more took up her father's plans for a settlement of the land—after a relapse in the intervening reigns to the older policy of extermination—that the chiefs systematically endeavoured to get grants conveying to them the exclusive ownership, not only of the lands they

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<sup>1</sup> A Cork jury presented that "all the lords of this county, to colour and entertain their extortions, have wrought such a policy to entertain all the lawyers of the province, whereby no freeholder, nor poor man, can have a lawyer to speak in his cause, be it never so just." (*Life and Letters of Florence mac Carthy mór*, p. 7.)

held in virtue of their office, but of all the clan lands as well. And in many cases the authorities were quite willing to meet their wishes.

On the other hand, apart from the letter of the law, there could be no doubt that the real owners of the land, if strict equity was to be followed, were the members of the septs.

This conflict of two distinct views as to the real ownership of the land is the salient feature in the second stage of the Tudor settlement.<sup>1</sup>

Early in Elizabeth's reign instructions were given to the Deputy to induce the Irish chiefs to make surrenders of the lands in their possession, in order to receive them back to be held in tail male under the Crown. In the twelfth year of her reign the Irish Parliament passed an Act to facilitate the same policy.

From this time the "Policy of Surrender and Regrant," as it was called, becomes a prominent feature in the affairs of the island.

Modern writers, as I have said, have seen in this a concealed system of confiscation. The lands belonging to the clan were to be given to the chiefs to purchase their fidelity to the Crown. A Machiavellian instinct foresaw that the chiefs would sooner or later rebel, and so the whole possessions of the clans could be seized and divided among English planters.<sup>2</sup>

The real facts are very different. Two possible courses presented themselves to the authorities. When the chief made his surrender, he might be looked on as the sole owner of the clan lands, and be made proprietor of the whole territory. The advantages of this plan were not very obvious. It would of course induce the chiefs to surrender, and would bind them more or less to fidelity to the Crown. No doubt, too, the possibility of a future forfeiture was not overlooked. But, on the other hand, it would enormously increase the power of the chiefs, and make their clansmen utterly dependent on them. This was by no means desired by the Government, which consistently aimed at breaking up the great Irish lordships, and reducing the chiefs from petty kings to the position held by the great English nobles. The second course, to recognize the clansmen as owners, would seem the natural one to adopt. It would free the clans from dependence on the chief, bring them directly under the Crown, and secure their loyalty, while striking a blow at the excessive power of the great lords.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bonn devotes to this conflict a great part of book ii. See especially the chapters "Die Belehnung der Häuptlinge mit Geschlechtsland," and "Die Verteilung des Geschlechtseigentums."

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, Cusack, in his letter of 1541, did allude to the prospect that sooner or later the Irish grantees would break their covenants and so forfeit their lands. But he does not seem to limit his remarks to the chiefs.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bonn gives the arguments in favour of this course—the just one—in book ii, chap. iv.

There were difficulties, however, in this course also. It would almost certainly meet with opposition from the chiefs whose revenues and position would be greatly diminished. And it was highly probable that the chiefs, if hostile to the Government, would be followed by a large number of the clansmen, accustomed to obey their commands, and certainly they could reckon on their own tenants and dependents, including the mercenary soldiers who made up a large part of their fighting force. Then the court influence of the chiefs had to be taken into account. If they demanded from the English authorities, as many of them did, that they should get all the clan-lands as their own, they were constantly able to back up their demands by the favour of influential courtiers, or by the services which they had actually rendered to the Crown in times of danger. The chiefs could fee lawyers to maintain their claims; the clansmen might have no inkling as to what was going on until the lands had actually been granted away to the chief. Besides, the subject was really difficult to decide fairly, and the authorities seem to have desired to act justly.<sup>1</sup> But they had often to choose between the letter of the English law and what equity demanded. We must add to these causes of perplexity the objection entertained by statesmen of the time to anything like peasant proprietorship. "The multitude of small freeholders beggars the country" was a statement looked on as axiomatic in Tudor days.<sup>2</sup>

We have ample proof that, in London at least, there was a sincere desire to protect the rights of both chief and clansmen. It is sufficient to name the elaborate scheme for the settlement of Monaghan, MacMahon's country, in 1591. The chief had been executed, unjustly as it would appear. But the clan lands were not confiscated. They were divided among the clansmen. The leading men got large estates with chief rents from the lesser proprietors. These lesser proprietors, over 300 in number, were confirmed in the lands which they already held by Irish custom. Letters Patent were made out for them in due course, and all, great and small, were to hold direct from the Queen.<sup>3</sup>

In 1576 we have a similar example. Sir Arthur Magennis, of Iveagh, applied for leave to surrender and obtain a regrant of his lands, and asked to be made a baron. The Privy Council's reply to the Lord Deputy, who had supported the requests, is instructive. They were willing to give the title; but as to the lands, they say, "Forasmuch as we do not understand whether it be meant that he shall have the grant

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Davies, as usual, states the difficulty tersely:—"It was not certainly known to the State here whether they (the inferior gentlemen and inhabitants) were only tenants-at-will to the chief lords . . . or whether they were freeholders yielding . . . certain rents and services." (Letter touching Monaghan, etc., 1607.)

<sup>2</sup> The phrase occurs in directions *re* the settlement of Longford (*Cal. State Papers*, 1611-14, p. 52), *temp.* James I. The idea it expresses was common in Elizabethan times.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. State Papers*, 1591, p. 428. Eight chief lords and 280 others are said to have then got estates. A new settlement was necessary after Tyrone's war, and is given in *Cal. State Papers*, 1606-08, p. 166. Over 300 freeholders were then established.



of the captainry by inheritance, and the land only which he holdeth at present as his own freehold, leaving the rest to other freeholders that presently have the same in occupation, whereof we think there are many, or else to grant to him the captainry of the whole, we would willingly understand your meaning. If it be meant to be the whole, it is not thought reasonable, neither in this nor in any other of that nature."<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Sidney, in answering this, declared that, though in theory it was well to dissipate the great lordships, yet, in practice, an attempt to do so would be perilous. A final settlement of Iveagh was not effected till the time of James I, and then not until after a long controversy and much vacillation on the part of the Government. Some thirty of the clan received lands, paying chief rents, some to Sir Arthur Magennis, some to the Bishop of Dromore, besides thirteen chief gentlemen who were to hold of the King *in capite*. A similar controversy between the chiefs and clansmen of the O'Ferralls in Longford is mentioned time and again in the State Papers from 1571 down to the time of James I.

What, then, was actually done under Elizabeth? As may be expected from what I have said before, no consistent plan was followed. Some chiefs got the whole of the territory over which they had ruled, others got the lands of their own clan, others those of their own sept.<sup>2</sup> And it so happened that the chiefs who thus filched the lands from the people were those who stood most prominent in the public eye, MacCarthy of Muskerry, O'Neill, O'Donnell. Hence the idea, repeated in book after book on Irish history, that the clansmen were robbed of their lands by Elizabeth, to satisfy the greed of the chiefs.

But in by far the greater number of cases the opposite plan was followed. The chief got the demesne lands attached to his office; the rest of the land was divided amongst those who claimed a share in it under Irish law. The whole province of Connacht, with the county of Clare, and a great part of the Irish districts in the three other provinces were treated in this way.

Before coming to the details of this settlement, we may, perhaps, be able to find reasons for this difference in treatment. The actual condition of the Irish clans varied very much—a fact constantly lost sight of by modern writers. Common to the whole island was the original distinction of the entire population into two classes, the free and the unfree.<sup>3</sup> The former—originally the clans of real or supposed Milesian blood—alone were landowners; the latter had, as a rule, no property in land, though

<sup>1</sup> *Car. Cal.*, 1576, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The Fiants of the reign of Elizabeth, published in the Appendix to the *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, show instances of all the various forms of grants. One can notice the extreme vagueness of some grants.

<sup>3</sup> See Bonn, vol. i, pp. 57, etc. As late as 1602 we find "*nativos et nativas*" included in a grant to the Lord of Upper Ossory (Morrin, *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Eliz.*, p. 599). *Nativus* was the ordinary low Latin word for *villein*. Bonn prints (vol. i, p. 394) Chichester's proclamation of 1605, amongst other things abolishing serfdom.

their degree of servitude varied. Only the free landholders were clansmen, strictly speaking, and they alone bore arms. At one time, they would seem to have numbered about half the population; but in the course of time, especially after the English invasion, their numbers decreased in proportion to those of the non-landowning classes.<sup>1</sup>

Many clans were shattered and enslaved during the settlement of the Anglo-Norman adventurers; others were driven to seek new territories at the expense of weaker clans. Fugitives from conquered districts, or the old proprietors of lands seized on by a stronger clan, sank in status, retaining a certain amount of personal freedom, but no longer entitled to a share in the land.<sup>2</sup> They settled on the demesne lands of the chiefs, or their kinsmen, and under their protection. Thus the chiefs came to have under them large bodies of dependents, who were somewhat in the position of feudal vassals, and were not connected by ties of blood with the original clan.

The chiefs grew strong, the poorer clansmen grew weak in proportion, and their numbers were liable to diminish by the chances of war. From the thirteenth century on, the power of the chiefs steadily grew. More and more of the clan lands were appropriated by the chiefs to provide for their sons. The latter turned temporary grants into hereditary lordships, becoming founders of new septs, offshoots of the ruling house. Thus the O'Briens, the descendants of Brian Boru, whose original patrimony was only a small district round Killaloe, gradually became owners of a large part of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary. In some cases the original proprietors were violently dispossessed; in others they were gradually reduced to the condition of tenants. And I have already drawn attention to the manner in which the descendants of Dermot MacCarthy, last king of South Munster, became founders of septs which in Elizabeth's reign owned great districts in Cork and Kerry in which, previous to the thirteenth century, the Mac Carthys had practically no footing.<sup>3</sup>

But while everywhere there was a tendency for the ruling family of a tribe to get possession of a large part of the tribal territory, and to expand into a clan having large possessions independent of the position of its head as king or chief of the whole tribe, the extent to which this process had been carried out differed very much in different districts.

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<sup>1</sup> At the time of the Plantation of Wexford 667 claimed freeholds. The total population is given as about 15,000.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of this can be seen in the case of Desmond and Muskerry. The O'Connells, once lords of a large part of Magunihy, became warders of Ballycarbery, retaining their free status, but not their clan organization. The Mac Sweeneys, landowners in Donegal, sent out an offshoot to Muskerry who served as hereditary galloglasses, and were warders of Mshanaglas and other castles, but had no lands until the close of the Tudor period.

<sup>3</sup> Many other examples could be quoted, such as the O'Neills, O'Donnells, Maguires, MacGennisses, clans all holding wide districts in the sixteenth century which in the twelfth century had belonged to other clans. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, the first of the Maguires to rule Fermanagh was Donn, who died in 1302.

Some portions of the island had never been affected by the Anglo-Norman invasion. Such were Donegal, Fermanagh, and Leitrim in the north; Clare in the west. In these districts the land was divided among many clans, some of them not connected by ties of blood with the ruling house; some older in the land than the chiefs.<sup>1</sup> The result was that the land was divided among many septs; there were many freemen entitled to property; the demesne of the head chief was small, though very often septs descended from the ruling house had become possessed of a good deal of the territory. In Fermanagh, we are told by Sir John Davies, the number of men claiming land was very great; many of them belonged to septs settled in Fermanagh before Maguire obtained the chieftainship. Maguire's demesne lands were of very small extent.<sup>2</sup>

Other districts had never been conquered by the Anglo-Normans; but they had been seized on by clans expelled by the invaders from their original homes. So the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles, driven from Kildare, conquered the hill districts of Wicklow; the O'Flaherties seized on the country west of Lough Corrib; the O'Sullivans, driven from Tipperary, found new homes in south-west Cork and Kerry.

Now it would seem that, by Irish law, lands conquered under the leadership of a chief became the property of that chief to distribute as he pleased; and that in such a case the victorious chief portioned out the greater part of the new acquisitions among his sons and immediate kinsmen. The leading warriors of the clan got shares; but the mass of the fighting men were given lands only as tenants of the chief and of the leading men. This would seem to be indicated by the state of the O'Sullivan territories in Elizabeth's time, of which I have already spoken.

There were some O'Neills and O'Lynes who possibly were descendants of the followers of the chiefs who made the settlement. But an anonymous author expressly states that "all the four branches of the collateral cousins of the aforesaid O'Sullivans that came along with them . . . had no estate conferred on them, but large and beneficial farms, with some tokens of rents."<sup>3</sup> And he goes on to enumerate the various septs descended from the first O'Sullivan Mor, and to specify the lands given

<sup>1</sup> In Clare, the O'Loughlins and O'Conors in the west of the county were of quite a different stock from the ruling Dalcassian clans. In Fermanagh Sir John Davies says that there were many gentlemen who claimed estates of freehold by a more ancient title than Maguire claimed the chieftainship. (Letter of 1607.)

<sup>2</sup> Rory O'More, Lord of Leix, slain in 1545, is said to have had in right of his "captainship" only the "towne" of Stradbally, with its appurtenances, worth £10 a year. The customs, duties, perquisites, and profits of the captainship were worth £100. His private inheritance of land was worth yearly 70 marks, and he also held land mortgaged to him for the loan of cattle; 515 cows in all. *Jour. Kil. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv, N. S., p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Ancient History of the Kingdom of Kerry*, written in the eighteenth century, apparently by an O'Sullivan, a friar of Muckcross, published in the *Journal of the Cork Hist. Soc.*, 1898 and following years.



to each in a way which shows that these O'Sullivan's occupied nearly the whole of their new conquests.

Other districts had been conquered, and more or less thickly colonized by the English, but had been recovered by the Irish in the fourteenth century, and the settlers expelled. This was the case with much of West Cork, North Tipperary, Queen's County, Carlow, and a great part of Ulster and Connacht. Sometimes the original owners rose and expelled the settlers. The O'Ferralls of Longford, the O'Kellys of Galway, and the O'Dowds of Sligo are examples of this. But even here the land when recovered seems to have been considered as vested in the chief, and was divided by him as he liked among his followers. The old rights of the clan were held to be extinguished by the English conquest. So Dugald Mac Firbis, writing of the old owners of Tyrawley, in Mayo and Sligo, says:—"The English drove these chieftains from their patrimonial inheritances (which we have enumerated); but Sen Bhrian . . . took the country (particularly Tir Fhiachrach) from the English; but though he did, I think that many of the same old chieftains did not get much hold of their hereditary districts from him; for it is certain that the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Sen Bhrian divided the lands among themselves."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes it happened that the English were expelled by a clan, which before the twelfth century had had no hold on the district. Thus the descendents of Hugh Boy O'Neill crossed the Bann, and drove out the colonists from nearly all Antrim and Down. These lands had never been subject to the O'Neills; but now the Clan Hugh Boy settled there, and seem to have managed in time to shake off all dependence on the O'Neills of Tyrone. The O'Flynn's and other clans who had held this district before the English conquest appear in the sixteenth century as "followers" of the O'Neills, and no doubt still held some lands, but by far the greater part of the district in Tudor days was divided amongst the O'Neills.

The case of Muskerry is somewhat similar. Here, too, the old proprietors of that part of Muskerry north of the Lee were a clan named O'Flynn. But they are not mentioned at all in Tudor days, and none of the name held land in 1641. The greater part of Muskerry in the sixteenth century was held by the chief as demesne, or by septs of MacCarthy's sprung from Dermot Mor, the first Lord of Muskerry.

On the whole, the analogy of Muskerry enables us to judge of the condition of the districts from which the English had been expelled by a clan which had not previously been settled there. A few of the older

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<sup>1</sup> *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fhiachrach*. This Sen Bhrian, "Old Brian" O'Dowd lived, it is said, to be nearly a hundred, and ruled for fifty-four years, so he might easily have been able to settle his great-grandsons in possession of the districts he had conquered.



clans held lands. The greater part of the country was in the hands of the chief, or of septs closely related to him. These septs being of comparatively recent foundation, the number of persons entitled to land was small.<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the free population were in the position of tenants to the chief and his kinsmen, and the extent of the chief's demesne enabled him to support a great body of dependents, free or unfree, unconnected by blood with the clan.

These varied conditions of the clans may help to explain Elizabeth's treatment of particular cases. A chief such as MacCarthy of Muskerry, who already had a very large part of the territory in his possession as demesne, would have little difficulty in passing himself off as the owner of the whole country. However, there are many cases which cannot be thus accounted for. The special services of particular chiefs, the caprice of Lord Deputies, were some of the factors which explain why some chiefs receive grants of the entire clan territories.

The best example of what was done under Elizabeth is the great settlement of landed property in Clare and Connacht known as the *Composition of Connaught*. Sir Henry Sidney, Deputy from about 1570, had induced most of the lords of these districts to surrender their lands to the Crown, with the object of having them regranted with a clear title by Letters Patent. Nothing, however, was done till Sir John Perrot took the whole matter in hand in 1585.

A commission was sent down to settle the details. The object to be attained was set forth in a letter from Walsingham—"To give each chief his own, with a *salvo jure* to all others that have right."<sup>2</sup> Inquisitions were made to find out the area of the lands, and who were the owners according to Irish law; and Letters Patent were to be made out, giving a legal title to these owners.

Indentures were made with the chief lords and gentlemen of each territory to secure the payment of a quit-rent to the Queen, generally 10s. per quarter of 120 acres,<sup>3</sup> and to compensate the chiefs for the loss of their Irish "cuttings, spendings, and customary duties."<sup>4</sup>

The indentures entered into on this occasion give a clear picture of the work of settlement. The details for the County Sligo offer an

<sup>1</sup> I give below the relationship of the various septs of the MacCarthys in Muskerry to the chief. Of six septs, five at least were sprung from the first lord, Dermot Mor, who died in about the middle of the fourteenth century. The sept of Tuath na Dromin was descended from Felim, fourth son of Dermot Mór, and the sept of Clan Fada from his fifth son, Donough. The sept of "Shanekillie" was sprung from Donnell, the fifth Lord, grandson of Dermot Mór. From Eoghan, who was alive in 1495, came the sept of Cloghroe. Clan Cormack Oge was probably the chief's sept, descended from Cormac Oge, tenth Lord, who died in 1537. The six septs held sixty-six ploughlands.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase has reference to MacWilliam of Mayo and his son; but it illustrates the general policy. (*Iar Connacht*, p. 107.)

<sup>3</sup> The normal division of land in Connacht was the "quarter" of 120 acres.

<sup>4</sup> The proceedings as to the Connacht lands on this occasion are printed in *Iar Connacht*, p. 309, &c.; those for Clare in the Appendix to White's *History of Clare*.

excellent example of the procedure followed. The greater part of the modern county had been granted to the Fitzgeralds by the De Burgos, soon after the invasion of Connacht. It passed back again into De Burgo hands, though the Earls of Kildare still claimed to be lords of the district in Elizabeth's time.<sup>1</sup>

After the murder of the last Earl of Ulster, a branch of the O'Conors seized the Castle of Sligo and the adjoining territory of Carbury. The clans inhabiting the rest of the county—O'Dowds, O'Haras, MacDonoughs, and O'Garas—expelled all the English settlers, and recognized the O'Conors as overlords. But Sligo and Carbury were claimed by the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell as their patrimony from time immemorial, and more than once the O'Conors were forced to recognize these claims.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the Composition, twenty quarters in Carbury were held by O'Donnell, and we have already mentioned the distracted O'Conor's petition regarding the 360 marks rent which he ought to pay to somebody. The rest of the barony of Carbury (excluding Church lands) was divided among four septs of O'Conors, or formed part of the chief's demesne lands.<sup>3</sup>

In the first place, all claims of O'Donnell, the Earl of Kildare, and the Earl of Clanricarde seem to have been ignored, though O'Donnell apparently kept the twenty quarters in his possession.<sup>4</sup> The usual rent was reserved to the queen, certain lands being free from the charge; and the castle of Ballymote and some lands were given up to her.

Then O'Conor was given the castle of Sligo, and all the demesne lands to himself and his heirs, as well as all the lands of Sliocht Owine O'Conor, "from whom the said Sir Donough O'Conor is said to be descended," in all thirty-two quarters. From eighty quarters in possession of the three other septs of O'Conors he was to get a chief rent of 13s. 4d. per quarter. He also got 8s. per quarter out of 154 quarters in Tireragh, 10s. out of 156 quarters in Leyney, the same out of twenty quarters in Coolavin, 9s. 3d. out of 110 quarters in Corran, and 6s. 6d. out of 166 quarters in Tirerrill.<sup>5</sup> These sums were to be in lieu of all tributes, cuttings and spendings which he had had from these baronies in right of his office of O'Conor Sligo. The chiefs under him, MacDonough, O'Dowd, O'Gara, and two O'Haras, were to have for themselves and

<sup>1</sup> Notices of the Kildare claims to Sligo occur in *Car. Cal.*, 1566, p. 377, *Cal. State Papers*, 1591, pp. 406 and 461.

<sup>2</sup> See O'Rourke's *History of Sligo*. O'Donnell declared in 1542 that the lands round Sligo had belonged to him and his ancestors for 1,000 years. (*State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. iii., pt. 3, p. 372.) In *Cal. State Papers*, 1576, p. 94, it is said that his rent of 300 marks out of Sligo had been paid since St. Patrick's days.

<sup>3</sup> These septs were all sprung from Donnell O'Conor, who died in 1395 (O'Rourke).

<sup>4</sup> Earl Rory O'Donnell expressly renounced all claims on Sligo, Tyrrawley, Moylurg, Darry, and Fermanagh before receiving his patent for Tyrconnell from James I, so that the O'Donnells had still maintained their claims in spite of this settlement. So had the Earls of Kildare. (*Cal. State Papers*, 1604, p. 140, and 1607, p. 365, for Rory O'Donnell's claims.)

<sup>5</sup> These baronies were held by the O'Dowds, O'Haras, and other subject clans.

their heirs all lands and castles "belonging to the name" as well as their own inheritance. They also got some lands free from chief rent to the Queen or O'Connor. But in consideration for this all rents and customary duties belonging to the name of MacDonough, &c., were to cease at the death of the chiefs then living. The shares of the gentry and minor "freeholders" are not laid down in this indenture. That work was done by the Commission after inquisitions had been made to determine each man's rights. The lesser proprietors were to hold from O'Connor by knight's service. Similar arrangements were made in the rest of Connacht and Clare, with variations according to the circumstances of individual districts. Thus, O'Connor Don, O'Connor Roe, and MacDermot apparently got no chief rents.<sup>1</sup>

In Mayo, nearly all of which belonged to "degenerate" Anglo-Normans, MacWilliam Iochtar got chief rents from the lands of his former vassals. The sub-chiefs and some of the leading members of the clan generally got some lands free from any chief rent, and the castles and lands attached to the "name and calling" of MacEvillie, MacPaddyn, etc., were given to them and their heirs. But it is expressly stipulated that this was because all the rents and customary duties belonging to these petty captainships were to be extinguished on the death of the actual chief.

There is a curious concession to the law of tanistry in the case of MacWilliam. It is provided that "Whereas there appeareth certain emulation or envy betwixt the above-named MacWilliam Eyghter and his kinsman, whereof there are some competitors that by reason of their birth, being descended from MacWilliams of greater fame and reputation than the same Sir Richard Burke, think themselves more worthy of the English succession now devised by this composition, and others, standing upon their expectancy of succeeding to his place, wisheth the continuance of that customary name, that it shall rest in the consideration of the Lord Deputy for the time being, how and in what sort, the above named castles, lands, &c., belonging to the name of MacWilliam shall be disposed or limited to the said MacWilliam and his kinsmen."

As usual, the dormant claims of the Ormonds were revived and allowed, while those of other Anglo-Norman lords were ignored. The Earl of Ormond was recognized as owner of Achill Island, and the mainland adjoining, not a very profitable district, as well as of a large tract in the lands of the O'Kellys of Hy Many.

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<sup>1</sup> It appears from grants to O'Connor Don, MacDermot Roe, O'Hara, and O'Beirne, *temp.* James I, that all these chiefs received certain chief rents, though none are mentioned in the Composition. These would be tributes which they had received from of old over and above the cuttings and spendings, &c. The chief rents granted to MacWilliam, O'Connor Sligo, &c., by the Composition, were in part at any rate new rents to take the place of the cuttings and spendings. "O'Brien's and MacNamara's rentals," documents of the fourteenth century, show that many chiefs had fixed money tributes from the clan.



The lordship of the O'Flahertys comprised two baronies inhabited by O'Flahertys and kindred or subject clans, and one—Ross—inhabited by a family of Welsh origin named Joyce, who had been conquered by the O'Flahertys and had become quite Irish. Besides this the O'Flahertys had lately wrested the isles of Aran from the O'Briens. Their whole territory was estimated at 318 quarters, each quarter containing 120 acres “manured or to be manured under tillage of cattle” besides wood, bog, &c. All Irish customs, chieftainships, were to be abolished. The Queen was to get 10s. per quarter out of 280 quarters. Sir Murrough na Doe O'Flaherty, as chief, got fifteen quarters free of this rent, and about sixty quarters as well, his own inheritance, or demesne. He got 5s. per quarter from fifty-seven quarters of the Joyces, and the rest of the freeholders in Ross were to hold of him by knight's service, according to his or their portion of land. From 191 quarters in the rest of the territory he got the same rent, but here all freeholders were to hold from the Queen. Teige na Buile O'Flaherty, who was chief of the western part, got fifteen quarters free of rent to Sir Murrough, six of them also being free from the Queen's rent; and after Teige's death all rents and customary duties due to the name of O'Flaherty were to be extinguished.<sup>1</sup> Three other O'Flahertys were to have certain lands free from both rents. The chief of the Joyces got a quarter free, and was to renounce all rents, duties, and customs, except such as were due by persons holding from him.

Exceptionally we find the clan-lands given to the chief in the case of the O'Shaughnessys, who were subjects to the Earl of Clanricarde. Here the heirs of Sir Dermod O'Shaughnessy got 101 quarters, apparently the whole territory, paying 10s. a year per quarter to the Queen for 93 quarters, and 10s. a year to Clanricarde for about 50 quarters.<sup>2</sup> Henry VIII had given a general grant of his lands to O'Shaughnessy, and this grant must have been interpreted as bestowing on him the whole clan-lands, though no such interpretation was put on similar grants to Macnamara and O'Brien.

The grant to O'Conor Sligo of the lands of the sept “from whom he is said to be descended,” in addition to the demesne lands, is worthy of notice. It may be explained by the fact that the demesne lands in this case were very small; for the total amount given him was only 32 quarters, and 28½ quarters were the lands of the above-mentioned sept. But, in any case, we often find the lands of a sept, as distinguished from those of a clan, given to the head of the sept. The Ceannfine, or head of a sept, though elected by tanistry, was usually the senior in blood. The

<sup>1</sup> Teige na Buile was the senior of the whole race, and tanist to Donald Crone, who was the actual chief by election, but who had been set aside by Elizabeth in favour of Sir Murrough. (*Iar Connacht*.)

<sup>2</sup> The Books of Survey and Distribution show Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy as owner of practically the whole clan territory in 1641.



number of members in any given sept might be very few, from the chances of war or the recent origin of the sept.<sup>1</sup> If they only included brothers, uncles, sons, and nephews of the head of the sept, the English lawyers, with their superstitious reverence for primogeniture, might very easily regard him as the proper owner of the sept lands.<sup>2</sup>

It is worthy of notice that the Books of Survey and Distribution plainly show the existence of collective ownership in Connacht in 1641. These books, as far as they relate to portions of Sligo and Mayo, have been printed in O'Hart's *Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland*, and we find several cases where such and such lands are described as held in 1641 by such and such a sept.

In other cases these books show an extraordinary sub-division of property. Thus, in the Barony of Ross, or "Joyce's Country," the lands of Maine, estimated at half a quarter, and containing 450 acres, are given as divided as follows<sup>3</sup> :—

Moyler Mac Richard Joyce had  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a cartron and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a cartron, and the  $\frac{1}{9}$  of the  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a cartron, and  $\frac{1}{9}$  of the other cartron.

Richard Oge Joyce had  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a cartron, Henry McFiagh Joyce  $\frac{1}{3}$ , Teige Oge O'Flaherty  $\frac{1}{12}$ , and Andrew Lynch fitz William had  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a cartron.

Another denomination called Termekille was counted as a "quarter." It contained over 2,000 acres, of which only about 124 are returned as "profitable." It was thus divided :—

Nicholas Oge French had 3 cartrons and  $\frac{1}{12}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a cartron. Edmund McTibbott Joyce had  $\frac{1}{12}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a cartron. Moyler Mc Richard Joyce  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{2}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a cartron and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a cartron. Moyler McHenry Joyce had  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a cartron.

First, we remark here an extreme sub-division. Of the 124 profitable acres of Termekille, more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  were held by Nicholas Oge French. The remaining 30 were divided among three persons.<sup>4</sup> And, as we see from the first example, these small properties were not in one continuous piece. Moyler McRichard Joyce's lands lay in each of the two "cartrons" of Maine, and he had also a portion of one of the cartrons in Termekille.<sup>5</sup> And, from the manner in which his lands in this last are entered, one is tempted to suppose that they lay in three detached pieces there.

Secondly, the extraordinary fractional divisions arrest attention. Why do the surveyors say that Moyler McHenry Joyce had  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a cartron, instead of simply saying  $\frac{1}{12}$ , as they had in the case of Teige Oge

<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners appointed to settle Bere found only three persons whom they considered to be members of the chief's sept. (Morris: *Cal. Pat. Rolls Eliz.*, p. 298, ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Seebohm points out (*Tribal System in Wales*, p. 89) how the head of a "wele" might be regarded as the landowner of the district occupied by his kindred; and he exemplifies this by a concrete instance on p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> The Connacht "quarter" of 120 acres, with their proportion of waste bog, &c., was divided into four "cartrons."

<sup>4</sup> In neither case do the fractions work out accurately.

<sup>5</sup> That is unless there were two Moyler McRichards.

O'Flaherty? Probably because we have here a division springing from the rules of inheritance by gavelkind, when there was no certain spot of land allotted to the clansman, but when he was entitled to a fixed *proportion* of land, no matter where he might receive it.<sup>1</sup> A Welsh example will make this clearer. The descendants of a certain Rand Vaghan ap Asser held  $\frac{1}{3}$  part of a *villata* called Prestelegot. They were divided into the four *weles* of each of his sons, and these *weles* were subdivided into the *gavells* of his grandsons, four gavells each in the case of the first two of his sons, three in the case of the third, two in the case of the fourth. Now the gavel of the fourth son of Rand Vaghan's eldest son was divided among five holders. Hence, granting that their shares were equal, each would hold  $\frac{1}{5}$  of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Prestelegot. And in the *villata* of Petruall, where the posterity of the same Rand Vaghan had  $\frac{1}{3}$  part, the remaining twelve being held by other kindreds, each of the above-mentioned five would be naturally described as entitled to  $\frac{1}{5}$  of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Petruall.<sup>2</sup> Thus we arrive at the same fractional division, very peculiar-looking at first, but in reality giving a very easy way of remembering each man's share.

We know so little of the real working of gavelkind in Ireland that these entries from the Books of Survey and Distribution, and the Welsh analogies given in Mr. Seebohm's book, seem very worthy of a close comparison.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A resolution of the Irish judges condemned gavelkind in 1606 (Davies, *Law Reports*), and incidentally described the system. But all lands enjoyed by the mere Irish up to the commencement of the King's reign by reason of gavelkind were excluded from the operation of this resolution. Hence, in 1641, there might easily still be traces of the custom; and, moreover, there was nothing to prevent a father dividing his inheritance among his sons.

<sup>2</sup> I take these Welsh examples from the Appendix to Mr. Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 61. They refer to the 8th year of Edward III. On page 58 of the Appendix certain persons are said to hold two parts and a third of a third part of the "half gavel" of Nynyat one of the eight sons of a certain Canon ap Lauwargh, who held a sixth part of the "villata" of Prees.

According to Seebohm, the Welsh divisions were made "per capita," not "per stirpes," so that the analogy given above will not hold. (Seebohm, *Tribal System*, p. 74.) But if the Irish division was "per stirpes," one can at once account for the fractional division of these Connacht lands.

<sup>3</sup> A recent writer points out that we have little or no proof that the account of the working of gavelkind given by the resolution of the judges above referred to is accurate. Nor do we even know that gavelkind was an Irish term. And it is very difficult to reconcile the resolution, and the verdict of the jury so often alluded to with regard to the lands of the O'Callaghans, with Sir John Davies' description of the condition of Fermanagh. "Moreover, they" (the scholars of the country) "took upon them to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have by the custom of the country, which is of the nature of gavelkind, whereby as their septs and families did multiply, their possessions have been from time to time sub-divided and broken into many such parcels, as almost every acre of land hath a several owner, which termeth himself a lord, and his portion of land his country." (See articles by Mr. A. Cleary, K.C., on the Tribal Occupier, and Sir John Davies, in *New Ireland Review*, March and April, 1905.) Besides an account of the plantation of Longford expressly mentions the grief of the natives on being moved from their possessions. If the clansmen were perpetually being moved from place to place, how can one account for

The south-west corner of Ireland gives us a good example of the great want of uniformity which is one characteristic feature of the land settlement finally arrived at. At the same time it shows that the prevailing policy was to divide the clan lands among the clan, as far as was possible without creating a peasant proprietary. The settlement in this district begun by Elizabeth was not completed until the reign of James I.

In each of the four great sub-divisions of the MacCarthy territory a different course was followed. In Duhallow, MacDonagh, chief of the whole barony, applied in 1615 for leave to surrender and obtain a regrant of his lands. His request was acceded to, with the proviso, that in preparing the grant, care was to be taken, "that the said Dermot shall not by force of his new grants avoid the particular estates of his under-tenants, provided they shall have been contributory to the charges of procuring said grant."<sup>1</sup>

Either they were not so "contributory," or MacDonagh had special influence at court, for he obtained a grant of all the lands of his own clan, as well as "all rents, customs, and privileges, used to be paid to the Lord of Duhallow for the lands and territories of Poble Icallaghane, Poble Ikeiff," etc. And in 1641 there were at most only two other proprietors of the name of MacDonagh or MacCarthy in Duhallow.

Similarly all the lands of the O'Keeffes were granted by James to the chief. The whole clan territory belonged in 1641 to Art O'Keeffe. The chiefs of this clan had special claims on the government on account of their loyalty; and it is quite possible that the clansmen entitled to land were few in number, for almost the whole of the fighting men of the O'Keeffes had been cut off by the insurgent Geraldines during the Desmond rebellion.

On the other hand, the MacAuliffes had joined in the Desmond rebellion. Their chief was attainted, and his attainder was held to vest all the clan lands in the Crown.

The case of the fourth of the Duhallow clans, the O'Callaghans, has often been quoted. The chief had tried in 1594 to "grab" the clan lands, but a certain number, at any rate, of his kinsmen had secured estates, and appear as holding directly from the Crown in various inquisitions of the days of James I and Charles I. The inferior clansmen, however, seem to have lost their lands, becoming tenants of greater men.

In Muskerry, Sir Cormac Mac Teige, and after him his nephew and successor, had obtained grants of the whole of Muskerry, including by name the lands held by the subject clans. An incidental notice in the State Papers shows that the government was aware that the claims of

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the attachment to his home which characterizes the Irish peasant of the present day, and which has been displayed over and over again during the nineteenth century?

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, James I*, p. 201.



Lords of Muskerry to be owners of the lands of at least one of their subject clans—the O'Learys—were unjust.<sup>1</sup> But the services of both these Lords of Muskerry to the Crown had been very great, so their demands were granted.

Yet it appears from the Books of Survey and Distribution that the Lords had been forced by public opinion or governmental pressure to give estates to some of the chief inhabitants. About thirty O'Learys, some twenty MacCarthys, and about twenty other proprietors held estates in Muskerry in 1641. But the circumstance that in the vast majority of cases the lands of these proprietors were "restored" to the Earl of Clancarty in accordance with the Act of Settlement shows that they were held not from the Crown but from him.

I have already dwelt at length on the peculiar features presented by the territories more directly under MacCarthy Mór. There were in 1641 some 260 landowners in the ancient Desmond. But almost all of these owned great scopes of land, showing that here it was mostly the chief members of the various septs who had been provided for. Only about twenty landowners appear in the whole of the territory ruled over by O'Sullivan Bere.

Desmond then forms a kind of transition between Duhallow, where the chiefs got all or most of the clan lands, and Carbery, where the rights of the clansmen were respected.

In Carbery there were about 400 native landowners in 1641. Some of these, especially among the O'Driscolls and O'Donovans, had very minute portions of land, not always lying in one compact piece, but intermingled with other small fragmentary properties. Here there was, to a certain extent, a regular peasant proprietary, such as we have seen in Connacht. But even here there was no uniformity.

The whole of the lands of Sliocht Felim of Glenacroim were granted to the chief of the sept. They had been confiscated, in theory at least, under Elizabeth on account of a murder committed by one of its chiefs.<sup>2</sup> O'Mahony of Kinelmeaky was attainted for joining in Desmond's rebellion, and his whole territory, 36,000 acres, was confiscated, and given to two English "undertakers."

It is a curious fact that there seem to be no grants to the smaller landowners of Carbery, so that we do not know how or when the individual clansmen were settled in their possessions. What is certain is that here the clansmen were looked on as the real owners of the clan-lands.

The actual number of proprietors secured in their estates in Carbery and other districts may seem small. It is certain that there was

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<sup>1</sup> *Cal. State Papers*, 1588, p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> See Mac Carthy, *The Mac Carthys of Glenacroim*; also Fiant, Elizabeth, No. 5520, and *Patent Rolls*, James I, p. 289.



much injustice in individual cases. The poorer clansmen, who could only claim a few acres as their inheritance, were very generally deprived of their land and reduced to the position of tenants. This was because the statesmen of the time objected, as I have already said, to peasant proprietorship. Then, too, the chiefs were more easily able to override the rights of the poor than those of the more powerful members of the clan.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the number who thus suffered was not as great as is popularly imagined. In the Irish part of county Wexford 667 persons claimed a right to a share of the clan lands. Of these only 440 were presented by the jurors to be freeholders, and surrendered their estates. The total population was 14,000 or 16,000.<sup>2</sup> So that, if we allow five persons to a family, about one-fifth of the males, at the outside, considered themselves as entitled to land. In Carbery the septs of the Mac Carthys were, almost without exception, descended from members of the ruling house who were born subsequent to 1200 A.D. Therefore, allowing for the check to population of the never-ending wars of the Middle Ages, and remembering that there were no Mac Carthys in Carbery before the early thirteenth century, the number of males having a claim to the 299 ploughlands held by these septs cannot have been large.<sup>3</sup>

The net result arrived at during the reign of Elizabeth was that the main lines for the settlement of the land had been laid down for a great part of the island. Some of the more influential lords had obtained all the clan lands; over a large part of Ireland it had been decided that they were to be satisfied with the demesne lands set aside by the clan to provide for the maintenance of the chief. In some cases the grants were so vaguely worded that it was quite uncertain what had been granted. Everywhere the constant warfare which went on during Elizabeth's reign interfered to prevent a thorough settlement.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the *Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 348, we find that about eighty proprietors in Connemara gave power to Morrogh na Moire O'Flaherty to procure grants to himself of lands lately surrendered by them which were found by inquisition to be their property. No doubt the intention was that he should regrant to the proper owners. But the Books of Survey and Distribution show that he did not do so.

<sup>2</sup> Details *re* this Wexford plantation are given in *Cal. State Papers*, vols. for 1611-14, and 1615-25. See also Miss Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*.

<sup>3</sup> The Books of Survey and Distribution give the names of practically every land-owner in 1641. From them it appears that the older clans who had held Carbery in the twelfth century, and whose names have been recorded with great minuteness in *The Genealogy of Corca Laidhe*, printed in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, had lost nearly all their lands. Yet descendants of these old clans are still numerous.

<sup>4</sup> So Chichester's Proclamation of March 11th, 1605, declares:—"And whereas his Maiestie hath lately by his Letters Patents given and granted sundrie large Territories and Countries to divers Lords, . . . wherein are contained certaine ample and generall Words and Clauses, by colour and pretence whereof the Lords and Gentlemen do claime and challenge unto themselves the interest and possession of such Lands as divers auncient freeholders and their auncestors have been lawfully seized of . . . beyond the time of memorie." And it goes on to order the Lords to permit such ancient freeholders quietly and peaceably to hold and enjoy their lawful freeholds at the ancient certain rents and services. (Bonn, vol. i, p. 394.)

With regard to the land of those who rebelled, a fairly consistent policy was pursued all during Elizabeth's reign. The lands of all who were slain or executed during the rebellion were confiscated.<sup>1</sup> In many cases, however, they were regranted to relatives of the former owners who had remained loyal. The survivors, on making their submission, were, in almost all instances, restored to their estates.

Of the four great insurrections during the reign, only two were followed by extensive confiscations. On the death of Shane O'Neill, an Act of Parliament vested most of Ulster in the Crown.<sup>2</sup> Legally, the Crown was already entitled to all Ulster not covered by special grants, so that the Act was more explanatory than anything else. In any case, little or no attempt was made to enforce it. The clans were left undisturbed, with the prospect of obtaining a grant of their possessions on making a formal surrender of them.<sup>3</sup>

The confiscation which followed on the suppression of the great Desmond rebellion was more important. An Act was passed in 1586 attainting 140 persons by name. The lands of those who had actually perished during the rebellion were seized and distributed among English "undertakers." Much, however, was restored to the Knight of Glin, the White Knight, &c.; and the Barrys, Fitzmaurices, and others, who had submitted before the death of the Earl, were confirmed in their estates.<sup>4</sup>

This was the only confiscation on an extensive scale; but all over the island isolated estates were forfeited. Sometimes the attainder of a chief was held to involve the forfeiture of the entire clan lands, as in the cases of MacAuliffe and O'Mahony of Kinalmeaky.<sup>5</sup> In others, where the chief had been loyal, or had been pardoned and restored to his estates, it suited the officials better to hold the theory that the individual clansmen were the real proprietors. Inquisitions of the early years of James I give a list of about seventy clansmen of the O'Byrnes whose estates, all specified by name, and most of them extremely small,<sup>6</sup> were held to have been forfeited during the insurrections of Lord Baltinglas and Hugh O'Neill.

<sup>1</sup> Often the death in rebellion of a chief was held to involve the forfeiture of all the lands of his clan to the Crown, as in the case of O'Donoghue Mór and Mac Carthy of Coshmaing.

<sup>2</sup> xi Elizabeth.

<sup>3</sup> Some unsuccessful efforts were made by Smith and the Earl of Essex to "plant" the districts near the sea, or on the borders of the Pale.

<sup>4</sup> According to Bonn, out of 577,000 acres, originally supposed to have fallen to the Crown, about 375,000 acres were found to belong to freeholders innocent of the rebellion, or who had been pardoned. The final total confiscated was 202,099 acres. He does not say whether English or Irish acres. (Bonn, vol. i, p. 299.)

<sup>5</sup> These forfeitures amounted in the aggregate to a very considerable area. Much of Connacht was in Protestant hands in 1641, some of it by purchase, more as the result of these sporadic confiscations.

<sup>6</sup> Some of these O'Byrnes are said to have owned only 2 or 3 acres. *Pat. Rolls*, James I, p. 115.

King James at first continued Elizabeth's policy. The great Ulster Lords, O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Dougherty, and others, who had submitted before the news of Elizabeth's death had been published in Ireland, were restored to or confirmed in all their territories, in accordance with an implied promise at the time of their submission.

Rory O'Donnell, created Earl of Tyrconnell, at once proceeded to induce all his subject chiefs to make surrenders to him, by which they acknowledged him as owner-in-fee of all Tyrconnell.<sup>1</sup> One of these vassal chiefs, MacSwiney na Doe, had gone over to the Royal party during the insurrection, and had got from Elizabeth a grant of all the lands of his clan. This grant, too, was surrendered to O'Donnell. The counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, and Armagh were by these grants practically handed over in fee-simple to five individuals.<sup>2</sup>

In the rest of Ireland the king, however, at first followed the opposite policy. The Patent Rolls of the early years of the reign contain numerous grants showing this.

The almost general insurrection under Hugh O'Neill had caused confusion everywhere. A Commission of Defective Titles was issued; and all landowners who felt doubtful as to their legal position were encouraged to surrender their lands and receive new grants. Many of the great landowners of Anglo-Norman descent took advantage of this.<sup>3</sup> Besides, many Irish chiefs, who up to this had made no surrenders, now legalized their position.

Some of the grants are very instructive. "Mac i Brien of Arra got about 36 carucates in demesne, and from the rest of his country chief rents in money and 'Customary rents,' viz., sheep, oxen, hogs, mowers, reapers, labourers, ploughdays, which rents and impositions are in lieu of all other customs, refectations, impositions or cess of horse, horse boys, contributions of Sragh, Sorehen, and boneragh, duties, casualties, aids, benevolencies or free gifts, cuttings, cosheries, and other advantages, claims and demands whatsoever"—a most exhaustive list of Irish exactions. The chief rents came to £78 12s. 4d., "old silver of England," ten oxen, seventy-six sheep, and five hogs.<sup>4</sup>

O'Hara, in Co. Sligo, got chief rents, certain "methers" of wheat, thirty wooden dishes, six stone of iron.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His own version of this is in *Cal. State Papers*, 1607, p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, O'Dougherty, O'Hanlon, and O'Neill of the Fews.

Chichester's proclamation refers, no doubt, to these grants, and also probably to some of the grants to Lords of Anglo-Norman descent.

<sup>3</sup> In the Anglo-Norman districts in Munster the lesser proprietors could almost all show good titles from their immediate lords. But the titles of these lords were in many cases doubtful. Lord Roche and Lord Burke of Castleconnell, for instance, deemed it prudent to surrender and obtain fresh grants.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Rolls, Jas. I.*, p. 89. There were 100 ploughlands in the territory of Arra.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.



Sir Owen O'Sullivan, of Bantry, was given the lordship of Bere, forfeited by his kinsman the famous Donnell O'Sullivan Bere. He got in demesne about sixty-six plough-lands, and chief rents from the rest of Bere, some of which had been paid in money from of old, others now imposed instead of certain duties of butter, &c., others which the barony had formerly paid to the Earls of Desmond.<sup>1</sup>

O'Dunne, of Iregan, in Queen's County, was confirmed in the possession of a most extraordinary variety of duties, probably because here all the old arbitrary exactions had already been commuted for these fixed payments. He got, besides the demesne lands and his own private inheritance, "all and singular the annual customs and rents of silver, beeves, oats, bread, butter, and malt, etc." For instance, from the quarter of Rerimore he got "eight shillings, two beeves, twenty cronocks of oats, forty cakes of bread, thirteen dishes of butter, and a heriot after the death of every 'canfinny,' a hook day in autumn out of every twenty acres, and two ploughdays, one in summer, one in winter out of every plough, and four shillings for horseboy's diet."<sup>2</sup>

The most valuable account which we have of the policy of settlement pursued in the early days of James I is contained in a letter of Sir John Davies to the Earl of Salisbury, describing his tour in the southern counties of Ulster in 1607. These counties, Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan, were still in confusion as a consequence of the great rising under Earl Hugh O'Neill. The Lord Deputy, therefore, determined to visit them personally "to discover and understand the true and particular state, both of the possessions and possessors thereof, before he gave warrants for passing the same by Letters Patent unto any, and thereby prevent that error which hath formerly been committed in passing all Tyrone to one, and Tyrconnel to another . . ."

Again we are told as regards Fermanagh: "But touching the inferior gentlemen and inhabitants, it was not certainly known to the State here whether they were only tenants-at-will to the chief lords, whereof the uncertain cutting which the lords used upon them might be an argument, or whether they were freeholders yielding of right to their chief lord certain rights and services, as many of them do allege, affirming that the Irish cutting was an usurpation and a wrong. This was a point wherein the Lord Deputy and Council did much desire to be resolved," &c.

A settlement had, as I have said, been already made in Monaghan by Sir W. Fitzwilliams in Elizabeth's reign. On the attainder and execution of the chief, Hugh Roe MacMahon, four of the five baronies in the county had been divided among the clansmen. About eight of the principal MacMahons, and MacKenna, chief of the leading subject clan, got estates of from about two to five thousand acres each; and chief rents from the rest of the freeholders, amounting to £10 from every

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Rolls, Jas. I.*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.



960 acres, were divided among them. The rest of the inhabitants who could show their title to land received grants to themselves and their heirs.

The rebellion had disturbed this settlement; but it was now revised and confirmed in all essentials. Over 300 Irish received estates in the four baronies, the minimum grant to anyone being sixty English acres. As the fighting force of the clan was said in 1586 to amount to 100 horse and 400 foot, it is evident that by far the greater number of the landowners under Irish law were now secure in their estates.<sup>1</sup>

The state of affairs in Fermanagh was different. The lord Cuconnaght Maguire had obtained a grant from Elizabeth, in general terms, of the whole country.<sup>2</sup> His son and successor Hugh was slain in rebellion, and the grant forfeited. But this forfeiture, it was held, did not necessarily carry with it the forfeiture of those of the inhabitants who claimed to be freeholders, and who, having survived the rebellion, had been pardoned.

A rival Maguire, Conor Roe, had sided with the Crown, and had had as a reward a grant of the whole country after Hugh's death. But Hugh's brother and successor on the Irish side, Cuconnaght, as the price of his submission to the Crown towards the end of the war, had been promised half the country. Various plans were proposed to satisfy the two; and Conor Roe was induced to surrender his Patent, and to promise to be content with somewhat less than half. No Letters Patent had yet been made out to either; and the Lord Deputy now set about investigating what the rights of each individual were.

It was decided that the freeholders were the real owners, and that Elizabeth's grants had only affected the chiefry and the demesne lands. These lands, which were very small, only about 5000 acres, were to be divided, along with chief rents instead of all former exactions, among the two competitors. The lands set apart for the poets, chroniclers, etc., about 2000 acres more, were to be seized and handed over to the chiefs "in respect of the persons that merit no respect but rather discountenance from the State."

For the rest of the country lists were made out of all who held land, and in what proportion. The Brehons were called in to give their help, and the official roll containing a list of all the rents and services due to Maguire out of the whole country was obtained, not without some difficulty, from its hereditary custodian, the chronicler and Brehon O'Bristan, and copied. The land was found to be greatly subdivided, "as almost every acre of land had a several owner"—Fermanagh had

<sup>1</sup> The names of all the grantees are given in *Cal. State Papers*, 1606-08, p. 166, &c.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol iii (of the revived series), this grant is quoted from Fiant 4809, 28th of Elizabeth. Maguire "shall permit the free tenants in the country to enjoy their lands, they rendering the rents and services accustomed." "All tenants within the country shall hold of Cuconnaght and his heirs by military service by such part of a Knight's fee as the Deputy shall order."

never been disturbed by an English settlement. In the new division, of which the plan was now made out, no one was to get less than 120 acres; and the total number of proprietors qualified under this rule was found to be above 200.

The state of affairs in Cavan was less simple. Perrot had promised the whole country to Sir John O'Reilly; but the arrangement had never been carried out. Afterwards another project had been made, and agreed to by all parties, by which Sir John was to have two baronies in demesne, and 10s. per 60 acres, from three other baronies, given respectively to his brother, his uncle, and the sons of another kinsman. Two other baronies held by the clans of MacKernan and MacGauran were left subject to the ordinary Irish exactions. This settlement was never given legal effect; and Sir John, as well as his brother Philip, and his uncle Edmund, who succeeded in turn to the chieftainship, had all died or been killed in rebellion. Since Edmund's death, there had been no recognized lord. A jury of the chief of the inhabitants, with some out of the Pale, now were induced to find that these chiefs had been seised of the whole country, "*in dominio suo ut de foedo et jure*," and that all their rights were now vested in the Crown. But, before they made this return, it was explained to them that their finding would not necessarily invalidate their claim to freeholds. And as a matter of fact the Deputy seems to have intended to follow the same course here as in Fermanagh, namely, to acknowledge the clansmen as owners. Lists of the possessors and possessions of the country were drawn up, as in Fermanagh; but Sir John Davies does not give us any precise details. For the present, however, no further steps were taken with regard to the two countries. The Deputy decided—unluckily for the natives as it turned out—to defer the final settlement till the Michaelmas term, after his return to Dublin. This was in July, 1607, and in the following October, before anything had been done in the matter of these counties, news came to the Government of the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.

This event marks a new epoch in the history of Irish land settlement. Once more the plan followed by Mary in Leix and Offaly and by Elizabeth in Munster, the policy of plantation, was revived. The new idea seems to have been of slow growth. The Deputy, visiting Ulster to investigate the circumstances of the departure of the Earls, declared to the inhabitants that they would be no losers by the attainder of the fugitives; every man was to be confirmed in his own. The Earls were found guilty of treason by juries of natives whom the Crown found it convenient to consider as freeholders.

By the outlawry and attainder of the Earls the greater part of Donegal, Tyrone, and Armagh was vested in the Crown. The insane revolt in 1608 of O'Dougherty, who only just before had been foreman of the jury which had brought in a verdict of treason against Tyrconnell,

led to the forfeiture of the Donegal territory of Inishowen. The ownership of the modern county of Derry had been lately in dispute between the Earls of Tyrone—who alleged that O’Cahane, its chief, “held, he and his ancestors, as tenant on sufferance, as servants and followers of the Earl”—and O’Cahane, who contended that O’Neill was entitled to nothing more than chief rents and Irish exactions.

Sir John Davies, called on to report on the matter, had declared that O’Cahane’s country had never been lands of O’Neill in demesne, and had not been included in any of the grants to Con or Hugh O’Neill. But it had been confiscated by name by the Act xi Elizabeth, and was therefore the property, not of O’Cahane, but of the Crown. The same held with regard to certain districts in Tyrone.

Sir Oliver St. John had recommended that a grant should be made to O’Cahane,<sup>1</sup> with the proviso that he should in turn create a certain number of freeholders; but nothing had been done in the matter. Now, on a charge, apparently groundless, of complicity with O’Dougherty, the chief was thrown into prison, where he was kept until his death. His brother had joined O’Dougherty, and had perished, and the government had therefore a free hand in Derry.

The claims of Sir Neal Garve O’Donnell to Donegal were got rid of in a similar manner. He had gone over to the English side at the most critical period of the northern war, and had rendered great services to the Crown.<sup>2</sup> In return he claimed the fulfilment of the promises which had been made to him to put him in possession of all or most of Donegal. Instead of this he was accused, with some foundation it would appear, of complicity with O’Dougherty. He, too, was imprisoned until his death.

The territory of Orior in Armagh had been granted to the chief, O’Hanlon, by Queen Elizabeth,<sup>3</sup> with remainder to his son. The young man joined O’Dougherty and was attainted. His father was induced to surrender his life-interest in return for a pension of £80 a year. Thus all native claimants to Tyrone, Donegal, Derry, and most of Armagh were in one way or another removed, and the four counties vested in the Crown.

But this was not enough. As the idea of a great plantation of Scotch

<sup>1</sup> O’Cahane had deserted O’Neill at a critical period of the war, and had received a distinct promise that he would get a grant of his country. See Docwra’s *Narration* (*Misc. Celtic Soc.*, pp. 283 and 284) for Docwra’s opinion as to the injustice done to O’Cahane. “The Devil take all English men and as many as put their trust in them” were the words, according to Docwra, of O’Cahane to Hugh, son of the Earl of Tyrone. (*Ibid.*, p. 277.)

<sup>2</sup> Docwra says, “There were no vices in poor Neale Garvie that had done us manie services.” (*Narration*, p. 281.)

<sup>3</sup> Saving the rights of all *not* of the sept of O’Hanlon. Here the Crown distinctly disinherited the clan. *Fiant* Eliz., 5090. There is a similar proviso in *Fiant* 5207, granting Inishowen to O’Dougherty.



and English settlers took shape, it was determined, by a monstrous injustice, to include Cavan and Fermanagh in the scheme.<sup>1</sup>

The decision of the Lord Deputy, a few months before, that the real owners of these counties had been, not the chiefs, but the clansmen, was set aside. He had pledged himself, if not formally, at least implicitly by the whole of his proceedings to establish the inhabitants with a legal title in their several possessions. The promise was disregarded, the proceedings ignored. Sir John Davies had found in Fermanagh that the Crown had no title to the greater part of the county by the forfeiture of the chiefs; now it was laid down that the chiefs had been sole proprietors of all, and that all had now come to the Crown. In his report on Cavan he had expressly admitted the existence of freeholders among the clansmen; now, in a letter of 1610, we find him maintaining the exact opposite view, and quoting with approval the arguments brought against those natives of Cavan who claimed an estate of inheritance in their lands.

On the pretext that the Irish customs of inheritance could not be reduced to agreement with the Common Law of England, it was laid down that the natives of these two counties were only tenants at will of the lords; and so, as the chief lords had been attainted, these two counties shared the fate of the other four, and were declared the property of the Crown.

There is no need to go into the details of the Plantation of Ulster. It is only right, however, to observe that some regard was paid to the native claims. In Fermanagh, where Sir John Davies had found over two hundred natives competent to be made freeholders—i.e., entitled to 120 English acres and upwards—sixty-three natives received lands. Besides these, Conor Roe Maguire, who had been promised at one time the whole country, at another nearly half, and had now willingly agreed to the Plantation scheme, received nearly 7000 acres of profitable land.<sup>2</sup> In Cavan only thirty-nine natives received grants. The rest of the population not only lost all their property, but were forced to leave those lands which were granted to English and Scotch undertakers, and seek new homes on the lands granted to servitors, natives and the Church, the only classes allowed to let land to Irish tenants.

In the other four counties the chief men at least benefited to some extent.<sup>3</sup> The Earls of Tyrone and Tyreconnell had shown no disposition to give them estates by English tenure. No doubt the Earls would have left the old Irish tenures undisturbed. But to judge from the analogy of what has happened in the Scottish Highlands, and what happened also on the lands of the lords of Muskerry, and Duhallow, of the MacDonnells

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<sup>1</sup> Cuconagh Maguire had also fled to the Continent.

<sup>2</sup> This was "plantation measure." In reality he received very much more.

<sup>3</sup> O'Neill of the Fews in Armagh received a grant of his territory. His son forfeited 10,000 acres in 1641. One-third of County Armagh was confiscated by Cromwell.



of Antrim, and of other Irish lords who had received grants of all the clan lands, in the course of time greed would have become stronger than respect for old custom, and the successors of the Earls would have taken full advantage of the English grants which had made them sole owners of the greater part of three counties. Here and there some of their chief followers might have received from them estates of inheritance by English law; but the vast majority would have become mere tenants at will. As it was, 153 natives received grants in Armagh, Tyrone, and Donegal, under the Plantation, besides some few in Londonderry.<sup>1</sup>

The ease with which the Plantation of Ulster had been effected, its apparent advantages, and the substantial gains it had brought to the Royal Exchequer encouraged James and his advisers to try the same experiment in other parts of Ireland. In the new schemes all respect for justice—a respect which on the whole had marked the Tudor dealings with the land—was thrown aside. Henry VIII had abandoned the old plan of forcible dispossession of the natives; he had laid down the principle that the Irish were to be given a legal title to the lands they actually occupied. Sir John Davies, writing in 1607, had declared that the State had never taken hold of a title derived from conquest against such of the Irish as had not been deprived of their lands at the first conquest, but were permitted to die seised of the same in the King's allegiance.<sup>2</sup> This is true of Tudor days, and of the early years of James. The Tudors had encouraged the lords of Irish countries to make surrenders of their lands with a view to getting a legal title to them. But no force was used to compel them to do so, and, as is clearly shown in the cases of Donegal and Carbery, the Crown did not disturb in their possessions either the chiefs or the clansmen of those territories where no such surrender had been made.

Now all was changed. Old grants dating from the time of the first invasion were raked up to show that the Crown was entitled either as heir of the Mortimers, or under the Statute of Absentees, or through the treason and forfeiture of nominal English owners, to the greater part of the territory in Leinster still inhabited by the natives.

The inhabitants of the Irish half of Wexford had made a surrender of their lands in 1609 with a view to obtaining a grant under the Commission of Defective Titles. It was conveniently discovered that the lands were already the King's by a grant of Richard II, and a subsequent forfeiture. A fourth of the territory was set aside for

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<sup>1</sup> It is strange how little we really know of the Plantation of Ulster. The official accounts declare that 500,000 acres of profitable land made up the whole six counties, and that the natives received about one-eighth of this. But there are nearly three and three-quarter million English acres in the six counties, all of which were confiscated, and of these at least half a million were owned by Irish Catholics in 1641. The acre of the State Paper lists apparently equals two English acres, but this will not account for the discrepancy.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Case de Tanistry.*

English undertakers, who by false measurements seem, for a time at least, to have got possession of a half. Of 667 natives who had claimed, of whom 440 were admitted to be freeholders and had surrendered their estates in 1609, only fifty-seven received land at first. Subsequent inquiries into the frauds of the undertakers resulted in room being found for eighty more. The rest, over 300, were deprived of all land, on the plea that they could only show a title to less than sixty acres.<sup>1</sup>

The plantation of Longford followed. That the O'Ferralls had been in possession for three hundred years, that the chiefs had received grants from Elizabeth, and that one of them had served the Crown in Flanders, France, and Ireland, that both the King and the Deputy had promised to pass them their lands by letters patent, all this was of no avail. They had expelled De Lacy's heirs three hundred years ago; the King now represented those heirs; and the O'Ferralls were mere intruders; such was the lawyers' decision. In the settlement that followed, one-fourth of the land was to go to undertakers; few natives were to get less than one hundred acres, none less than sixty; those who lost their estates were to get leases of three lives or twenty-one years from the new landlords—a condition which was never carried out.<sup>2</sup> We read that "divers of the poor natives or freeholders, after the loss of all their possessions there, some of them ran mad, and others died instantly of grief . . . and others . . . who on their death-beds were in such a taking that they, by their earnest persuasions, caused some of their family and friends to bring them out to have a last sight of the hills and fields they lost."

To search for flaws in title-deeds became a regular profession. The Irish lands along the Shannon from Ulster to Lough Derg were all found to be vested in the King. The native inhabitants, O'Rourkes, O'Melaghins, O'Molloys, MacCoghlanes, O'Carrolls were deprived of a portion of their territories. The residue was divided among them, the smaller proprietors being as usual deprived of all their lands. The MacGillapatricks of Upper Ossory had been one of the first clans to submit to Henry VIII, who had created the chief a baron. Since then, for nearly a century, their loyalty had been above suspicion, but this did not save them now; a title for the Crown was found against them, and they were deprived of a portion of their lands.

A special feature of these later plantations was that the native grantees were forbidden to sell or otherwise alienate their estates to any

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<sup>1</sup> It would appear that many of the dispossessed landlords, who had gone to Dublin to complain of the treatment they had received, were shipped off as bondsmen to Virginia. Bonn, vol. i, p. 355.

<sup>2</sup> In Longford 142 natives got land. But among the "natives" were included the Earl of Westmeath, who got 3000 acres, the Earl of Kildare, and 28 others belonging to families of the Pale. (List given by Miss Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*.)

mere Irish, or to grant them longer leases than for three lives or forty-one years. This marked a farther step towards weakening the native element.

These plantations naturally excited great discontent, which, towards the end of his reign, induced James I to desist from any further plantations. But Strafford, during his viceroyalty, projected a new confiscation, more gigantic than anything which had gone before.

We have said that Perrot had made a settlement of Connacht and Clare, confirming all the inhabitants in the lands they held. Owing to subsequent disturbances, most of the proprietors had neglected to have their surrenders properly enrolled and to take out letters patent. However, in 1616 they had repaired this omission, and the Patent Rolls of the next few years contain page after page of grants to the Connacht landowners. But though the patents were made out, they were never properly enrolled owing to the neglect of the clerks in Chancery, though the grantees had actually paid £300 fees for having this done.

On this plea, then, a claim to all Connacht and Clare was put forward by the Crown. The jurors of Galway who refused to find a verdict were fined £4000 apiece, and the sheriff thrown into prison, where he died. The terrified landowners gave way, and the required title to the whole province was found for the Crown. A similar fate befell the territory of Ormond, though the O'Kennedys claimed as undisturbed occupiers for nearly 300 years, and the earls of Ormond claimed under a grant of Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup> Strafford fell before any steps were taken to carry out a plantation, and the scheme came to nothing.

But the repeated setting aside, on legal quibbles, of titles which had been looked on as perfectly good for years, was beginning to bear fruit in widespread discontent. Neither Anglo-Norman nor Celt could feel any security.<sup>2</sup> The two races united in begging that sixty years' undisturbed possession of land should give a valid title against the Crown. They offered large sums of money for these and similar "Graces." Charles took the money, and withheld the "Graces."

At the same time religious persecution was uniting the whole Catholic population in the bands of common suffering. The result was the great rising of 1641, followed by eleven years of merciless warfare, and ending with the conquest of the island by Cromwell.

To sum up the results of this inquiry. In Connacht and Clare the clan lands had been divided up among the clansmen, the chiefs getting the

<sup>1</sup> Subsequent to the Statute of Absentees. See Prendergast "On the projected Plantation of Ormond by Charles I." *Trans. Kil. Arch. Soc.*, 1849-51.

<sup>2</sup> The "holders of land within the English Pale" complained in 1624 that "the late plantations adjoining the English Pale, and the dispossessing thereby of many who, time out of mind, did quietly enjoy their lands, does very much affright the inhabitants of the English Pale, the rather that some of His Majesty's counsel at law in that country have said that they shall also be questioned for their lands." *Calendar of State Papers*, 1624.



demesne lands as their private property, and in many cases chief rents in lieu of their former "cuttings and spendings." The same system had been followed in various other districts scattered throughout the island.

In the native territories which ran along the eastern bank of the Shannon, comprising Leitrim, Longford, and the western portions of King's and Queen's Counties, the distribution of the lands among the clansmen had been complicated by a "plantation." The share to which each clansman was entitled under Irish custom was ascertained. Then a deduction of one-fourth or one-third, in some instances even one-half, was made for the purposes of the plantation. If after this deduction the share of an individual was less than sixty English acres, he lost all; if less than a hundred, he was liable to lose all; but in both cases he was in theory to get a lease of twenty-one years from the new owner. All sorts of fraud naturally accompanied these settlements.

In other districts, again, while the more important members of the clan secured estates, the lesser clansmen seem to have lost all. This is especially noticeable, as I have already mentioned, in Desmond.

Then there was the case of the six Ulster counties. Here all former settlements were torn up, the whole of the land was confiscated to the Crown, and a certain number of the natives received grants more by favour of the Crown than in accordance with any principle to be deduced from their former status.

Finally there were cases where all the lands of a clan were given to a chief, sometimes the chief of a sept, sometimes of a clan, sometimes of a whole country. An example of this last is the grant of all Donegal to Rory O'Donnell, of a vast tract in Antrim to the head of the Scotch settlers the MacDonnells, and of other great districts in Down and Antrim to the chiefs of the O'Neills of Clandeboy. In some cases, as in Muskerry, the recipient of such a grant had to respect existing rights at least to a certain extent, and to make estates to the chief men of his own kindred and of the subject septs. Examples of the grant of the whole lands of a clan to a chief are the cases of MacDonagh and O'Keeffe in Duhallow, O'Shaughnessy in Galway. Finally there were probably many cases where the head of a small sept got all the lands of his kinsmen. Glenachroim is one such case; apparently there were others in the district ruled over by O'Sullivan Bere.<sup>1</sup> Everywhere we notice a certain amount of apparent caprice in the arrangements.

We find, as a final result of the action of the Tudors and Stuarts, alongside of a certain number of great landowners, a vast multitude of small proprietors. These small proprietors were most numerous west of the

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<sup>1</sup> For in 1641 all the lands of the O'Linchighs and O'Donnegans of Bere and Bantry were in the hands of the chiefs of these septs. (Books of Survey and Distribution.)



Shannon, where there was established something not far removed from peasant proprietorship.<sup>1</sup>

In the districts occupied by the descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders, too, there were innumerable small landowners, Barrys, Powers, Butlers, holding as vassals of the great Anglo-Irish lords. Most of the lords had had their estates secured by surrenders and regrants under the Commission of Defective Titles. The lesser proprietors, junior members of the lord's family, or descendants of those who followed the great barons at the time of the first invasion, mostly held their lands by tenures secure according to Common Law.

Cromwell made a clean sweep of all Catholic landowners, great and small, Gael or Old English, or later Elizabethan settlers. East of the Shannon the clearance was complete. West of it a certain number received allotments meant to give a partial compensation for what they had lost. An account of the Cromwellian confiscation and settlement would require separate study.

But we may briefly touch on it here, as it serves to throw light on the actual number of landowners in Ireland in 1641. According to an abstract compiled by Mr. W. H. Hardinge, M.R.I.A., and published by him in the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy in 1866,<sup>2</sup> out of the twenty million English acres in Ireland eleven millions were confiscated by Cromwell, i.e., belonged in 1641 to Catholics.<sup>3</sup> And from a list printed in O'Hart's "Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland," of "Forfeiting Proprietors Listed," made in 1657 by Christopher Gough, we find that in fifteen counties and one barony there were some 4120 landowners whose estates were confiscated. Now, as these included five of the six Ulster plantation counties, in which there were only about 270 Irish Catholic landowners in 1641, and as nearly all Connacht and four Munster counties are omitted, we may safely assume that in the seventeen counties for which we have no returns, there were at least 6000 landowners Catholics—i.e. of Irish or Anglo-Norman descent—in 1641."<sup>4</sup> As most of the Protestant owners either

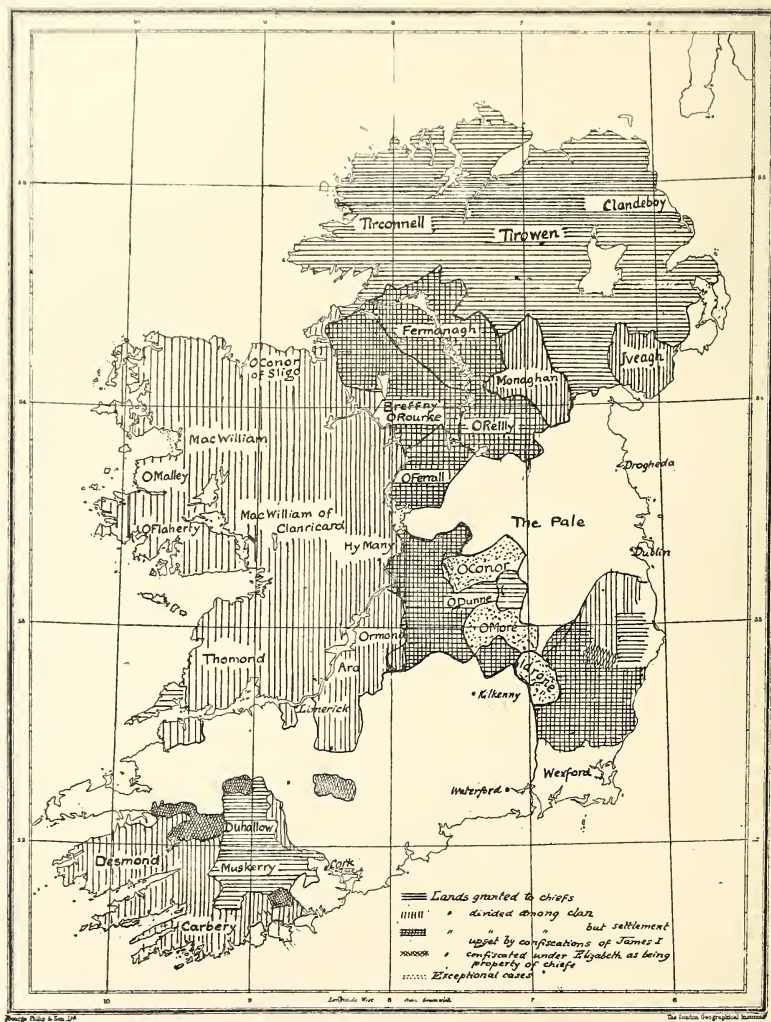
<sup>1</sup> I have purposely left out of account here the cases (such as the MacAuliffes, O'Mahonys, and O'Donoghues) where the clan lands were held to be forfeited by the death in rebellion of the chief. And everywhere there had been confiscations of individual proprietors on the death of their owners in rebellion. These were most numerous in the Anglo-Norman districts, where it was easy to ascertain who were landowners. And I have also omitted the exceptional case of Leix and Offaly planted under Mary.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xxiv, Antiquities, part vii.

<sup>3</sup> There were 168 loyal Protestants, besides the Duke of Ormonde, whose estates were confiscated by Cromwell (*Reports on Pub. Records*, vol. 1821-25, p. 652). Their estates are probably included in the eleven million acres. Against these we may set the lands of the Earl of Thomond and Barrymore, of Lord Kerry and other Irish Protestants who had sided with the Parliament.

<sup>4</sup> In six Leinster counties 1816 proprietors lost their lands. The single county of Wexford accounts for 621 of these. In Cork 1031 and in Kerry 547 proprietors lost





sided with the Parliament or were allowed on submission to compound for their estates, we have unfortunately no means of estimating their numbers. It might be possible from existing materials to make out such an estimate. If this were done, we would be in a position to estimate the final results of the various dealings with the land of Ireland which I have attempted to treat of in the foregoing pages.

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APPENDIX.—TABLE TO GO WITH THE ACCOMPANYING MAP.

Lands granted to chiefs :—

ULSTER.—Tirconnell, Inishowen, Tirowen (including Co. Derry, and part of Armagh), Clandeboy, The Glens and Route, Kinelarty, Orior.

CONNACHT.—Kinelea (O'Shaughnessy).

LEINSTER.—Clanmalieri (O'Dempsey), Gavell Rannell (O'Byrne).

MUNSTER. — Mac Donagh, O'Keeffe, Mac Carthy of Muskerry, Mac Carthy of Glanachroim, O'Donoghue of the Glens, West Corcabaskin (Mac Mahon).

Lands divided among the clan :—

ULSTER.—Monaghan, Iveagh.

CONNACHT.—All, except lands of O'Shaughnessy.

LEINSTER.—O'Toole, part of O'Byrnes.

MUNSTER.—Clare, except West Corcabaskin; Tipperary, viz. : Ormond, Ara, Ikerrin, Kilnamanagh; Limerick : O'wney, Pubblebrien; Kerry : Iraghticonnor, Desmond; Cork : Carbery, Pubbleocallaghan.

Lands confiscated under Elizabeth as being property of the chiefs :—

Lands of Mac Auliffe, MacCarthy of Coshmaing, Clandonellroe, O'Donoghue Mór, O'Mahony of Kinelmeaky, O'Brien of Aherlow, O'Byrne of Shillelagh(?).

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everything. In Tipperary, Clare, and the counties west of the Shannon generally the subdivision of property was, as I have shown, very great. The single barony of Tyrawley in Mayo had 113 Catholic landowners. Hence we might almost allow 3500 for Leinster, 4500 for Munster, and for Connacht the same as for Leinster. In six counties in Ulster about 400 forfeited. We have no returns for Antrim, Armagh, or Down, but we know that in this last there must have been at least 200 Catholic landowners in Iveagh, Lecale, Dufferin, &c. So that 12,000 Catholic landowners in 1641 is perhaps not an excessive estimate. Of these, according to Sir William Petty, twenty-six were allowed to retain their estates, as having shown "constant good affection" to the Parliament of England, or having been absent from Ireland between 1641 and 1652.



Lands divided among the clans, but settlement upset by confiscations of James I :—

ULSTER.—Cavan, Fermanagh.

CONNACHT—Leitrim.

MUNSTER.—Ely O'Carroll.

LEINSTER.—Longford; Westmeath, lands of O'Melaghlin, MacGeoghegan; King's County, Fercal, Delvin; Queen's County, Iregan, Upper Ossory; Kilkenny, Fassadinin; Carlow, except Idrone; Wexford, northern half.

Exceptional cases—O'Connor of Offaly, O'More of Leix, planted under Philip and Mary; Idrone, granted to Carew.

N.B.—In the accompanying map the vertical lines of the shading should be completed in the small area of land above the name "O Dunne," and the O Shaughnessy territory between Galway and Clare has been accidentally omitted—a small lozenge-shaped patch of land on the intersection of lat. 53 and long. 9. It should be shaded with *horizontal* lines.

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#### NOTE ADDED IN PRESS

In the previous part of this article I followed the statement so frequently met with that Ulster, &c., passed to the De Burgos through the marriage of Richard de Burgo with a daughter of De Lacy. Mr. Orpen in his article on the *Earldom of Ulster* in the same number of this *Journal* shows that this currently accepted statement is wrong.

## A BURIAL CUSTOM OF THE IRON AGE, AND A SUGGESTED EXPLANATION

BY MARGARET E. DOBBS

[Read 25 MARCH 1913]

I DESIRE to draw attention in this paper to one of the burial customs of the Iron Age among the Celtic populations of Central Europe and the British Isles, and its possible connexion with the ancient Irish custom of the hero's bit and the etiquette of carving. The custom I refer to is that of burying portions of animals with dead bodies. This custom was not characteristic of the Bronze Age. Some cases have been found, but nothing like the number of instances found in connexion with Iron Age burials. I give the evidence as far as it is known to me up to the present.

In the *Revue archéologique*, 4th ser., vol. xix, January 1912, there is an account of excavations in prehistoric cemeteries round Toulouse and that neighbourhood. At St. Roch a cemetery covering three different periods was found; in the first age a few cases of animal bones occurred in the burials; in the second pig bones occurred frequently; in the third they were rarer. On page 18 we are told that, along with pottery of the most ancient Celtic type, great quantities of unburnt animal bones were found in the graves: bones of ox, pig, sheep, horse, ass, dog. On page 20 all these burials are said to belong to the second period of the Iron Age. On page 21 we are told that in the cemeteries examined the funeral rites were the same in the three periods, but in the third the animal bones were rare. On page 47 we are told of a tumulus containing cremated bones, and animal bones *not* cremated. This was of the Hallstatt period, but in another Hallstatt cemetery (page 52) no bones of animals occurred at all. In the Iron Age cemetery of Mas d'Agenais unburnt bones of animals occurred. As far as it goes this evidence seems to point to a custom beginning at the end of the Bronze Age, and practised at the beginning of the Iron Age down to a certain period, when it died out. Other cases are:

At Courtisols, Marne, vessels containing bones of pig and sheep were found buried with a woman of First La Tène period. (See *Guide to Iron Age Period, Brit. Mus.*, page 62.)

At Somme Bionne several graves contained bones of pig, sheep, and other animals (page 58).

In Marne a whole boar was found buried with a chief in his chariot. (See *Revue Celt.*, xx, page 28.)

In Hallstattian burials in Bavaria young boars were frequently found. (See *Arch. Review*, i, page 120.)

At Parkhill, Aberdeen, the fore-leg of a pig was found in a cist burial. (See *Iron Age in Scotland*, Anderson.)

At North Grimston, Yorkshire, the head and some other bones of a pig were found buried with an armed man. (See *Archæologia*, lx, Plate I, page 258.) Another burial at the same place contained the humerus of a young pig.

At the Danes' Graves the head and forepart of a pig were found in a burial of two men with a chariot. (See page 277.)

At Arras an important burial of an old man contained the heads of two pigs. (See page 279.)

Another grave, apparently that of a woman of rank, contained the bones of the foreparts of two pigs. (See plate 284.)

In another grave two goats had been buried with a man. (See page 304.)

In another grave two goats and two pigs were found with a man's body. (See page 304.)

At Lough Gur, Limerick, a stone cist containing two bodies (one a child) had also fragments of pig bones, including upper jaw. (See *Proc. R.I.A.* xxx, C. 10, page 299.)

All these cases (except those in Bavaria) are undoubtedly Iron Age in date, and in most cases are connected with the characteristic culture of La Tène. We may therefore date the custom from the above evidence as starting about the sixth century B.C. and lasting down to the first century A.D. Probably many more such finds have occurred, but the animal bones found have not been thought worth recording, or have been unobserved.

Now was there any reason for the particular animal or particular joint found in all these burials, or were they merely any sort of provision made for the dead one's journey to the other world? It is possible, I think, though not certain, that the choice of the food was directed by the position in life or occupation of the person buried. Irish literature tells us there was a regular rule or etiquette of joints allotted to different ranks. I now give the rules as I have found them. In *Irische Texte*, vol. iii, pages 188 and 206, in a text dealing with Cormac mac Airt (third century) we have :

“His proper portion to each, viz., a thigh (laarg) to a king and a poet: an upper thigh (crochet) for a literary man: a shinbone (colpa) for a young lord: heads (cuind) for charioteers: haunch (les) for queens, and every due share besides.”

In *Trans. R.I.A.* xviii, Petrie gives the following rule:—

“for charioteers and stewards—the heads (cuinn) to them.

“The harpers have a pig’s shoulder.

“An ollam brehon has the upper thighs (lonchrochait).

“A sage and a royal chief have the entrails and the best or prime upper thigh (primh-chrochait).

“An ollam poet, an aire ard, an ollam historian have the larach = the thigh, leg.

“A craftsman has a pig’s shoulder.

“A druid and an aire dessa have the shinbone, lit. the calf of the leg (colptha).”

In *Ériu* iv, page 125, in a text relating to the time of Diarmait Mac Cerbaill (sixth century), we read:

“his proper portion . . . to each one, fruit and oxen and boars and fitches for kings and ollaves and free-noble elders . . ., redmeat . . . for warriors . . ., head . . . for charioteers and jugglers . . ., veal, lamb, pork for young men and maidens . . .”

Lastly, in the *Senchus Mór*, vol. i, p. 49:

“The thigh (larac) for king, bishop, and sage.

“The shin (colpta) for young lords.

“The heads (cuinn) for charioteers.

“The haunch (les) for queens.

“The upper thigh (croichet) for kings in opposition or tanists.”

It will be noticed there is a good deal of variety in these regulations. The first and last are most nearly in agreement. We may conclude that the etiquette varied from time to time and from place to place. Note that only in one, the rule of the *Senchus Mór*, is provision made for clergy. All the others are pagan, and contain no allusion to bishop, monk, abbot, or church dignitary. The *Senchus Mór* being revised in Christian times by a committee including bishops, due provision was of course made for their dignity. The other rules seem as if they must have been handed down intact from pagan times. This may be taken as a sign of great antiquity. But the differences in their regulations are interesting, as we need not then expect that the portions buried as given above will tally in every respect with the Irish rules. The etiquette in Gaul and Yorkshire may have been quite different from that in Ireland. Yet there are several points of agreement between the written rule and the burial practice. For instance, the one thing all the rules agree on is “heads for charioteers.” One of the Yorkshire burials contained a chariot and two men’s bodies; with them the *head* and *thigh* of a pig. Have we here the king and his charioteer? It looks like it. Again, the most usual find



has been a fore-leg, and the most usual animal a pig. The pig was the great delicacy and choicest dish in Irish literature, and the rules show that the most distinguished people always got some part of the leg. To be buried with a pig's leg, therefore, surely indicates rank of some sort. I cannot account for the man buried with the goats. These animals do not come into the Irish rules at all. But the French noble who had a whole boar buried with him must have been a very great hero indeed, for according to Fled Bricrend (*Irische Texte*, i, page 256) a whole seven-year-old boar was the first and foremost part of the "caurathmir," or hero's bit, reserved for the champion of Ulster. Very few people had the honour and glory of the whole animal in their graves to keep them company. I suggest, therefore, that this particular custom and the Irish rules belong to the same age and represent the same culture and modes of thought. They corroborate each other, and agree with the evidence already brought forward for the vivid and accurate reflections of the La Tène Age in Irish literature. There have been very few Iron Age burials examined or investigated in Ireland. It is to be hoped that, should such be brought to light, no fragment of bone may be overlooked; since even pigs' feet, it seems, may be of use in the discovery of archaeological truth.

## THE EARLDOM OF ULSTER.

[Continued from p. 46]

## PART II.—INQUISITIONS TOUCHING CARRICKFERGUS AND ANTRIM

By GODDARD H. ORPEN, M.R.I.A., *Member*.

I now proceed to give the first instalment of abstracts of the inquisitions taken in the year 1333, after the death of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, concerning his lands in Ireland, other than those in Connacht. The originals are preserved in the Public Record Office in London, and are catalogued as Chancery Inquisitions Post Mortem, 7 Edward iii, No. 39. Including those relating to Connacht and to England, there are seven writs and nineteen inquisitions. I shall take the inquisitions relating to the earldom of Ulster first (Nos. 18, 19, 20, 25), and then those relating to outlying lands which belonged to the earl (Nos. 12–17).

At this time the earldom was divided for administrative purposes into five counties, viz., the counties of Carrickfergus, Antrim, Down, the New Town of Blathewyc (Newtownards), and Coleraine. This division was of old standing, as may be seen from the substantially similar division of the bailiwicks in 1226, when the earldom was in the King's hand.<sup>1</sup> Indeed it is probable that the division goes back in part at least to the time of John de Courcy, and represents the sheriffdoms of his lordship, except that in his time the Twescard, or county of Coleraine, was only very partially occupied by his followers. Probably the rural deaneries of the dioceses of Down, Connor, and Dromore, which, either singly or in groups, seem to have been nearly conterminous with these civil divisions, were subsequently moulded on them. Thus, as Bishop Reeves remarks, instead of ecclesiastical names, such as Moville, Bangor, Nendrum, Coleraine, Armoy, &c., civil names, such as Blathewyc, Ards, Dalboyn, Twescard, &c., were employed for the rural deaneries.

The object of the inquisitions was to ascertain the present money value of the lands, with a view to the assignment of dower to the earl's widow and the administration of the earldom during the minority of the heir. Much, therefore, that we should like to know—such as

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 31. The Twescard, or the county of Coleraine, was then held separately by the lords of Galloway; the county of the New Town of Blathewyc was divided into the bailiwicks of Blathewyc and Ards; and the county of Down was represented by Ladcathel (Leale).

the precise extents and positions of the Norman fiefs and of the districts still held by the Irish, and the conditions on which they were held—can only be doubtfully inferred. We cannot even tell how much land was held on knight's service; for though a list of some twenty tenants so holding is given, there is little or no indication as to the extent of their holdings. Many manors, too, were, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> granted in frank-marriage to John de Burgh, son of Earl Richard, and his wife Elizabeth de Clare, and these manors accordingly do not appear in the inquisitions.

Many of the place-names are puzzling, and there are several which I have failed to identify. Some of these are probably corrupt beyond recognition. Others are names which have become obsolete and appear to have left little or no trace behind them in the available records. It is noteworthy that the names in the Connacht inquisitions are all phonetic representations of Irish names, whereas in these Ulster inquisitions the lesser denominations seldom represent Irish names. Occasionally we get a semi-translation of an Irish name, as, for instance, Le Ford for *Bélfeirste* (Belfast) "the mouth of the Fersat" or ford, and Waueranton for *baile uarain*, "the town of the spring." There are of course several representations of Irish names, but the greater number of manorial names, as in the east of Ireland generally, and especially in Meath, are formed from the personal names of the early settlers compounded with "toun" or "ton" (town), and several of these have since been changed into similar names commencing with "Bally." This difference in nomenclature between the East of Ireland and Connacht is probably due to the fact that the names in the East were mostly given by the first-comers, to whom the Irish language was strange, whereas when Connacht was settled, three generations later, the settlers were more familiar with the sounds of Irish names, and generally retained them, though in somewhat uncouth phonetic forms.

In the identification of place-names in Ulster, I must gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Bishop Reeves, whose scholarly work, *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, is a boon to all students of Ulster topography as well as to those of Irish ecclesiastical lore. All my references to the ecclesiastical taxation of 1306-7 are to his edition of that record.

The county of Carrickfergus, with which we commence, comprised approximately the present baronies of Upper Glenarm, Carrickfergus, Upper and Lower Belfast, and Upper and Lower Massereene. It seems to have comprised the deaneries of Magheramourne,<sup>2</sup> in the diocese of

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> This, as Bishop Reeves indicates, appears to have been the name of the first (unnamed) deanery in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of the Diocese of Connor. In 1327 the abbot of Wodebourne was "receiver of the rents, farms, &c., belonging to the (late) Earl (Richard de Burgh) in the counties of Maghelimourne, Auntrum and Coulrath," where the county of Maghelimourne (*recte* Magheramourne) is clearly an *alias* for the county of Cragfergus: *Ir. Pipe Rolls*, 43rd Rep. D. K., p. 27.

Connor, and those of Clandermot, and Dalboyn, in the diocese of Down. The Castle of Carrickfergus was a royal castle, and is not included. The principal seignorial manors were Carrickfergus, Le Ford, or Belfast, and Dunmalys, or Drumaliss in the parish of Larne. There were borough towns at these places and at Le Coul (Carnmoney), but the boroughs of Le Coul and Le Ford had been destroyed "by John de Logan, and other enemies of the King." This and similar statements, made in this inquisition to account for the depreciation or destruction of the earl's property, refer to the murder of the earl and the disturbances which followed. It appears that the earl, who was only in his twenty-first year, was going from the New Town [of Ards] to Carrickfergus, when on 6 June 1333, probably near Le Ford (Belfast), he was treacherously slain by his own men. John de Logan, Robert son of Richard de Mandeville, and Robert son of Martin de Mandeville are mentioned by name as among the perpetrators of the crime. The earl's widow, Matilda of Lancaster, immediately fled with her infant daughter to England. Sir John D'Arcy, the justiciar, came by sea to Carrickfergus, on July 1, to avenge the murder, whereupon the loyal inhabitants, taking courage, marched against the murderers and their abettors, and executed condign punishment upon them. The malefactors had obtained the assistance of the Irish to defend themselves from justice; and hence the great destruction of property that ensued before they were suppressed.<sup>1</sup>

That the destruction of property, coming as it did before the land could have recovered from the ravages of Edward Bruce, was very great, clearly appears from the difference between the old extent and the new, as given in the inquisitions. The total of the former for Ulster was £441 16s. 2d., while the total of the latter was only £139 18s. 7d. Even the old extent, wherever we have materials for comparison,<sup>2</sup> seems to have been much below what had previously been received; but of course the parting with seignorial manors to provide for Earl Richard's numerous family, and perhaps other changes, may make such comparisons misleading.

In the Pipe Roll for 1334 John Morice, the Escheator, accounts for the sum of £36 14s. 4d., rents and issues of two-thirds of the lands which belonged to the earl in the counties of Down, Blawyk, Antrim, Cragfergus, and Coulrath, for the term immediately following the earl's death, as by the extent. Also for £11 7s. 0d. for issues of county and

<sup>1</sup> The most authentic account of the earl's murder is contained in the *Laud MS. Annals, Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, vol. ii, pp. 378-9. Clynne (*Annals*, pp. 24, 25) adds some apparently trustworthy details, and mentions Gyle de Burgh, wife of Richard de Mandeville, as having instigated the deed. See *ante*, p. 46. He also states that John de Mandeville headed those who took vengeance on the perpetrators. He was probably the John de Mandeville who was one of the jurors on this inquisition. Marleborough seems to be the first who says that the deed took place "neere to the foords in Vlster": ed. 1633, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, for instance, the account of William FitzWarin, *Journal, ante*, p. 41.



hundred courts, mills and market tolls, of said two parts, by the extent. Total £48 1s. 4d.<sup>1</sup> The whole (including the dower, which was assigned to the earl's widow) would thus be £72 2s. 0d. for the term, or £144 4s. 0d. for the year. The total, according to the sum of the totals of the new extent, as we have said, is £139 18s. 7d. per annum. How the slight discrepancy is to be explained it is perhaps vain to inquire. In the extent the totals do not always precisely agree with the sum of the items given.

Of the jurors' names Savage, Hacket, Sarasyn, and Passelowe appear among the names of John de Courcy's principal followers.<sup>2</sup> A Robert de Mandeville was at Carrickfergus with King John in 1210, and appears as a tenant in chief in Ulster in 1221.<sup>3</sup> A Robert Talbot had lands in the diocese of Connor before 1210.<sup>4</sup> The Bysets first obtained lands in the Glynnys in 1242.<sup>5</sup> A William Husee held lands in Hoeseitone, somewhere in Co. Antrim, about the beginning of the reign of Edward I.<sup>6</sup> The following jurors appear in inquisition No. 26 as holding by military service:—Robert Byset, Richard Savage, Patrick Sandale, John Talbot, and John de Mandeville; to whom we may add from the list of jurors for Co. Antrim, William de Wellys and Roger FitzRichard.

It is remarkable that in the Irish Exchequer Memoranda,<sup>7</sup> ascribed to 1280–4, but in some cases clearly compiled from earlier sources, only three services are claimed from Ulster, and as many as twenty services from Walter de Burgh for Connacht, while in these inquisitions Earl William is said to have held his lands in Ulster by the service of twenty-two knights' fees, and his lands in Connacht by the service of six knights' fees. When the change was made is not clear, but as recently as for the year 1308 Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, paid for three services only, in respect of Ulster.<sup>8</sup>

#### ULSTER, COUNTY OF CRAGFERGUS (CARRICKFERGUS).

Before John Morice Escheator of Ireland at Cragfergus on Saturday next after the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, 7 Edw. III.

*Jurors.*—Robert Savage, knt. Robert Byset, John Haket, Peter Husee, William Baudewyn, Ralph Sarasyn, Hugh Wyteley, Robert Speneville, William Speneville, Richard le Savage, Patrick Sandale, Peter Soucherche, Richard Aylryk, John Talbot, Walter Halywode, Henry de Weldoun,

<sup>1</sup> 44 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> See the witnesses to John de Courcy's grant of jurisdiction to the church of Down, *Dugdale Mon. Angl.*; also the hostages in *Patent Roll*, 6 John, p. 55b.

<sup>3</sup> *Close Roll*, 5 Hen. III, p. 476b.

<sup>4</sup> *Close Roll*, 17 John, p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, ante, p. 32, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> 36 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, vol. ii, p. 550, "Book of Howth," *Carew Cal.*, p. 234; and see *English Historical Review*, vol. xviii (1903), p. 507, where Miss Bateson edits an Oxford ms., and collates all the documents.

<sup>8</sup> *Ir. Pipe Roll*, 7 Ed. II, 39 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 52.

John Gelous, Adam Walewayn, Roger Passelowe, Nicholas Galgi, John de Maundevill, William Balycolyngham, Adam Bureltoun, and Richard Scargyl, who say upon oath that—

William de Burgo late Earl of Ulster held in his demesne as of fee the following castles, manors, lands, tenements, liberties, and rents in Ulster from the King in chief as of the Crown by the service of 22 knights:—

*Demesne of Cragfergus*, viz.:—The Manor of Cragfergus with appurtenances, in which is a place called Hagard not built on, worth nothing, for want of hirers. In demesne there, 3 carucates and 40 acres formerly under the lord's plough and worth 4d. an acre, now nothing, because they lie waste and untilld owing to the destruction of the war of the Irish, and want of tenants; 24 acres of meadow formerly worth 8d. each, now nothing; 1 carucate at Kiogkogh in hands of farmers, who in time of peace used to pay 4d. an acre, now 2d.

*Farmers*.—At Kylglan<sup>1</sup> 2 carucates, 15 acres let for £2 : 15 : 10 ;  
 at Dyleston, 1 carucate for £2 : 0 : 0 ;  
 at Rothelang<sup>2</sup> 1 messuage, 20 acres let to John Glee for 10s. ;  
 at Le Redegate,<sup>3</sup> 1 carucate let for £1 : 0 : 0 ;  
 at Lyeltone, 1½ carucates containing 200 acres let to John Folcard for £2 : 12 : 4d ;  
 at Hervyntoun, 1 carucate let to Thomas le Mullare for £2 : 0 : 0 ;  
 ½ carucate let to Robert Byset for 10s.

*Ronceven*.<sup>4</sup>—At le Graunge of Ronceven, 2½ carucates let to John Folcard and other tenants for £5 : 0 : 0 ;  
 at Whytewelle, 60 acres let for 10s. ;  
 at Lytelton, 1 carucate let for £2 in time of peace, now only 10s. ;  
 at Whytecherche,<sup>5</sup> 1 carucate let for £2 ;  
 at Sufforlond, 60 acres let for 6s. 8d. ;  
 at le Cragges,<sup>6</sup> 60 acres let for 6s. 8d.  
 at Cragfergus is a borough town which the Burgesses hold freely for £2 : 16 : 8.

*Coul*.<sup>7</sup>—There was a borough town at le Coul for which the Burgesses used to pay 10s., now it is worth nothing, as it is burnt and destroyed by John Logan and other enemies of the King.

<sup>1</sup> The Grange of Killyglen, Upper Glenarm.

<sup>2</sup> Raloo Parish, Lower Belfast; *Ecclesia de Rathlung*; *Ecc. Tax.*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Redhall, in the parish of Templecorran, Lower Belfast.

<sup>4</sup> Represents the Irish *Rinne Scimhne*, now Island Magee. The name appears as Ranservyn in *Ecc. Tax.*, p. 58. Land here belonged to Robert FitzSerlon before 1213; *Close Roll*, 15 John, p. 138b. The "Graunge of Ronceven" is now represented by the townland of Gransha in Island Magee.

<sup>5</sup> The Church of St. John of Ranservyn appears to have been known as "Whitkirk." It was probably in the townland of Ballykeel; Reeves, *Ecc. Tax.*, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the townland of Ballycraig, in the parish of Larne.

<sup>7</sup> The parish of Carmonny, Lower Belfast, was formerly known as Coule, and is

*Mills.*—At Cragfergus, a water-mill let to Robert de Speneville for £4 : 6 : 8. At Kyloughter,<sup>1</sup> a water-mill let to Alan le Mullare for £3. At Coul another water-mill worth, in the Earl's time, £1, now nothing, because burnt and destroyed by John Logan, etc.

*Freeholders.*—4s. rent from a messuage which Robert Spenevill holds freely in fee. 7s. from a messuage called Hallezerd which William Mattelan<sup>2</sup> holds in fee. 3s. 4d. from 80 acres in Masshelond which William Fitz Thomas holds in fee. 1s. used to come from 2 acres in le Heymynge which a freeholder held, now lying waste. 3s. formerly from a messuage in the town of Cragfergus held in fee by Richard fitz Vicar, but now nothing. 3s. 6d. formerly from a messuage there held in fee by Matthew Swinnesheved, now nothing. 3s. formerly from a messuage there held in fee by John fitz Augustine. £2 formerly from 1 carucate in Rochfordestoun held by a freeholder, now nothing. £1 from 3 carucates in Houghtonemart which Robert Bysset holds freely in fee. 6s. 8d. from 60 acres in Le Redemyr which Robert Bysset and his wife Affrica hold freely in fee. 1s. of chief rent from various lands which tenants in Wrythertoun hold in fee. 1s. chief rent from lands in Pierestoun from freeholders. 3s. chief rent from land in Le Hagard near Cragfergus which the heir of Nicholas le Whyte holds freely in fee.

A rent of 100 eels of the value of 1s., or 1s. from a tenement called Loghmourne<sup>3</sup> which a freeholder holds in fee. 53s. 4d. formerly from lands in Le Logan which Matthew Swinesheved held freely in fee, now nothing, because waste owing to the war of John Logan, etc. 1d. from 60 acres in Kylglan which Hugh de Rasey holds freely in fee. A rent of 2 pairs of white gloves from 102 acres which the heir of Ralph Berkyng holds freely in fee there.

A court for extern suitors held fortnightly in Kylglan the pleas and perquisites of which are worth 6s. 8d.

<p>Issues of Manor of Cragfergus and aforesaid tenants by old extent £50 16s. 7d., and by new extent £33 16s. 3d.</p>	}	<p>Master John de Coupland holds freely 3 carucates in Marchalestoun<sup>4</sup> for suit monthly in the County Court of Cragfergus. John Haket holds 5 carucates in Loglyd<sup>5</sup> for suit as above. John Gernoun holds 5</p>
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so named in the *Eccl. Tax.*, p. 66. The Glebe is still marked Coule Glebe on the Ordnance Map.

<sup>1</sup> Kilwaughter Parish, *Cill uachtar*, in Upper Glenarm.

<sup>2</sup> A William Matalan appears from the Registry of Muckamore to have held lands in Clandermot; Reeves, *Eccl. Tax.*, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> The name of a lake in the county of the town of Carrickfergus.

<sup>4</sup> "Marshall's towne lying within the liberties of the county of the town of Carrickfergus"; *Inquis. Ulton. Antrim*, 6 Jac. I, and see *Fiantis Eliz.*, No. 6620, where the boundaries are given. "Copland water" forms the northern boundary. William and Henry Copland are witnesses to John de Courcy's grant to the Church of Down.

<sup>5</sup> Ecclesia de Loghlat appears in the *Eccl. Tax.*, p. 56. It was in Templecorran Parish, Lower Belfast.

carucates in Lisleyan<sup>1</sup> for life by enfeofment of the Earl for suit as above. John Kilkenan holds  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates in Priourtoun<sup>2</sup> for suit as above.

*Forde*.—There is at Le Ford<sup>3</sup> a Manor in which there was a castle, now thrown down by John Logan's war, and worth nothing. There was a Borough town there, now all burnt and destroyed by said John, and worth nothing at present, but in the Earl's time it was worth in perquisites of the court and other profits, £1.

In demesne at the Ford 7 carucates [In text "acres, whereof each acre contains 6 score acres."] formerly worth £2 each carucate, now nothing on account of the above war; 4 carucates at Castelconnaugh, formerly worth £1 : 10 : 0 each, but now nothing; 2 carucates in Ymenaught<sup>4</sup> formerly worth £1 a carucate, now nothing; £4 from 6 carucates formerly which Robert de Mandevill held freely in fee, but now nothing, for same reason.

Formerly £1 : 6 : 8 and 24 days work of reapers in August worth	
Extent of castle and	} 1d. a day, from 8 carucates in Legolghtorp which David O Coltaran <sup>5</sup> an Irishman held in fee, who now pays nothing for same reason. There was a watermill, of which the profits of toll were worth 6s. 8d., but now nothing
Manor of Forde	
etc. £28 : 15 : 4	
by old extent, and nothing by new.	

because waste by burning of John Logan.

*Dunmalys*.—There is a Manor at Dunmalys<sup>6</sup> in which are no buildings because broken down, and worth nothing.

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesia de Laslaynan; *Ecccl. Tax.*, p. 58. Lislanen; *Inquis. Ulton. Antrim*, 3 Car. I, now Forthill, a townland in Templecorran Parish.

<sup>2</sup> Ballyprior townland, Island Magee.

<sup>3</sup> As already explained, Le Ford is a translation of the Irish *farset*, which appears in the name Belfast. In the *Ecccl. Tax.* (p. 6) the church of Shankill is called Ecclesia Alba, and is coupled with the Capella de Vado. The above is the earliest notice I have seen of the Castle of Belfast.

<sup>4</sup> Probably "Imany," in the Tuogh cinament, between Cave Hill and Belfast; *Inquis. Ulton. Antrim*, 7 Jac. I.

<sup>5</sup> O'Coltaran is mentioned by O'Dubhagain (p. 36) as a chieftain of Uladh, living in Dal Cuirb. Dal corb na hUamadh (of the cave) was one of the five *printuatha* (chief families) of Dal mBuinne whose eponym was Buind, son of Fergus Mac Roig; *L.L.* 331b (16), and see *Onomasticon* s.v. Dal mBuinne. Dal mBuinne was anglicized Dalboyn, Dalmunia, &c., and the deanery of Dalboyn in the *Ecccl. Tax.* (p. 44) "embraced a tract of country lying on either side of the river Lagan from Spencer's Bridge near Moira to the Drum Bridge near Belfast"; *Four Masters*, 1176, note w. The ancient Dal mBuinne, however, according to Bishop Reeves, was probably equivalent to what became known as Killultagh, *Coill Ultach*, in the southern part of the barony of Upper Massereene, and we may regard this well-known district, which was a woody fastness in Elizabeth's time, as including the territory of O'Coltaran. As *t* and *e* are often indistinguishable in the ms., we may just as well read "Legolghcorp" in the above passage, and this uncount-looking name would represent fairly well the sound of Dal Corb with the Anglo-Norman article prefixed, thus confirming the above identification.

<sup>6</sup> Now Drumaliss, which with the Curran makes up a townland in the parish of Larne. It appears as Dunaless in *Ecccl. Tax.*, p. 54.



An orchard of 2 acres formerly worth 2s., now nothing.

In demesne 2 carucates worth in the Earl's time £2, now nothing. 10s. from 1 carucate in Le Grenclowe<sup>1</sup> which Nicholas Pedelowe<sup>2</sup> holds freely in fee and makes suit at Court and mill. 2 carucates for which the same Nicholas does nothing but suit as above.

A Borough town whose burgesses hold 8 carucates whereof each carucate contains 5 score acres, and they used to render in time of peace £8, but now only £2.

A Watermill, tolls worth £4.

A hundred and a fortnightly Court in Kyltell of which the pleas and the perquisites are worth 13s. 4d.

*Issues of County.*—The Issues of the County [Court] of Cragfergus were worth in the Earl's time 13s. 4d., and now, on account of the disturbance of the country and the war, only 6s. 8d.

Issues of Manor of Dunmalys	Total of Old Value £96 : 13 : 3.
£17 : 10 : 8d. by old	„ „ Present Value £40 : 19 : 7.
extent, and £7 : 3 : 4d.	
by new extent.	

The “County of Antrim” probably included the whole district between the Twescard and the Co. of Carrickfergus. It would correspond to the deaneries of Maulyne, or Moylinny (*Magh Line*) and Turtrye. The latter, however, which was modelled on the ancient territory of *Ui Tuirtri*, was mainly an Irish district under the rule of the O'Flynnns. The manor of Antrim, which had been the principal manor in the county, and which in the early part of the thirteenth century contained an important castle marked by a mote, was now in the hands of Elizabeth de Burgh, widow of John de Burgh, and therefore does not appear in the inquisition. The principal seignorial manor remaining was Dunedergal, a name now represented by Dunadry, a townland and village in the Grange of Nilteen, which we may take as the manorial centre. “At Dunethery (Dunadry) there is a very noble mount which is planted,” says Dubourdieu, writing before 1812.<sup>3</sup> This was, I suppose, the large cairn which Bishop Reeves says was removed a few years before he wrote.<sup>4</sup> It may have marked the site of the old broken-down castle mentioned in the inquisition. There was also demesne land at the Grange

<sup>1</sup> “Half the vill of Greenlaw containing 60 acres,” *Inquis. Ulton. Antrim*, 90 Car. I. It is probably now Greenland, a townland in the parish of Larne.

<sup>2</sup> This name appears elsewhere as Pel de Lu (peau de loup), Poudeloe, &c. In 1245 Ralph Pel de Lu received a grant in fee from the Crown of the land of Invre and Dumnal (Inver and Drumliss) which he had of the gift of Hugh de Lacy, late Earl of Ulster; *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, vol. i, No. 2771.

<sup>3</sup> *Statistical Survey of Co. Antrim*, p. 583.

<sup>4</sup> *Eccles. Ant.*, p. 64, published in 1847.

of Doagh. Here there was a fortnightly court. At the Grange of Ballyrobert there was another, while the county court was at Antrim.

There are several place-names which seem to have disappeared. Those that I can identify with probability were mostly in the district of Moylinny, on either side of the Six-Mile Water. Moreover, some large fiefs held by knight service, as stated in Inquisition No. 26, seem to have been in this district. Thus the heir of William Logan held a knight's fee in Lyn, now the parish of Ballylinny, called Lynne in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation* (p. 66); Ralph Logan held one in Walterton, now the Grange of Ballywalter, called Villa Walteri de Logan in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation* (p. 66); Miles de Eldon held another in Roberton, probably the Grange of Ballyrobert; and Roger FizRichard held a knight's fee in Duncorry, now Dunegore, the Duncurri of the *Ecclesiastical Taxation* (p. 64), and the Dunogeurra of Colgan,<sup>1</sup> where there is a well-known mote.

It will be observed that there are several large denominations in Co. Antrim known as The Grange of So-and-so. The word "grange" was derived from the late Latin *granea*, *grania*, *granja*, and is Old French for "a barn." It was introduced into Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, and seems to have been originally applied by them, in the parts of Ireland where they settled, to places where farming operations were carried on by them, or for their benefit, under the system of "landlord cultivation" in vogue in the thirteenth century. I think the Granges in Co. Antrim will be found to be either such Anglo-Norman farmsteads, or similar ones conducted by Monastic Houses which were remodelled under the influence of the new settlers.

#### No. 19.—ULSTER—COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

At Antrim before John Morice, 3 July, 7 Ed. III.

*Jurors.*—Robert Savage, William de Wellys. Richard de Burgo, Roger son of Richard, Henry Halywode, William FitzLucyen, Richard Irtlyntoun, William Haket, Thomas son of Hugh, Robert the Clerk, Richard del Botelrye, Patrick del Crag.

*Demesne.*—The Manor of Dunnedergale<sup>2</sup> held in demesne as of fee, in which Manor are no buildings, but there is an old broken-down Castle, worth nothing because it lies waste and . . . since the war of the Scots.

In demesne 4 carucates worth £6 before the said war, now nothing on account of that war.

<sup>1</sup> *Trias Thaum.*, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Now probably the Grange of Nilteen, Upper Antrim, where, as above mentioned, the name is preserved in the townland of Dunadry. It appears as Drunnedergal in *Eccel. Tax.*, p. 64.

*Douagh*.—At Douagh<sup>1</sup> 1 carucate worth £3 : 6 : 8 before the war, now waste and untilled for want of tenants in those parts.

At Cragtoun<sup>2</sup> 2 carucates formerly worth £2 each, now let to farmers for 20s.

*Free Tenants*.—16s. rent from 1 carucate 20 acres in Kilky held in fee by John Jolyf<sup>3</sup> who does suit at the lord's court and mill there. 18s. from 1 carucate in Cranar (or Craucro) which Henry son of John holds in fee, and he does suit at the lord's Court there fortnightly, and at the lord's mill. 4d. rent. from 1 messuage and 6 acres with appurtenances which Adam Seyner holds in fee with suit of court and mill as above.

1 carucate in Kyldemound which G———e Hanewode holds in fee for suit as above.

*Mill*.—A water-mill, profits £2.

A fortnightly court held by the above free tenants, whereof pleas and perquisites are worth 3s. 4d.

At Sou——y, 3s. 4d. rent of 1 carucate which Hubert Byset holds in fee with suit at the lord's court at Douaugh fortnightly.

1s. from 10 acres in Douaugh which John le Masoun holds in fee with suit of court as above.

1s. from 10 acres in the same which William son of Hugh de Hertweyton holds in fee with suit as above.

Certain free tenants of the Earl hold the villis named below in fee for the service of suit at the fortnightly court of Douaugh, viz. Ralph de Galmor for Corytoun,<sup>4</sup> John de Rydale for Austynestoun,<sup>5</sup> the heir of Walter Racy for Little Rasey,<sup>6</sup> Thomas Manmatyn and William Darel for Marmodukton.

*Extern Court*.—A Court for extern suitors is held there fortnightly by suit of the said free tenants, whereof the profits are 3s. 4d.

*Free Tenants*.—1s. for 1 carucate in Cusyn-ton<sup>7</sup> which John Cosyn holds in fee with suit at the County Court of Antrum monthly.

1s. from 1 carucate in Stowyston which Adam Stowe holds in fee with suit as above.

<sup>1</sup> Now the Grange of Doagh, Upper Antrim.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the townland of Ballycraig, in the parish of Antrim.

<sup>3</sup> John Jolyf was at this time collector of the Great New Custom at Carrickfergus ; 44 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Now the townland of Ballycor in the parish of the same name, Upper Antrim. See next note.

<sup>5</sup> Now Ballyeaston, a townland and village in the parish of Ballycor. Ecclesie ville Augustini et Ade Corry appear together in *Eccel. Tax.*, p. 68. John, son of William de Rydale, died in this year (1333), and the Escheator accounted for £4 10s. rent and issues of his lands in Austynestown, also 4s. in respect of harvest services of the tenants there, and £7 6s. 2d. issues of the court and mill there ; 44 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> The townland of Rashee in the parish of the same name, Upper Antrim. Eccles. a. de Rassci (*Rath Sithe*) appears in the *Eccel. Tax.*, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Ballycushan townland, in the parish of Templepatrick, Upper Belfast.

1s. from 1 carucate in Dromlork<sup>1</sup> which John son of Robert son of Eustace holds in fee with suit as above.

1s. from 1 carucate 10 acres in Besynton which John Kyppok holds with suit as above.

1s. from 2 carucates 10 acres in Westoun<sup>2</sup> which Robert Savage, Knt., holds with suit as above.

2s. from 1 carucate 10 acres in Hobbeton which the Lord de Maundevill holds in fee with suit at the Court of Roberteston<sup>3</sup> fortnightly.

*Issues of County.*—The Pleas and Perquisites of the Court of Antrum are 13s. 4d.

Total of old value of County of Antrim £17 : 3 : 4

„ „ present value £6 : 16 : 8

<sup>1</sup> Drumlork was one of the places claimed by John de Curci, son of Roger of Chester, in 1218 : *Cal. Docs. Ir.*, vol. i, no. 833.

<sup>2</sup> Four carucates in “Ulveston” appear to have been given by Agnes de Weston to Robert de Schardelawe in exchange for lands in England prior to 1255 : *Cal. Docs. Ir.*, vol. ii, no. 473. This land appears as “Westoun” in the *Pipe Roll*, 39 *Rep. D. K.*, p. 51. The capella de Westone appears in the *Eccl. Tax.*, p. 6, coupled with the capella de Vado (Belfast), p. 8 ; and this Westone is supposed by Bishop Reeves to be Ballyvaston, a townland lying at the northern extremity of the parish of Shankill.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Grange of Ballyrobert, in the parish of Templepatrick.



THE DUBLIN SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPORT OF  
DECAYED MUSICIANS, 1750-1764

BY W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, Mus.D., *Member*.

[Read 28 JANUARY 1913]

As is well known, the present Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain is the outcome of a small society founded in London by Festing and Wiedemann on 19 April 1738. Its purpose was to relieve "decayed musicians," and also to provide for the orphans of deceased musicians; and among the first members of such a deserving charitable organization were:—Handel, Arne, Boyce, Carey, Cooke, Leveridge, Pepusch, Greene, and others. In the autumn of 1750 it was felt in Dublin that a similar society ought to be established for Irish musicians. Accordingly, on 8 October 1750, the Dublin Society for the support of Decayed Musicians was formally launched. It was also known as the Charitable Musical Society, and the treasurer was Mr. William Mainwaring, a distinguished Dublin musician and music seller.

Until quite recently the very existence of this Dublin society was unknown, but fortunately Mr. Victor E. Smyth, of Rathmines, when going through the account-books of his ancestor, Ferdinand Weber, the Dublin harpsichord maker, discovered a number of documents connected with the working of the Charitable Musical Society from its inception to 1764. In the latter year it got into difficulties, but was revived and reconstituted as the Irish Musical Fund, which was formally incorporated by Royal Charter in 1794.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Smyth most obligingly sent me an exact transcript of the old account book, and also Ferdinand Weber's statement of account in his capacity as treasurer of the society (in succession to William Mainwaring) from 1761 to the close of the year 1764. As it is of historical as well as antiquarian interest, I think it well to reproduce the account-book exactly; and I supply foot-notes to illustrate the text.

"A list of the Subscribers for the support of Decayed Musicians from

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. P. J. Griffith, Member, has the account-books from 1794 to 1850.

# DUBLIN SOCIETY FOR SUPPORT OF DECAYED MUSICIANS 145

October 8th, 1750, to March 25th, 1761, with an Account of their first Subscription :—

Matthew Dubourg<sup>1</sup>  
 Joseph Ward  
 Richard Broadway<sup>2</sup>  
 James Colgan<sup>3</sup>  
 Oliver Delahoyde<sup>4</sup>  
 Thomas Delahoyde<sup>5</sup>  
 James Forster<sup>6</sup>  
 John Clarke<sup>7</sup>  
 John Mason  
 William Motte  
 William Levieux  
 Andrew Daly  
 George Wade<sup>8</sup>  
 William Mainwaring<sup>9</sup>  
 B. Mainwaring<sup>10</sup>  
 Fred Seaforth<sup>11</sup>  
 Wencel Hetschel  
 Thomas Kelly  
 George Fitzgerald  
 John Cashin  
 J. Fred. Lampe<sup>12</sup>  
 George Walshe<sup>13</sup>  
 Joseph Ridge  
 Samuel Lee<sup>14</sup>  
 Timothy Carter  
 William Jackson  
 James Kemplin  
 Nicola Pasquali<sup>15</sup>  
 Callaghan MacCarthy  
 Miss Oldmixon  
 Giov. Marella  
 J. J. R. de Boeck  
 Lady St. Leger  
 Miss St. Leger

All those 11s. 4½d.  
 each.

<sup>1</sup> Dubourg was Master of the State Music in Ireland from 1728 to 1765, and was a famous violinist.

<sup>2</sup> Broadway was Organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, from 1748 to 1760. He died in November, 1760.

<sup>3</sup> James Colgan was a lay Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

<sup>4-11</sup> The Delahoydes were members of the City Band, as were also Foster, Clark, Wade, and Seaforth.

<sup>9, 10</sup> William Mainwaring and his brother were excellent Dublin musicians. The latter died in 1758 and the former in 1764.

<sup>12</sup> Lampe, the composer, was in Dublin from 1749 to 1751.

<sup>13</sup> George Walshe was Organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral 1761-1765.

<sup>14</sup> Sam Lee was leader of the City Band. He died 21 February 1776.

<sup>15</sup> Pasquali, the composer, was in Dublin in 1749-51.

Lord Mornington	}	£1 2s. 9d. each.
Hon. Gar. Wesley.		

Mrs. Price	}	10s. each.
Miss St. Leger		
Mr. Cooley		
John McGregor		
John Gardiner		
T. P. Fleming		
Stephen Storace <sup>1</sup>		
Dan Sullivan <sup>2</sup>		
James Bayley <sup>3</sup>		
William Lamb <sup>4</sup>		
John Woder		
Paul Jacob		
W. MacLaughlin		
Andrew Hetzell		
Richard Woodward <sup>5</sup>		
Henry Mountain <sup>6</sup>		
Samuel Leear		
William Brett		
William Hollister <sup>7</sup>		
Ferdinand Weber <sup>8</sup>		
Robert Mirfield		
Thomas Gotair		
Bernardo Palma <sup>9</sup>		
John Butler		
John Marsh		
Rowl. Fitzgibbon <sup>10</sup>		

£38 2s. 1½d.

<sup>1</sup> Storace was father of the composer, and he resided in Dublin from 1745 to 1753.

<sup>2</sup> Dan Sullivan was the original *Joseph* in Handel's oratorio of that name in 1744.

<sup>3, 4</sup> Bayley and Lamb were Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's.

<sup>5</sup> Woodward was Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's, and was father of Richard Woodward, Mus.D., Organist of Christ Church Cathedral from 1765 to 1777.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Mountain was Master of the City Music, and was also a music publisher.

<sup>7</sup> Hollister was a Dublin organ builder.

<sup>8</sup> Weber was a celebrated Dublin organ builder and harpsichord maker. He occasionally entertained Handel to dinner in 1742.

<sup>9</sup> Palma was an Italian singer who settled for a term in Dublin, a contemporary of Squire Marella.

<sup>10</sup> Fitzgibbon was one of the City Music.

Quarterly payments received from the following persons now out of the Society :—

Joseph Ward,	£1 · 1 · 8
Richard Broadway,	= 16 · 3
Oliver Delahoyde,	1 · 17 · 11
John Mason,	1 · 1 · 8
William Levieux,	1 · 17 · 11
George Wade,	1 · 17 · 11
Frederick Seaforth,	= 2 · 8½
Wencel Hetshel,	1 · 7 · 1
George Fitzgerald,	1 · 17 · 11
John Cashin,	= 18 · 11½
John Fred Lampe,	= 2 · 8½
Joseph Ridge,	= 2 · 8½
William Jackson	1 · 17 · 11
Nicho. Pasquali	= 8 · 1½
Callaghan McCarthy,	2 · 0 · 7½
Gio. Ba. Marella,	= 10 · 10
J. T. R. De Boeck,	= 10 · 10
Wm. Cooley,	1 · 1 · 8
John Gardiner,	1 · 4 · 4½
T. P. Fleming,	= 8 · 1½
James Bayley,	= 16 · 3
William Lamb	= 5 · 5
John Woder,	= 16 · 3
Andrew Hetzell,	= 5 · 5
James Walsh,	= 16 · 3
Henry Lyster,	= 8 · 1½
Samuel Lee,	= 8 · 1½
Thos. Gotair,	= 2 · 8½
Barth. Mainwaring,	3 · 15 · 10
George Walsh,	4 · 3 · 11½
Danl. Sullivan,	1 · 17 · 11
Henry Mountain,	1 · 9 · 9½
Matthew Dubourg,	= 11 · 4½

£75 · 7 · 5½



The Quarterly Subscriptions of the present members paid to the 20th of December, 1760 :—

James Colgan,	.	.	.	£5 · 11 · 0½
Thos. Delahoyde,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
James Forster,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
John Clarke,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
William Motte,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
Andrew Daly,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
Wm. Manwaring,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
Thomas Kelly,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
Samuel Lee,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
Tim. Carter,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
James Kemplin,	.	.	.	5 · 11 · 0½
Rowland Jacob,	.	.	.	4 · 17 · 6
Richard Woodward,	.	.	.	4 · 6 · 8
Richard Whiteman,	.	.	.	2 · 14 · 2
William Brett,	.	.	.	2 · 14 · 2
William Hollister,	.	.	.	2 · 14 · 2
Fred. Weber,	.	.	.	2 · 14 · 2
Robert Mirfield,	.	.	.	2 · 14 · 2
Bernardo Palma,	.	.	.	2 · 11 · 5½
John Butter,	.	.	.	= 16 · 3
John Marsh,	.	.	.	= 10 · 10
Rowland Fitzgibbon,	.	.	.	= 2 · 8½
				<hr/>
				£163 · 5 · 2

Recd. by Lottery Tickets in 1757	.	£12 · = =
Recd. by the performance of "Alexander's Feast" in 1752,	.	29 · 14 · 9½
Recd. of John Putland, Esq., for 5 years' performances at the Round Church ending in 1757,	50 · = =	
Recd. of Mrs. Read the interest of £50 from 9 Nov., 1752, to 9 Jan. 1759,	.	18 · 10 · =
Recd. of Mr. Will. Manwaring the interest of £50 from 29 Sept. 1754, to 29 Sept. 1758,	.	12 · = =
Recd. of Mr. Bernardo Palma the interest of £25 from 12 July 1756, to 13 January 1758,	.	2 · 5 · =
Recd. of Mrs. Eliz. Stewart the interest of £20 from 20 Nov 1786, to 13 January 1759,	.	2 · 11 · 4½

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Recd. by Lottery Tickets in 1758,	. £11 · 2 · =
Recd. by Mr. Will. Manwaring the interest of £50 for two years ending 29 September 1760,	. 6 · = =
Recd. by Lottery Tickets in 1759,	. 10 · 4 · =
Recd. of Mr. Dexter the interest of £20 (being part of £25 lent to Mr. Palma) for a year ending 16 Ap. 1760,	. 1 · 3 · 6
Recd. by Lottery Tickets in 1760,	. 3 · 14 · 1½

£322 · 9 · 11½

Treasurer's Bill	. £122 · 17 · 9	}	£131 · 4 · 5
By loss on Mr. Palma's bond,	5 · = =		
Remaining due on Wilcock's and Dawson's Note,	3 · 6 · 8		
	<u>131 · 4 · 5</u>		

£191 · 5 · 6½

By notes of Malone and Company,	. £100 · = =	}	£150 · 0 · 0
In Mr. Manwaring's hand at Interest,	. 50 = =		

Remains in the Treasurer's hands, . £41 · 5 · 6½

Above is an Account of the Balance remaining in the hands of  
Mr. William Manwaring, Treasurer to the Musical Society.  
Settled the 13th of August, 1761.

1763	Ferdinand Weber. Dr.	
Oct. 12.	Recd. from the Society of Musicians in notes and cash of different specie,	£148 · 12 · 5
	By Lottery Tickets for June, 1763,	. 4 · 10 · =
1764	Recd. one year's interest on Anthony	
Feb. 11.	Malone's notes,	. 6 · = · =
May 11.	Recd. interest and premium on Malone's notes,	. 6 · 13 · 5
	Recd. for one Lottery Ticket in the Lock Hospital,	. 2 · 5 · =
		<u>£168 · 0 · 10</u>
1764	Recd. by Lottery Tickets in the 3 United	
Nov. 10	Hospitals,	. £9 · = · =
		<u>£177 · 0 · 10</u>

p. Contra.

1763

Dec. 6.	Paid to Mr. Rich. Moncrief for 15 Lottery Tickets,	. . . . .	£17 · 1 · 3
---------	--	-----------	-------------

1764

May 13	Paid to the Society,	. . . . .	109 · 19 · 2
			<hr/> £127 · = 5

June 9.	Paid more to said Society ac/ to order,	. . . . .	30 · = =
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Aug. 15.	Paid a Bill to Mr. Corry,	. . . . .	7 · 1 · 8
----------	---------------------------	-----------	-----------

Nov. 20.	Paid a 2nd Bill to Mr. Corry,	. . . . .	8 · 1 · 1
			<hr/> £172 · 3 · 2

Recd. less by Wilcocks' note,	. . . . .	1 · = 4
-------------------------------	-----------	---------

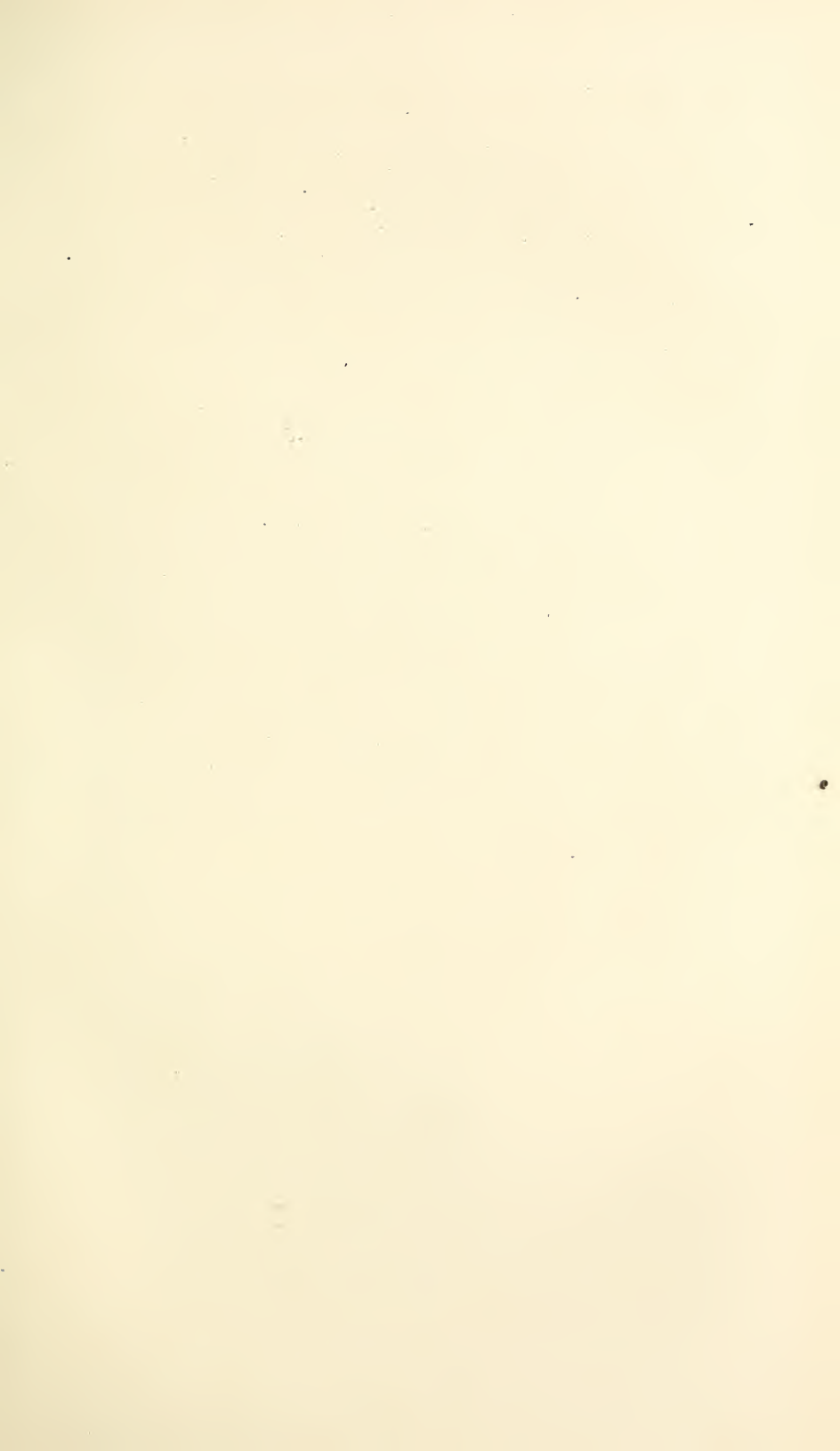
Lost by the Spanish gold,	. . . . .	= 4 · 5
---------------------------	-----------	---------

Remains due,	. . . . .	3 · 12 · 11
		<hr/> £177 · 0 · 10

END OF ACCOUNT BOOK.

## NOTE ADDED IN PRESS.

Professor Macalister has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that the arithmetic is wrong in some of the above cases; but I have copied the transcript exactly. No doubt some names have been omitted, which will account for the discrepancy. The seemingly irregular amounts of the subscriptions are the equivalents in Irish currency for more ordinary sums in English. Thus 11s. 4½d. Irish is half-a-guinea English; £1 1s. 8d. Irish = £1 English; 16s. 3d. Irish = 15s. English; £1 17s. 11d. Irish = £1 15s. English; 2s. 8½d. Irish = 2s. 6d. English; and so on.







SLABS AT INISCALTRA (No. 1), CLONMACNOIS (2, 3), CLONFERT (4).

# A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF EARLY CROSS-SLABS AND PILLARS

By HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.A.I., M.R.I.A.

(Continued from p. 244, vol. xlii)

## CONNACHT.

Locality and Townland.	No. of Ord- nance Map.	Situation.
------------------------	---------------------------------	------------

## COUNTY GALWAY

- |                          |            |  |
|--------------------------|------------|--|
| 1. Inish Shark,<br>Same, | N.W.<br>9D | At the church on the island, 13 m. N.W. of<br>Clifden. |
|--------------------------|------------|--|

(a) A broken slab with a cross incised on it. (In the church.)

(b) A slab with a chalice on one side and a figure with extended arms on the other.—See *Handbook VI, R.S.A.I.*, p. 43 (M.), and *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. xix (1893), p. 365 (M.).

- |  |            |                                       |
|--|------------|---------------------------------------|
| 2. Ardoilean, <sup>1</sup><br>High Island, | N.W.<br>21 | On the island, 10 m. N.W. of Clifden. |
|--|------------|---------------------------------------|

(a) A slab about 3 ft. high, carved with a Latin cross in relief. The extremities are slightly expanded, and the cross is ornamented by an interlacement of one band, which forms triquetras in the arms, and encloses knots at the top, base, and centre; a spiral is cut beside the top arm, and a cross-crosslet on the left-hand edge of the stone. (It is placed near the landing-place.)—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxvi, p. 206 (D.I.).

(b) A small slab about 2 ft. high, having a rude cross incised on each face. One of these crosses has forked ends. (It rests against the wall of the holy well.)—Same reference.

(c) A stone bearing a two-line Latin cross, the ends of which, except the base, are open. In the centre is a small circle.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 351, No. 49 (1.).

(d) A slab having on one side a three-line Greek cross with circular centre and semicircular ends containing fret-patterns. In the upper dexter quarter two circles are incised. On the other side is an incised cross formed of single

<sup>1</sup> There are also two slabs formed into crosses by notches cut in them.—See List of Crosses, *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 211.

lines, and having the base crossed by a small semi-circle. (It is placed at the south side of the chapel.)—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxvi., p. 207 (D.I.), and *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. x (1866–9), p. 555.

(e) A long slab having on each side four small hollows arranged in cross form. (It is placed on a station near the lake S.E. of the Cashel.) See *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. x, p. 555 (D.).

(f) A stone bearing a ringed cross formed of four separate incised quadrants.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 357, No. 31 (I.).

- |                 |      |   |
|-----------------|------|---|
| 3. Omey Island, | S.E. | In an old graveyard on the island, 6 m. |
| Gooreen,        | 21   | N.W. of Clifden.                        |

A stone incised with a Latin cross having forked extremities and semi-circular base.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 351, No. 32 (I.).

- |               |      |  |
|---------------|------|--|
| 4. Inchagoil, | N.E. | On an island in Lough Corrib, 4 m. N. of |
| Same,         | 40   | Oughterard Station.                      |

(a) A pillar about 3 ft. high, shaped like the gable bracket stones of early churches. On it are seven Greek crosses with forked ends, and the inscription *lie lugaebon macci menueh*. (In the S.W. corner of the graveyard.)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 10 (D.I.), and *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. xv (1879), p. 259 (D.I.); also *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, p. 242 (D.I.), and vol. xxxvi, pp. 1 and 297 (D.I.).

(b) A slab about 3 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 2 in., incised with a three-line Greek cross having a circular centre and semicircular extremities, all of which contain fret-patterns. (Built into the inner face of the south wall of the later church, near the S.W. angle.)—See *Journal, R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, p. 241 (D.I.).

- |                    |      |  |
|--------------------|------|--|
| 5. Knockmoy Abbey, | N.W. | Built into the N. wall of the chancel of the |
| Abbey,             | 58   | Abbey church, 6 m. S.E. of Tuam.             |

A rectangular slab of late date (1401), with an inscription in four lines:—

do moileachlainb o Keallatb  
do pi o manı agar dımb bua  
lainb inge i chonchuip dıorıne  
mıtha o anlı in leabıag reıa.

—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 83 (D.I.).

- |                  |      |  |
|------------------|------|--|
| 6. Mason Island, | S.E. | On a built station at the east side of the |
| Same,            | 76   | island, 3 m. S.W. of Carna, which is       |
|                  |      | 10 m. S.W. of Recess Station.              |

An erect slab, carved with a cross.

- |                          |      |  |
|--------------------------|------|--|
| 7. St. Macdara's Island, | S.W. | Near the ruined church on the island, 4 m. |
| Same,                    | 76   | S.W. of Carna.                             |

A broken slab, incised with a circle containing a two-line Greek cross, the centre of which is enlarged in steps. A small hole is sunk in each quarter.—See *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. x (1866–9), p. 555 (D.I.).

# DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF EARLY CROSS-SLABS AND PILLARS 153

8. Clonfert,<sup>1</sup> S.W. At the Cathedral, 4½ m. N.W. of Banagher.  
Clonfert Glebe, 101

(a) A finely carved slab, 2 ft. 9 in. long by 2 ft. wide, on which is a three-line cross with a circular centre containing an interlaced cross pattern, and semicircular ends containing spirals, frets, and rows of pellets. In one line is inscribed  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{bo}} \text{ } \overline{\text{bec}}\overline{\text{gan}}$ . The cross and inscription are surrounded by a double-line frame. (The stone is now built into the south wall of the nave.)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 52 (D.I.).

(b) A slab about 2 ft. in height and breadth, carved with a ringed Latin cross and the words  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{ba}}\overline{\text{pa}}$  . . . (It is stated to be in the E. part of the graveyard, and 9 yds. S. of the cathedral wall.)—See *Ordnance Survey Letters, Galway*, vol. ii, p. 105 (D.I.), and *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 51 (D.).

(c) Part of a late slab, 4 ft. 4 in. long, 5 in. thick, and tapering from 19 in. to 14 in. in width. On it is carved the lower limb of a four-line cross with a semicircular end containing a half rosette or palmette. (In the ruined south transept.)

(d) A slab of late date, 5 ft. 7 in. long, and tapering from 1 ft. 9 in. to 1 ft. 3 in. in width. On it is a four-line cross with expanded centre, foliated extremities, and stepped base. The background is occupied by an undeciphered inscription in four lines. (Brought from the "Nun's Acre" and placed inside the doorway of the cathedral.)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 51 (M.).

9. St. Breacan's, N.W. At the ruined churches on Inishmore, 5 m.  
Onaght, 110 W. of Kilronan pier, Aran Islands.

(a) Portion of a roughly rectangular slab 3 ft. 8 in. by 3 ft. 1 in., incised with an encircled Greek cross of two lines, having a circular centre and splayed ends. The inscription  $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{ci}} \text{ } \overline{\text{bpe}}[\overline{\text{ca}}]\overline{\text{ni}}$  occupies the quadrants. (It lies S.W. of St. Breacan's Church.)

(b) A rounded pebble 3 in. in diameter, carved with a plain Greek cross in a circle and inscribed round the edge  $\overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{ap}} \text{ } \overline{\text{b}}\overline{\text{pa}}\overline{\text{n}}$   $\overline{\text{naul}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{hep}}$ . (Found in St. Breacan's Bed, and placed in the Petrie collection.)

(c) A rectangular slab about 6 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 10 in., incised with a three-line cross with two single-line cross-bars ending in circles containing crosslets. At the dexter side of the shaft is a double-line panel containing a pattern of four circular arcs combined with a lozenge; and at the sinister side a double-line Latin cross with expanded ends. The slab is inscribed across the centre in two lines  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{bo}} \text{ } \overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{igep}}\overline{\text{nac}}$ . (It is now missing.)

(d) An erect slab 2 ft. 8 in. high 1 ft. 1 in. by 3¼ in. It is incised with a Latin cross of one broad line, having a circular centre and semicircular ends. The inscription,  $\overline{\text{v}}\overline{\text{n}}$   $\overline{\text{pomam}}$ , crosses the centre in two lines. (It stands in the S.E. angle of the graveyard.)

(e) A slab 2 ft. 9 in. long by 7½ in. thick built into the W. wall of St. Breacan's Church; and inscribed in one line  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{ap}} \text{ } \overline{\text{n}}$   $\overline{\text{canon}}$ . This inscription is remarkable in being cut on a raised band on the edge of the slab. There may be cutting on the other faces.

(f) A rectangular slab 4 ft. 8 in. long by 1 ft. 8 in. wide and 5 in. thick. On it is incised a Latin cross of one broad line rising from a base which

<sup>1</sup> There are also several medieval slabs in the cathedral.



curiously resembles a pair of bent legs. The arms terminate in small circles, and the top in a large cross-inscribed circle. Below the latter is the inscription in one line, cponmael (?). (In the S.E. angle of the graveyard near (d).)

(g) A rectangular slab 4 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. by 5 in., bearing a two-line cross with circular extremities. The inscription, opat ap anmain pcanblain (not pemblain as in *Christian Inscriptions*), is in three lines in the lower quarters. (This slab lies to the W. of (a).)

(h) A slab about 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft., incised with a double-line circle and Greek cross having expanded ends. Above the circle is the inscription cethpnach. (Now in Belfast museum.)

(i) A rectangular slab 2 ft. 8 in. long, 1 ft. 3 in. wide, and 4 in. thick. Incised on it is a two-line ringed cross potent, which rises from a base resembling those of the high crosses. There are three rolls, or pellets, in each sector. It is inscribed across the centre, tomag ap. (This slab is inside the church, and leans against the north wall of the nave.)

(j) A narrow stone 4 ft. long by 7 in. by 5 in., incised with a Latin cross of one broad line, having the upper extremities forked, and the base shaped like a pair of bent legs. (It stands S. of (d) in the S.E. angle of the graveyard.)

(k) A slab 3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. by 5 in., incised with a Latin cross of one broad line, with circular centre and extremities.

(l) A slab 3 ft. by 1 ft. 7 in. by 4 in. thick, bearing a plain Latin cross of two incised lines. (It stands N. of the enclosure containing (a), S.W. of the church.)

(m) A slab 2 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. by 6 in. thick, bearing an encircled Greek cross formed of one broad line and having circular centre and extremities.—For slabs *a* to *i*, see *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, pp. 17 to 23 (D.I.), and for slabs *a*, *d*, and *i*, see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxv, pp. 251–3 (D.I.). Much information about these slabs has been received from Professor R. A. S. Macalister.

(n) A slab 2 ft. 3 in. in height, having on it a Latin cross of two lines with circular centre and open ends. (Formerly at a well N. of St. Breacan's: now missing.)—See *O. S. Letters, Galway*, vol. iii, p. 392 (I.).

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|---|-------------|---|
| 10. Teampull Mhic Duaigh,<br>Kilmurvey, | S.E.<br>110 | West of the ruined church, 4 m. W. of<br>Kilronan pier, Aran Islands. |
|---|-------------|---|

An erect slab 7 ft. 3 in. high, on the W. side of which is incised a two-line ringed cross having a long shaft and a small circular base containing a crosslet; and on the E. side a Latin cross formed of one broad line and having triangular terminals.—See *Antiquarian Handbook*, No. 6 (*R.S.A.I.*), p. 72 (I.).

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|-----------------------------------|-------------|---|
| 11. Mainistir Chiarain,<br>Oghil, | S.W.<br>111 | Near the ruined church N. of the road, 1 m.<br>N.W. of Kilronan pier, Aran Islands. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|---|

(a) A rectangular pillar 4 ft. 6 in. high, 1 ft. 3 in. wide, and 5 in. thick. A hole  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter is pierced through near the top; below this on the W. side is incised a double line circle the full width of the stone, the vertical diameter being marked by two lines. Under this is a double-line ringed cross,



STANDING CROSS-SLAB, WITH PERFORATION, MAINISTIR CHIARÁIN, ARAN IS.



the top of which ends in spirals. A line is incised all round the margin of the inscribed face. (This stone stands near the E. end of the church.)—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxv, p. 262 (D.I.).

(b) <sup>1</sup>A pillar-stone more than 7 ft. in height, 16 in. in breadth, and  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. in thickness: it is dressed to shape and the top is rounded. Two Latin crosses are incised on the E. side; the upper is of one line with circular centre and semicircular ends; the lower of two lines with hollowed angles. Between the crosses is inserted a vertical bar with foiled ends. (This stone is built into the W. wall of the church enclosure.)—See *O. S. Letters, Co. Galway*, vol. iii, p. 369 (I.).

(c) A pillar 6 ft. high, 1 ft.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 5 in., which approximates to cross-shape by having bosses projecting from the sides and top. On one side are traces of two incised Latin crosses with circular centres. (In a field E. of the church.)

(d) A pillar almost 6 ft. in height, and resembling (c) in shape. (In a field N.E. of the church.)

(e) A slab 1 ft. 6 in. above ground and 1 ft. 6 in. by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., bearing a plain Latin cross of one broad line with triangular extremities. (In a modern burial-ground to the north of the church.)

(f) A stone 2 ft. 3 in. above ground and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 8 in., incised with a Latin cross 1 ft. 5 in. long, having expanded ends. The base spade-shaped, the other extremities triangular. (On a mound or tumulus near the church, but on the opposite side of the lane.)—See *O. S. Letters, Co. Galway*, vol. iii, p. 367 (I.).

(g) A stone 1 ft. 4 in. above ground and 5 in. by 4 in., incised with a plain Latin cross  $11\frac{1}{4}$  in. long, and having triangular extremities. (Near stone f.)

(h) A stone 1 ft. above ground and 5 in. square, incised with a cross of the same design as that on g, but  $7\frac{1}{4}$  in. long. (Near stones f and g.)—Information as to these stones has been received from Professor R. A. S. Macalister.

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|----------------------------|-------------|--|
| 12. Kilronan,<br>Killeany, | S.W.<br>111 | Formerly near a pond beside the road, $\frac{1}{2}$ m.<br>S. of Kilronan pier, but now lost. |
|----------------------------|-------------|--|

A pillar-stone 6 ft. in height, bearing on one side two incised crosses. The upper a Latin cross of two lines with triangularly expanded ends. The lower a circle standing on a short stem and base line, and containing a cross formed of intersecting arcs of circles.—See *O. S. Letters, Co. Galway*, vol. iii, p. 397 (D.I.).

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|-----------------------------------|-------------|--|
| 13. Teampull Benain,<br>Killeany, | N.W.<br>119 | Near the church on the hill, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of<br>Kilronan pier. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--|

(a) The lower half of a rectangular slab, about 1 ft. 6 in. square, incised with a plain two-line Latin cross and inscribed in one line across the lower quarters *op an manach*. (This is not now to be found.)

(b) A stone 1 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 1 in., inscribed *capu*. (It is built into the S.E. angle of the church.)

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<sup>1</sup> b, c, d have been included in the list of crosses published in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 212, b in error, c and d as intermediate between pillars and crosses.



(c) A slab about 2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., bearing a Latin cross of one broad line with triangular ends. It was inscribed in three lines  $\sigma\pi\ \delta\sigma\ \epsilon\lambda\eta\eta$ . (This is not now to be found.)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, pp. 18 and 22 (a, b, c, D.I.).

(d) Portion of a slab 3 ft. 2 in. long and 1 ft. 6 in. by 6 in., showing the base of a two-line cross with semicircular ends. (Set up about 15 yards S.W. of the church.)

(e) A broken slab 4 ft. long and bearing a Latin cross with triangular ends. (This is not now to be found unless d is part of it, or it may be the same as c.)—See *O. S. Letters, Co. Galway*, vol. iii, p. 363 (I.).

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|-----------------------------------|-------------|--|
| 14. Teaghlach Eanna,<br>Killeany, | N.W.<br>119 | Built into the south wall of the church near the shore, $1\frac{3}{4}$ m. S. of Kilronan pier. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--|

A slab about 3 ft. 8 in. by 3 ft. 2 in., inscribed in two lines  $\sigma\pi\sigma\tau\ \alpha\pi\ \rho\epsilon\alpha\eta\lambda\alpha\eta$ .—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 18 (D.I.).

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|--|-------------|---|
| 15. Teampull na Seacht<br>n-inghean,<br>Iniseer, | S.W.<br>120 | At the "church of the seven virgins" on the South Island, 7 m. S.E. of Kilronan and 25 m. S.W. of Galway. |
|--|-------------|---|

A slab about 5 feet long, incised with a Latin cross, having a long shaft, a square base and a small head surrounded by a circle.—Information received from Professor R. A. S. Macalister.

## COUNTY LEITRIM.

[None known.]

## COUNTY MAYO.

- |                       |           |   |
|-----------------------|-----------|---|
| 1. Kilbride,<br>Same, | N.W.<br>7 | On a hill $\frac{1}{4}$ m. E. of village, 2 m. N.E. of Ballycastle, and 8 m. N.W. of Killala Station. |
|-----------------------|-----------|---|

A pillar-stone 5 ft. 4 in. high by 1 ft. 6 in. wide, incised with a plain Latin cross having a small upper cross-bar and small Greek crosses in the lower quarters.—See *O. S. Letters, Mayo*, vol. i., p. 410 (D.I.).

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|------------------------|-----------|--|
| 2. Doonfeeny,<br>Same, | S.W.<br>7 | In the old graveyard, $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Bunna-trahir Bay, and 9 m. N.W. of Killala. |
|------------------------|-----------|--|

A rectangular pillar-stone about 18 ft. high and 1 ft. 4 in. by 10 in. in breadth and thickness. Near the base is incised a design about 42 in. long, consisting of a single-line Latin cross with forked ends and horizontal base; placed over a double-line "Maltese" cross, which latter has a curved line above and below it.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xv, p. 754 (D.I.), same, vol. xlii, p. 114 (D.I.), also Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 423 (D.I.).

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|------------------------------|-----------|--|
| 3. Kilcummin,<br>Ballinlena, | S.W.<br>8 | At Kilcummin Church, 5 m. N. of Killala. |
|------------------------------|-----------|--|

(a) A rectangular slab about 6 ft. by 4 ft., divided into quarters by a plain Latin cross of two lines. It is inscribed in four lines  $\sigma\pi\tau\ \alpha\pi\ \alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\ \text{✠}\ \overline{m}$   $\epsilon\tau\iota\chi\ \text{✠}\ \text{✠}$ .—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 46 (D.I.).

# DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF EARLY CROSS-SLABS AND PILLARS 157

(b) A slab about 1 ft. 1 in. square, incised with a cross having knobbed ends, round which are three circular "Patrick's crosses." (This stone is at the saint's grave N. of the church.)—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxviii, p. 296 (D.).

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|---------------|------|--|
| 4. Inisglora, | N.W. | On the island, 6 m. W.S.W. of Belmullet,   |
| Same,         | 16   | which is 25 m. N.W. of Mallaranny Station. |

An erect slab carved with a cross of circular arcs, surrounded by two circles and having a spiral design of four centres below.—See *The Treasury Magazine*, Sept., 1909, p. 538 (I.).

There are several other slabs never described.

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|------------------|------|---|
| 5. Crosspatrick, | N.W. | In a field E. of the road at Crosspatrick |
| Same,            | 22   | House, 1½ m. S. of Killala.               |

A small flagstone with a plain cross incised on it.

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|-------------------|------|--|
| 6. Iniskea North, | N.E. | On the island, 10 m. S.W. of Belmullet,    |
| Same,             | 23   | which is 25 m. N.W. of Mallaranny Station. |

(a) An erect slab about 4 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft., having a rude crucifixion incised on it. The ribs and heart are shown, and there are spirals on the legs. At the sides are the sponge and spear bearers, and in the upper corners are small Greek crosses of four lines.

(b) An erect slab about 3 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft., carved with a cross made up of circular arcs, below which is a spiral design similar to that on Inisglora.—See rubbings in the R.I.A. library, also *O. S. Letters, Mayo*, vol. i, p. 207 (M.).

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|-------------------|------|---|
| 7. Iniskea South, | S.E. | On the island, 11 m. S.W. of Belmullet. |
| Same,             | 23   |   |

An erect slab about 5 ft. by 3 ft. 3 in., on which is incised an elaborate design consisting of a double-band cross of circular arcs, surrounded by three concentric circles. The largest of these circles is 3 ft. in diameter, and is connected with a cruciform base or stem having spiral terminations.—See rubbing as above, also *Antiquarian Handbook*, no. vi (R.S.A.I.), p. 32 (I.).

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|-----------------|------|--|
| 8. Duvillaun    | N.E. | On the island 12 m. S.W. of Belmullet. |
| Duvillaun More, | 33A  |  |

A narrow pillar-stone about 6 ft. in height, having on one side a rude crucifixion and on the other a Greek cross in a circle.—See *O. S. Letters, Mayo*, vol. i, p. 208 (D.), also *Antiquarian Handbook*, no. vi (R.S.A.I.), p. 34 (D.).

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|-----------------|------|--|
| 9. Kilmore Moy, | N.E. | At the upper end of the graveyard, 1 m. N. |
| Ardoughan,      | 30   | of Ballina, on the road to Killala.        |

A large block, on which is incised a Greek cross surrounded by two concentric circles, the larger of which is 1 ft. 4 in. in diameter. The stone is called Lia na manach.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxviii, p. 287 (D.I.).

10. Glendaduff, N.W. In a killeen beside the road, N.E. of  
Same, 49 Glendaduff lough and 5 m. N.E. of  
Foxford.  
(a) A pillar-stone with a cross cut on it.  
(b) A cross-inscribed stone lying on a grave.—See *O. S. Letters Mayo*, vol. i,  
p. 128 (M.).
11. Meelick, N.E. In the graveyard at the round tower, 3 m.  
Same, 71 W. of Swineford.  
A slab 4 ft. 7 in. long by 2 ft. wide, on which is carved a Latin cross in a  
rectangular frame, both cross and frame being covered with interlacing. The  
extremities and centre are marked by small Greek crosses; and the inscription  
ΟΙ ΣΟ ΦΥΓΟΥ . . . occupies the sinister quarters, and reads downwards.—  
See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xviii, p. 495 (D.I.).
12. Breaffy, N.W. Found at the ruined church, 2 m. E. of  
Breaghwy, 79 Castlebar, and now built into a wall at  
Neale House,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. S. of Ballinrobe  
Station.  
A slab about 1 ft. 2 in square, inscribed in two lines lonpecnan.—See  
*Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 46 (D.I.), also Wilde's *Lough Corrib*, p. 241  
(I.).
13. Clare Island, N.W. Near the S.W. corner of the graveyard at  
Strake, 85 the abbey, 20 m. W. of Westport.  
A pillar of regular shape 11 ft. high, 1 ft. 6 in. wide and 9 in. thick.  
A long narrow Latin cross is outlined on the S. face.—See *Proceedings R.I.A.*,  
vol. xxxi, part 2, p. 37 (D.I.).
14. Louisburgh, S.W. On the roadside near Louisburgh, 13 m. W.  
1, ——— 86 of Westport.  
A stone bearing a single-line Latin cross, with forked ends and a pear-shaped  
base, below which is an extra shaft and similar base. At each side of the shaft  
is a smaller cross of identical shape, and in each upper quarter a small Greek  
cross with forked ends.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 355, No. 13 (I.).
15. Knappagh, S.W. In the "killeen"  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. S. of Westport.  
Knappaghmanagh, 88  
A triangular stone 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., on which are incised two  
designs, the first consisting of two concentric circles which enclose a Greek  
cross with a small dot or hollow in each quadrant. The second a rectangle  
containing a plain cross and saltire combined. The first design is 9 in. in  
diameter, and a head and legs have been added to it. The second design is  
about 8 in. square.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxiv, p. 70 (D.I.).
16. Knappagh, S.W. Near the old graveyard, not far from  
Lankill, 88 No. 15.  
A pillar-stone marked with crosses and other designs.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*,  
vol. xxxiv, p. 71 (M.).

<sup>1</sup> The townland has not been identified.

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| 17. Ballintober Abbey,<br>Ballintober, | S.E.<br>89 | Built into the wall at Ballintober Abbey,<br>7 m. S. of Castlebar. |
|--|------------|--|

A large rectangular slab bearing the name GILLABRENIN in one line, and partly in capitals.—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 81 (D.I.).

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| 18. Cahir Island,<br>Same, | S.E.<br>94 | On the island, 21 m. W.S.W. of Westport |
|----------------------------|------------|---|

(a) An erect slab about 2 ft. high, carved with a cross having expanded ends, and formed of one endless band in relief. There are three pellets in the enclosed space. (In the S.E. angle of the cashel.)

(b) A somewhat similar slab. (In the N.E. angle.)

(c) A slab of similar type to (a). (In the N.W. angle.)

(d) A slab 3 ft. 6 in. long by 1 ft. 6 in. wide, having on it a cross of three lines with semicircular base and head. The arms are separate and V-shaped. (This is at the *Leaba Padruig* east of the church.)

(e) An erect slab about 2 ft. 6 in. high on which is a cross with splayed ends, formed of one endless band in relief. In the centre is a large pellet, and in the arms smaller ones. (This is beside (d).)

(f) A slab of similar design. (Also beside (d).)

(g) A somewhat similar slab not described. (Also beside (d).)

(h) A small upright slab bearing a rude cross with expanded ends. (On the northern station N. of the cashel.)

(i) An upright slab on which is a double cross in relief, with raised panels in the six spaces. (On the second station S.E. of (h).)

(j) A small erect slab rudely carved with a cross, having slightly expanded ends and indented top. There is a small circle in the centre. (On the third station S.E. of (i).)

There are also numerous stations with plain slabs and pillars set on them.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxx, p. 362 (D.I.), also *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. xxxi, Part 2, p. 56 (D.I.).

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|---------------------------|------------|---|
| 19. Dooghmakeon,<br>Same, | N.E.<br>95 | Amongst the sandhills near the sea, and near Lough Cahasy; $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. W.S.W. of Louisburgh, which is 13 m. W. of Westport Station. |
|---------------------------|------------|---|

A rough pillar-stone 5 ft. 6 in. above ground bearing an incised circle 1 ft.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, and containing a cross formed of arcs of circles. On one angle are several scores like oghams.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxvii, p. 186 (D.I.).

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|-------------------------|------------|--|
| 20. Cloonlaur,<br>Same, | S.E.<br>95 | In a killeen, 5 m. S.W. of Louisburgh. |
|-------------------------|------------|--|

A rough pillar-stone 7 ft. high on which is incised a circle about 1 ft. 9 in. in diameter, and containing a cross of circular arcs. In each of the quarters is a small hollow connected with the centre by a line.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxvii, p. 186 (D.I.), also a rubbing in the R. I. A. Library.



## COUNTY ROSCOMMON.

1. Fuerty, S.W. Near the graveyard wall, S. of the church  
Same, 39 tower, 3 m. S.W. of Roscommon Station.

(a) A rough slab of rectangular shape, 3 ft. long by 2 ft. 3 in. wide, incised with a four-line ringed cross, the base of which is semicircular and the other extremities looped. At the sinister side is a fish, and at the dexter an inscription in two lines reading  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ ap anmain oibacain}$ .—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 12 (D.I.).

(b) The lower part of an irregularly shaped slab, now 2 ft. 9 in. long by 2 ft. 3 in. wide, incised with a five-line cross having a circular centre and semicircular ends. The centre and base contain fret patterns, and the arms interlaced knots. A diamond-shaped frame of two lines surrounds the cross, and forms loops at the angles. In the sinister quarters are the words  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ ap mop}$  . . . ; the remaining letters being lost with the upper quarter on the dexter side.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 418 (D.I.).

2. Roscommon Abbey, S.E. Formerly in the abbey, but now missing.  
Ballypheasan, 39

A slab about 2 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., roughly rectangular in shape, and having the lower portion broken away. It was inscribed in three lines  $\text{benbachb pop anmain n ioreph}$ .—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 11 (D.I.).

3. Clonburren, N.E. Near the centre of the old graveyard on the  
Same, 56 W. bank of the Shannon, 7 m. E. of  
Ballinasloe Station, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. N. of  
Shannon Bridge.

(a) Portion of a squared slab now 2 ft. 10 in. long by 2 ft. 5 in. wide, incised with a six-line cross in a four-line border. The ends of the arms are semicircular and contain spirals and forms which resemble palm trees. The centre and base are circular and contain crosslets; the top is missing. The lower corners of the border are occupied by debased fret patterns. On the dexter side and reading upwards is inscribed  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ do maetm[och]eipδ[e]}$ .

(b) Portion of a slab 1 ft. 11 in. long by 1 ft. 8 in. wide, incised with a circular border of step-pattern containing a ringed cross potent of two lines. Outside the circle are some remains of an inscription.

(c) A small fragment about 11 in. by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. showing the corner of a square panel containing an encircled cross or four-pointed star formed of circular arcs. There was an inscription outside the panel. (Now missing.)

(d) A fragment about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. square showing the arm of a three-line cross with circular centre and semicircular looped extremities. The surviving arm is decorated with a fret pattern. Beside it is the head of a worm or serpent, and one letter of an inscription (now missing).—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 52 (D.I.). (The illustrations of a and b are inaccurate.) See also *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xlii, p. 28 (D.I. of a and b).

## COUNTY SLIGO.

- 1 Inis Muiredaich, S.E. On the island,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. from the coast, near  
Inismurray, 1 Grange, which is 9 m. N. of Sligo.

(a) A rounded stone 1 ft.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter carved in relief with a Greek cross having triquetra-shaped ends. The cross is surrounded by a circle in each quadrant of which are three conjoined spirals.—See Wakeman's *Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray*, p. 63 (D.I.).

(b) A rounded stone 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter carved with a Greek cross formed of two raised lines and having triquetra-shaped ends. There is a pellet in the centre and an incised circle surrounding the cross.—Same reference, p. 64 (D.I.).

(c) An oval stone 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length incised with a circle enclosing a Greek cross of one line, the ends of which are slightly expanded.—Same reference, p. 65 (D.I.).

(d) A rounded stone 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter on which is incised a circle divided into quadrants by a plain cross.—Same reference p. 66 (D.I.).

(e) A rounded stone 5 in. in diameter on which is incised a Greek cross with forked ends. It is surrounded by a circle and has a pellet in each quadrant.—Same reference, p. 67 (D.I.).

(f) A stone 2 feet in length and of unique form. The upper part is cubical, and the lower a tapering stem; in the top is a circular hollow, and there is a flat stopper to cover the latter. On the front is a cross with lozenge centre and square ends; each upper quarter contains a diagonal line, and each lower a Greek cross with forked ends. Similar Greek crosses mark the sides and back.—Same reference, p. 68 (D.I.).

(g) A small pillar so rough and worn that the carving is not distinguishable.—Same reference, p. 103 (D.).

(h) Two fragments (about three quarters) of a slab 2 ft. long by 1 ft. 8 in. wide, bearing a ringed cross of two lines with triquetra-shaped ends. The cross is left in relief by the cutting away of the ground, and is surrounded by a circular band 1 ft. 3 in. in diameter ornamented with step pattern. The spiral base of the cross projects below this band.—Same reference, p. 104 (D.I.).

(i) An erect slab 2 feet high, bearing a Latin cross 1 ft. 6 in. long, rising from a horizontal base line, and having expanded centre and extremities. On the ends of the base and on the arms stand small crosses of similar shape. (Found near Teach Molaise).—Same reference, p. 103 (D.). (Stones *a* to *i* are now on the altar called *clochabreaca* in the cashel.)

(j) An erect tapering slab about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  ft. high, on which is incised a Latin cross with forked ends, and above it an encircled Greek cross with expanded ends. (On the station called Altair beg in the cashel).—Same reference, p. 71 (D.I.).

(k) Portion of a slab 2 ft. 3 in. in length by 1 ft. 9 in. in breadth, incised with a double-line ringed cross, the three upper extremities of which end in semicircles. (In the cashel, near the southern entrance).—Same reference, p. 118 (D.I.).

(l) A pillar-stone 4 ft. high, 1 ft. wide, and 7 in. thick. A Latin cross of two lines with circular centre and spiral extremities is incised on the western

side, and a small hole is pierced diagonally through each angle of the eastern side. (At the northern side of *Teampull na bhfear* in the cashel.)—Same reference, p. 76 (D.I.).

(*m*) A slab 2 ft. 2 in. in length by 10 in. in width, carved with a fine cross formed of a broad sinking, each extremity of which expands into two spirals. In relief on this sinking are two hands twisted together and forming triquetras at the ends. The cross rises from a square base, and has a sunk pellet in each quarter. (Found near *Teampull na bhfear* and placed on an altar outside the cashel wall to the north.)—Same reference, p. 97 (D.I.).

(*n*) Portion of a slab now 1 ft. 6 in. square, carved with a cross resembling that on (*m*), but without spirals at the top; and having two crosslets at the sinister side. The dexter is broken away. (Near *Teampull na bhfear*.)—Same reference, p. 99 (D.I.).

(*o*) A slab 1 ft. 3 in. in length by 10 in. in breadth, bearing a cross of one broad line with expanded terminals and spiral base. In each quarter is a crosslet with forked ends. (Near *Teampull na bhfear*.)—Same reference, p. 100 (D.I.).

(*p*) A slab 2 ft. in length by 1 ft. 3 in. in breadth, incised with a design similar to that on (*o*), but having the base continued to form a border round the stone. In each angle of the large cross is a sunk pellet. (Near *Teampull na bhfear*.)—Same reference, p. 102 (D.I.).

(*q*) An irregularly shaped slab about 1 ft. 7 in. in length by 1 ft. 6 in. in width, on which is rudely incised a triple cross 1 ft. 6½ in. in length. (Near *Teampull na bhfear*.)—Same reference, p. 107 (D.I.).

(*r*) A pentagonal slab 1 ft. 7 in. long by 1 ft. 4 in. wide, incised with a Greek cross of three broad lines, having a small circle in each quarter. (Near *Teampull na bhfear*.) Same reference, p. 108 (D.I.).

(*s*) A slab 2 ft. 6 in. long by 1 ft. wide, bearing two crosses. The upper a small plain Greek cross. The lower a Latin cross of three lines which has at top and base cross-bars of the same length as the central bar. (Near *Teampull na bhfear*.)—Same reference, p. 110 (D.I.).

(*t*) A rectangular slab 2 ft. in length and 1 ft. 4 in. in breadth, on which is incised a Latin cross of two lines rising from a single-line horizontal base, and having the other extremities open.—(Near *Teampull na bhfear*.)—Same reference, p. 112 (D.I.).

(*u*) A pillar-stone 5 ft. in height, incised with a Latin cross of one broad line rising from a horizontal base line, and having triangular extremities. (At the west end of *Teampull na bhfear*.)—Same reference, p. 119 (D.I.).

(*v*) Portion of a slab now 8¾ in. long by 6½ in. wide, incised with a single-line cross, having a circular centre, and triangular ends. In the four quarters are inscribed the words *cpux pete*. (Found in the cashel, and placed in a recess in the restored wall.)—Same reference, p. 80 (D.I.).

(*w*) A slab 1 ft. 6 in. by 10 in., incised with a cross of one broad line having expanded centre and ends, with a pellet in each. Across the top is inscribed *cpux* . . . . (In *Teach Molaise*.)—Same reference, p. 82 (D.I.).

(*x*) Part of a small slab now 7¾ in. by 6 in. On it is carved a cross of two lines in relief in a sunk band. The ends of the cross are expanded and rounded

and contain pellets. It is inscribed  $\sigma\pi\chi$  . . . . (In *Teach Molaise*.)—Same reference, p. 84 (D.I.), also *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 16 (D.I.).

(y) A flat thin stone 11 in. in length by 8 in. in breadth, on which is a rough inscription in four lines not hitherto deciphered. (In *Teach Molaise*.)—See *Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray*, p. 85 (D.I.).

(z) A stone  $11\frac{3}{4}$  in. in length and  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in. square. On one face is incised a ringed Latin cross of one broad line; the upper and lower extremities being expanded. On the opposite face is inscribed  $\overline{\sigma\pi}$   $\overline{\delta\sigma}$   $\overline{\mu\eta\chi\alpha\delta}$ . (In *Teach Molaise*.)—See *Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray*, p. 86 (D.I.), also *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 15 (D.I.).

(aa) A slab of irregular shape 1 ft. 4 in. by 8 in. inscribed in three lines.  $\overline{\times}$   $\overline{\sigma\pi}$   $\overline{\delta\sigma}$   $\overline{\mu\eta\chi\alpha\delta}$   $\overline{h\bar{u}}$   $\overline{\chi\omicron\mu\omicron\chi\alpha\delta}$ . (In *Teach Molaise*.)—See *Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray*, p. 88 (D.I.), also *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 15 (D.I.).

(bb) A thin slab 1 ft. 5 in. by 11 in., on which are traces of an Irish inscription not deciphered. The letters are small and crowded. (In *Teach Molaise*.)—See *Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray*, p. 91 (D.I.).

(cc) Portion of a slab now 11 in. by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in., incised with three concentric circles, the outer of which is divided and has two parallel lines extending from the ends.—Same reference, p. 115 (D.I.).

(dd) A large slab inscribed in one line 3 ft. 8 in. in length.  $\overline{\times}$   $\overline{\sigma\pi}$   $\overline{\delta\sigma}$   $\overline{\mu\eta\chi\alpha\delta}$ . (In *Teach Molaise*.)—See *Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray*, p. 90 (D.I.), also *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 16 (D.I.).

(ee) An upright stone 5 ft. 7 in. in height, bearing a partially effaced design very similar to that on (h), but having the circular band 2 ft. in diameter. (Standing in front of *Teach Molaise*.)—See *Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray*, p. 105 (D.I.).

(ff) A square slab 3 ft. 2 in. in length by 1 ft. 11 in. in breadth: on which is incised a rectangular frame of two lines containing a cross of three lines, having a circular centre and semicircular ends. Outside the frame at the lower end is a small spiral design. (This stone lies to the south-east of *Teach Molaise*.)—Same reference, p. 116 (D.I.).

(gg) Portion of a pillar-stone 2 ft.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length, 10 in. in breadth, and 4 in. in thickness. It is broken at each end, and bears two lines of lettering.

. . . .  $\alpha\lambda\alpha\delta$   $\sigma\pi\chi$   $\alpha\pi$   $\mu\alpha\epsilon\lambda\beta\mu$  . . . .

. . . .  $\sigma\pi\chi$   $\sigma\pi\chi$   $\sigma\pi\chi$   $\alpha\pi$   $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon$

(This stone was found in *Teampull na mban*.)—Same reference, p. 92 (D.I.).

(hh) Portion of a large slab now 1 ft. 6 in. in length by 9 in. in width, on which is incised the lower limb of a two-line cross ending in a design of two spirals with a triangular expansion between them. (At *Teampull na mban*.)—Same reference, p. 115 (D.I.).

(ii) A pillar-stone 5 ft. high and 11 in. by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., on which is cut a single-line cross about 1 ft. in length with expanded ends. Holes are pierced through the adjacent angles. (Close to *Teampull na mban*.)—Same reference, p. 78 (D.I.).

(jj) An upright stone 2 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 2 in., incised with an unusual design consisting of a single-line Latin cross rising from a semicircular base, and having the head surrounded by two concentric lines, the inner a circle, and



the outer a pointed oval with the pointed end downwards. (Near *Teampull na mban.*)—Same reference, p. 145 (D.I.).

(*kk*) An upright slab about 2 ft. by 7 in, on which is incised a cross, with two cross-bars, and double spirals at each extremity. (On the station called *crois na mban.*)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 16 (D.I.).

(*ll*) An upright slab  $17\frac{1}{2}$  in. in height by 15 in. in width, on which is incised a two-line cross, with short arms of equal length at the top, centre, and base. (On the station called "*Tratan na righ bhfeair.*")—See *Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray*, p. 130 (D.I.).

(*mm*) An upright slab 1 ft. 7 in. in height by 10 in. in width, incised with a cross of one broad line, having a circular centre, and triangular extremities. The base is an upturned semicircle resembling an anchor. (On the station called *Leachta chroise mhóire.*)—Same reference, p. 134 (D.I.).

(*nn*) An upright slab 3 ft. in height and 1 ft  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. in breadth, incised with a Latin cross of one broad line, having a horizontal base line, a circular centre, and expanded ends. On the arms and on the base stand four small crosses of similar form. (On the station called *Leachta Trionóide mór.*)—Same reference, p. 140 (D.I.).

(*oo*) An upright slab 2 ft. in height and 1 ft.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in breadth, incised with a cross on each face. The more elaborate is formed of a single band left in relief in a recessed groove; it has a lozenge centre containing a small knot, and triquetras at the extremities. Surrounding the cross is a frame of one sunk line with spirals at the angles. The other cross is plain, of one line with expanded ends. (On the station called *Leachta Trionóide beag.*)—Same reference, p. 141 (D.I.).

(*pp*) A pillar-stone 2 ft. 8 in. in height and 11 in. by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in., incised with a Latin cross of one line, with expanded ends. (Near the station called *Leachta Muire.*) Same reference, p. 144 (D.I.).

(*qq*) An upright slab 2 ft. 7 in. in height and 1 ft.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. in breadth, incised with a cross on each face. On the front is a rectangular frame of one line containing a plain broad Latin cross of two lines, on the centre of which is another Latin cross of one broad line. In each of the lower quarters is a small cross similar to the last-mentioned, and in each of the upper quadrants a small step pattern. On the back is a Latin cross of two lines with a circular centre and triangular ends. A small hollow is sunk in each quarter. (On the station called *Leachta Choluim Cille.*)—Same reference, p. 146 (D.I.).

(*rr*) An upright slab 1 ft. 5 in. in height by 1 ft. in breadth, incised with a Latin cross of three broad lines rising from a rectangular base. There is a circle at the centre, and two spirals at each side extremity. (On the station called *Reilie Odhrain.*)—Same reference, p. 150 (D.I.).

(*ss*) An upright slab 2 ft. in height and 8 in. in breadth, incised with a four-line cross, having a circular centre and triangular ends. The lines of the cross are continued to enclose four panels or quarters. The quarters were carved with designs now worn away. (On the station called *Reilie Odhrain.*)—Same reference, p. 150 (D.I.).

(*tt*) A pillar-stone 5 ft. in height and 1 ft. 2 in. in breadth, incised with a Latin cross of two lines, having expanded ends. Surrounding and attached to this cross are four single-line crosses of similar shape. (Near the station called *Reilie Odhrain.*)—Same reference, p. 152 (D.I.).

# DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF EARLY CROSS-SLABS AND PILLARS 165

2. Cliffony, S.E. Leaning against the wall of St. Brigid's  
Ballinphull, 2. Well,  $\frac{1}{5}$  m. W. of the village, and 12 m.  
N. of Sligo.

A slab 2 ft. 11 in. long by 10 in. by 5 in., on which is incised an elaborate cross 1 ft. 6 in. in length. The cross is divided into six panels, the uppermost of which contains a swastika, the centre three concentric circles, and the others diagonal crossed lines. Above is an arched line or canopy with spiral ends.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xv, p. 376 (D.I.), also same, vol. xxi, p. 355, No. 4 (I.), and *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (New Series), vol. vii, p. 92 (I.).

3. Kilturra, S.E. At the Saint's Well near Kilturra House,  
Same, 38 6 m. S.W. of Ballymote.

A small pillar-stone with an incised ringed cross having several ogam-like scores projecting from the crossbar.—See *Journal for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 358 (D.I.), also *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 357, No. 10 (I.).

4. Toomour, S.W. In the ruined oratory about 60 ft. W. of  
Same, 40 St. Lugid's Church; 5 m. N. of Kilfree  
Station.

(a) A slab 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft., on which is incised a rectangular frame, having an extra line at the base, and containing crossed lines to form a combined cross and saltire.

(b) An erect stone with a two-line cross 1 ft. 4 in. long incised on it.

(c) A slab almost circular in form with six small plain Greek crosses and two small indentations cut on it.—See *O'Rourke's History of Sligo*, vol. ii, pp. 207-12 (D.I.), also *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 351, Nos. 15 and 16 (a and c I.).

## LEINSTER.

Locality and Townland.	No. of Ord-nance Map.	Situation.
------------------------	-----------------------	------------

## COUNTY CARLOW.

- |               |      |  |
|---------------|------|--|
| 1. Clogrenan, | S.W. | Built into the west end of the ruined church |
| Same,         | 7    | in the demesne, 3 m. S.W. of Carlow.         |

A stone about 1 ft. 4 in. long by 1 ft. wide, on which is incised a single-line cross potent, having a ring in each quadrant of which is a small circular cup or hollow.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in R.I.A. Library, vol. ii, No. 60 (I.).

- |              |      |  |
|--------------|------|--|
| 2. Aghade,   | N.E. | Near the National School, $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. of the |
| Castlegrace, | 13   | graveyard and 3 m. S. of Tullow Station.             |

A prostrate granite pillar 10 ft. long, having near one end four plain Greek crosses 4 in. long and one double cross 8 in. long. There are also a number of doubtful ogam scores and small cup marks.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xl, p. 350 (D.).

## COUNTY DUBLIN.

- |                 |      |                             |
|-----------------|------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Dublin,      | S.E. | At St. Patrick's Cathedral. |
| Wood-quay Ward, | 18   |                             |

(a) A rectangular granite slab about 4 ft. long, carved with two crosses. The upper is a Greek cross in a circle, the edges of which are lines left in relief. The lower is a Latin cross in relief, the angles being hollowed.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, p. 294 (D.I.).

(b) A granite slab 3 ft. 6 in. long by 1 ft. 3 in. wide, carved with a three-line cross having a circular centre and semicircular ends. The former contains a fret pattern and the latter triquetras. The upper portion is missing. (a and b are now placed in the N.W. angle of the cathedral.)

(c) A granite slab 5 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 6 in. thick, carved with a ringed Latin cross formed of marginal lines in relief. (This stone lies outside the S. wall of the choir.)

(d) A granite slab 5 ft. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. thick. It bears two ringed crosses, one above the other; they are formed of marginal lines in relief. (It lies near C.)

- |                       |      |  |
|-----------------------|------|--|
| 2. Dublin,            | S.E. | Inside the railing of the public garden,     |
| Merchant's-quay Ward, | 18   | opposite the N. side of St. Audoen's Church. |

An erect slab of granite 3 ft. long 1 ft. 10 in. wide and 5 in. thick. On each face is carved a ringed cross having hollowed angles and pellets in the quadrants. (This stone formerly stood near the doorway of St. Audoen's Church.)—Information received from Mr. P. J. O'Reilly.

3. Saggart, S.W. In the S.W. corner of the older portion of  
Same, 21 the graveyard in the village, 1 m. N.W.  
of Embankment Station.

A granite pillar-stone 4 ft. high, on which is a ringed cross in relief the full length of the stone.—See *Journal Kildare A. Society*, vol. v, p. 115 (D.I.).

4. Kill-of-the-Grange, S.W. In the graveyard, 2 m. S.W. of Salthill  
Same, 23 and 2 m. N.E. of Foxrock Station.

A triangular fragment 10 in. wide, incised with a Greek cross 5 in. long having splayed ends.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, p. 144 (D.I.).

5. Dalkey, S.E. In the graveyard,  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. N. of the station.  
Bullock, 23

A granite slab having at the top a cup surrounded by two concentric circles, and at the base a similar design. Between these is a wheel cross, having a cup in the centre, and rising from a circular base which also surrounds a cup. There are traces of small circles at the sides between the large ones.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, p. 148 (D.I.).

6. Dalkey Island, S.E. On a rock opposite to the east end of the  
Same, 23 church,  $\frac{3}{4}$  m. E. of Dalkey Station.

A small cross with slightly splayed arms, enclosed in a circle and having raised pellets in the quadrants.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 702 (D.I.).

7. Cruagh, N.W. In the graveyard,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. S.W. of Dundrum  
Same, 25 Station.

A squared standing stone (now missing) inscribed with a cup and two concentric circles. It was described by Dr. Petrie in the *Dublin Examiner* for October 1816.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, pp. 135 and 154 (D.I.).

8. Tully, N.W. In the graveyard, 2 m. S.E. of Carrickmines  
Laughanstown, 26 Station.

(a) An erect slab of granite bearing a Latin cross in relief, marked with five cups and having a circular boss under each arm.

(b) A tapering slab having small projecting arms, carved with an axial band of two lines, interrupted by three sets of four concentric circles, also sets of diagonal parallel lines between the circles.

(c) A rectangular granite slab 2 ft. 6 in. long by 1 ft. 9 in. wide, bearing in relief a Greek cross in a circle 1 ft. 7 in. in diameter.

(d) A small oval fragment 1 ft. 3 in. by 7 in. bearing a cup  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter and a plain Greek cross 3 in. long.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, pp. 141–2–3 (D.I.).

9. Rathmichael, S.W. At Rathmichael Church, 1 m. W. of  
Same, 26 Shankill Station.

(a) A granite slab 2 ft. high and 1 ft. 6 in. wide, bearing a cup 2 in. in diameter surrounded by three circles. There are traces of lines radiating from the upper part of the outer circle. (10 ft. E. of the church.)



(b) Portion of a granite slab 2 ft. 3 in. long 1 ft. 7 in. wide and 4 in. thick, on which is incised a cross of two lines with a small cup in the centre and part of another at the fractured edge. In the quarters are sets of three parallel lines placed diagonally as a saltire. (Under the E. window.)

(c) A holed granite slab, 4 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 8 in. by 8 in. thick. The hole tapers from each side. (In the S.W. corner of the church.)

(d) A fragment bearing a cup surrounded by two complete circles and part of a third. (5 ft. N.E. of the Round Tower.)

(e) A fragment 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 4 in. by 4 in. thick, bearing a cup  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter. (10 ft. E. of the Round Tower.)

(f) A fragment showing part of a design similar to that on (b). (At the S.E. side of the Round Tower.)

(g) A fragment showing two upright lines with two cups between them, and at each side several horizontal lines. (Near the cemetery wall S. of the church.)—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, pp. 136-9 (D.I.).

- |               |      |   |
|---------------|------|---|
| 10. Ballyman, | N.W. | Used as lintel to the S. window of the ruined     |
| Same,         | 28   | church near the county boundary, 2 m. W. of Bray. |

A tapering slab about 4 ft. by 1 ft. 3 in. bearing an incised design consisting of an axial band of two lines, which is interrupted by two sets of four concentric circles surrounding centre cups. On one end of the band is a third cup without circles, and at the sides are lines radiating to the edges of the stone from the circles and band.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, p. 145 (D.I.).

## COUNTY KILDARE.

- |              |      |  |
|--------------|------|--|
| 1. Kilgowan, | N.E. | 3 m. S. of Old Kilcullen, and 3 m. W. of |
| Same,        | 32   | Dunlavin Station.                        |

A pillar-stone 6 ft. 8 in. high, incised with a Latin cross about 1 ft. 3 in. long, the extremities of which are circular expansions  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter.—See *Archæologia*, vol. xliii (1871), p. 131 (I.)

- |                    |      |   |
|--------------------|------|---|
| 2. Killeen Cormac, | S.E. | In the ancient burial enclosure, $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of |
| Colbinstown,       | 32   | Colbinstown Station.                                    |

(a) An ogam pillar 6 ft. 4 in. long, 12 in. by 11 in, inscribed also with the following in capitals:—IVVEREDRVVIDES. (This stone lies near the entrance gate.)

(b) A pillar-stone about 6 ft. long, bearing a small head and bust rudely incised. This has been touched up by some irresponsible person in recent years and much injured in consequence.

(c) An erect slab 4 ft. by 2 ft. 5 in., bearing in relief a rude plain cross 1 ft. 11 in. long and 1 ft. 6 in. wide.

(d) A prostrate slab 5 ft. long and 2 ft. 4 in. wide near one end of which is carved in relief a rude encircled cross 16 in. long and wide.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xiii, pp. 168-80 (D.I.), also *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 2 (D.I.), and *Journal Kildare Archæological Society*, vol. iii, p. 156 (D.I.).

- |                  |      |  |
|------------------|------|--|
| 3. Castledermot, | N.W. | In the churchyard at the south side of the       |
| Same,            | 40   | church. $3\frac{3}{4}$ m. E. of Mageney Station. |

A granite pillar 3 ft. high, 1 ft. 2 in. by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in., pierced with a hole 5 in. in diameter. On the east side the hole is in the centre of an incised and ringed cross. The west side has a ridge down the centre.—See *Journal R. S. A. I.*, vol. xxii, p. 69 (D.I.).

(*To be continued.*)

## Miscellanea

**Bullaun-Stone at Rathdrum.**—Mr. Crawford's photograph of this stone, which by a printer's error was omitted from p. 342 of the previous issue of the *Journal*, is here subjoined.



FIG. 1.—BULLAUN-STONE AT RATHDRUM.

**Oran Round Tower, Co. Roscommon.**—This tower, though reduced to a stump 12 feet in height, is one of the most interesting of its kind. It is also one of the largest, as its circumference is 62 feet; according to Mr. Westropp's list (*Proceedings R.I.A.*, 1898) the only tower which approaches it is that at Dysert O'Dea. The walls are rather more than 4 feet in thickness at the base and leave an internal diameter of fully 11 feet.

The lower portion of the tower is formed of a curious material closely resembling lime concrete; a building contractor to whom I showed specimens had no doubt that it was artificial. It is unlikely, however,

that concrete was used at so early a date, and the blocks are more probably cut from a kind of tufa or breccia. The facts that the blocks vary

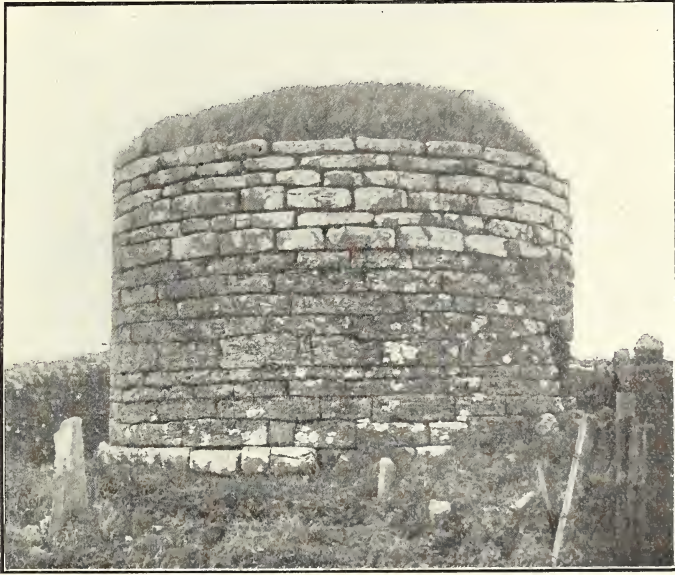


FIG. 2.—ORAN ROUND TOWER.

greatly in size and are fitted into each other in some places are additional proofs that the material is natural; artificial blocks would be similar in shape and size: see fig. 2. Nine courses are formed of this conglomerate, which, it should be noted, is solid, not porous like ordinary tufa. In fig. 3 it can be recognized by the comparative absence of the white lichen which covers the limestone portion. Four courses of conglomerate appear on the interior surface of the wall, the remainder being limestone. From this circumstance and from the care taken in fitting the blocks so as to



FIG. 3.—DETAIL OF MASONRY, ORAN ROUND TOWER.

avoid cutting them down, it is evident that the material was scarce, and may have been used on account of the ease with which it could be cut to the curve of the tower. An opening has been broken in the south side at the ground-level, but no original features of the building remain.

An ancient graveyard surrounds the tower, and in it are some remains

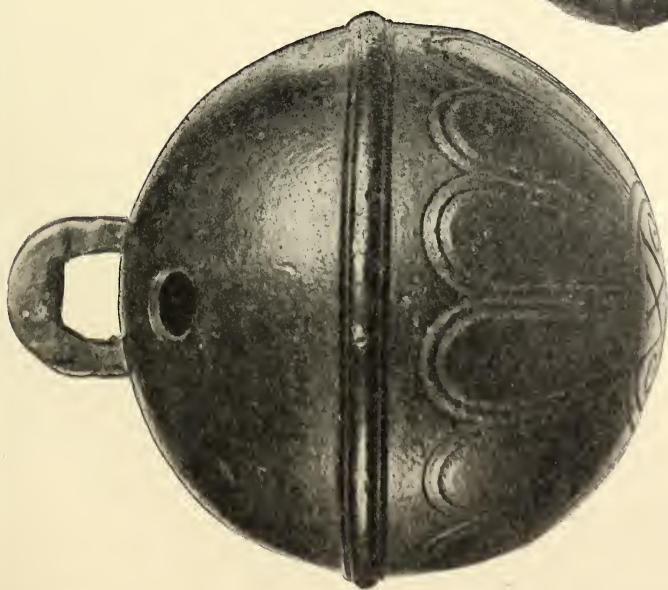
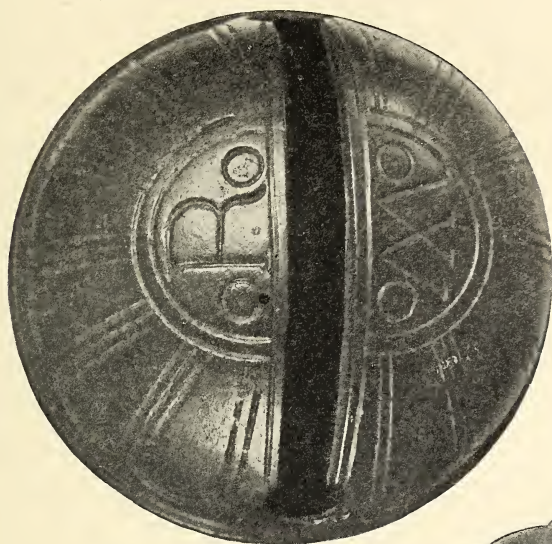


of the church walls. The spring from which the place takes its name is on the roadside opposite to the graveyard, and is built round so as to form a square pool or bath. Oran is seven miles north-west of Rosecommon and two miles north of Donamon station.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

**Notes on some Mediaeval Bronze Bells used for decorating Horse-Trappings.**—In Sir William Wilde's catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy's collection, we find described, under the heading of "Cattle Bells and Crotals," a number of bronze bells of the type known heraldically as "hawks' bells," and much resembling the small bells with which children's toy reins, &c., are decorated. Sir William Wilde says these bells may be placed under the general heading of horse-trappings; but he speaks of one of them as a "sheep bell," and later on describes them as cattle bells. With the so-called "crotals," the pear-shaped, closed bronze bells, I do not propose to deal; their approximate date is known, as they were found in the celebrated Dowris hoard with socketed spear-heads, bronze swords, and caldrons, and belong to the latest period of the Irish Bronze Age. The globular bells, described as cattle bells, are rather remarkable. They are formed of two hemispheres of metal, joined in the centre, and have two holes in the upper portion and a slit in the lower. The bells vary in size; the largest I have seen is in the possession of Mr. M. S. D. Westropp, who purchased it recently in Cork, and has kindly allowed me to have it photographed. The Plate shows two views of it. It measures almost 4 inches in diameter, and has the letters 'R. W.' on it; also the number 18. Of those in the Academy's collection, one has a diameter of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, while the larger vary from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches to  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter. And of these nine have the letters 'R. W.', two 'B. W.', one 'E. W.', one 'I. S.', and one 'C. O.'; this is figured by Wilde, p. 612.<sup>1</sup>

The lower portions of all the bells are decorated with the same pattern—a kind of tongue-shaped design, which can be seen in the figures. Metal loops are attached to the base; and it is important to note that if the bells are held inverted by this loop and rung they emit a very musical sound. The small bells are of just the same shape as the larger. Two have the initials 'R. W.', and one 'S. I.', another 'G. B.', and another what looks like a shield with a cross; they are all ornamented on the lower portions, and have a diameter of about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches. I figure one of these small bells. Some of the bells have numbers stamped on the upper portions, one of the smallest bells having 'O,' and another slightly larger 'I.' Four have the number 4, and the large one illustrated has 18. What these numbers represent is not known; but as they seem to vary with the size of the bell, they, no doubt, have some significance.

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, 1861.





I do not think these bells are intended for cattle or sheep. The cattle bell has the same shape all over the world—i.e., an open base and a clapper. We may infer that the early Irish cattle bells were of this form, as the ecclesiastical bells, which were copied from the cattle bells, and of which numerous examples have survived, are of this shape.

I believe these bells were for ornamenting the trappings of horses, and this view is borne out by contemporary illustrations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Let us take first the splendid Tournament Roll known as the *Westminster Tournament Roll*, preserved in the Heralds' College, London. This magnificent roll depicts episodes in the solemn

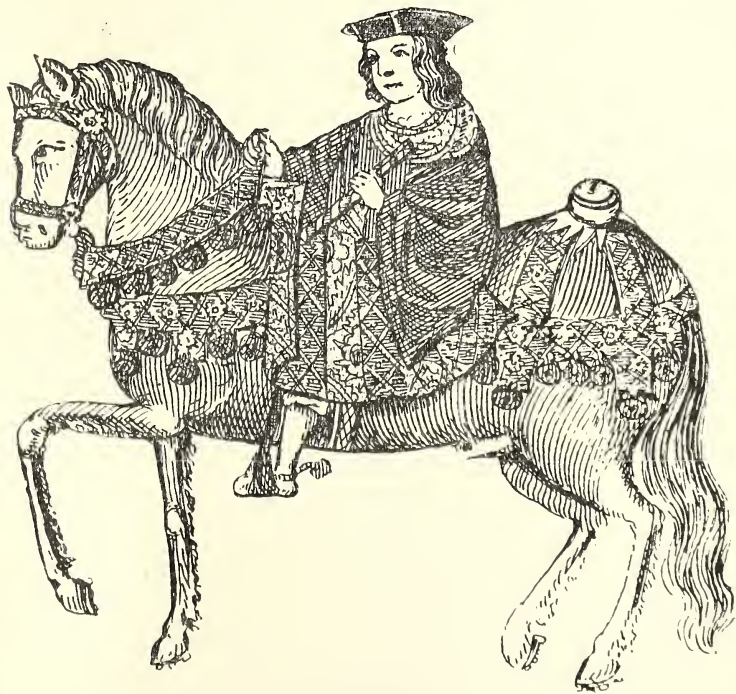


FIG. 4.

jousts held at Westminster the twelfth and thirteenth days of February, in the second year of King Henry VIII's reign, in honour of Queen Katherine of Aragon, upon the birth of Prince Henry on January 1st, 1510–1511. An admirable engraving of this roll was executed by George Vertue in 1746 for *Vetusta Monumenta*.<sup>1</sup> If we turn to this, we shall see that the first mounted figure, *Le Maistre de l'armurerie du Roy*, displays on the crupper of his horse, fastened into a decorated pad, one of these bells

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, pl. xxi–xxvi. (See also Mr. Everard Green's description of this roll, *Proc. Soc. of Antiq. of London*, 2nd series, vol. xv, p. 212).



inverted. Then, if we continue to run our eye down the roll, we find of the eight horsemen termed *Les gorgyas de la Court*, four have these inverted bells similarly attached to their horses' cruppers. Of *Les officiers d'armes*, two have these bells; the two led horses which follow the challengers each have a bell on the crupper. Both *Le grant Escuyer* and *Le maistre des pages* have these bells on their horses' cruppers. Out of the sixteen mounted attendants termed *Lyssue du Champ*, five have bells on the crupper, and we now see the peytrels and breechings of the horses decorated with smaller bells of the same shape, hung mouth downwards; while in some cases, where the horses are enveloped in trappings, the trappings themselves appear to have numbers of these bells attached to them.<sup>1</sup> I reproduce one of these figures from *Vetusta Monumenta*, by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and of Sir Alfred Scott Gatty, Garter King-of-Arms (fig. 4). We are not, however, dependent on this gorgeous roll alone for our evidence. Ströhl's *Heraldischer Atlas*,<sup>2</sup> Taf. 1, gives illustrations of a number of heralds of different nationalities of the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries; and among these there is a figure of a mounted French Roi d'Armes of the fifteenth century, with a bell inverted on the crupper of his horse and worn in exactly the same way as those on the Westminster Roll.

Again, we find that the figure of Richard, Earl of Beauchamp, "justying" at Gyres, shows the Earl's charger decorated with one of the bells inverted, and attached to the trappings that cover the horse's crupper. The illustration is given in Cotton ms., Julius E. IV, and the date of the scene is about 1410. I have no doubt that the instances of the use of these bells for ornamenting horse-trappings could be greatly extended; it must be noted that in the days when pack-horses were used their harness was often hung with strings of bells, and it is possible that the letters on the bells may be the initials of the owner of pack-horses, and that the bells were used for this purpose. In any case I think it is sufficiently clear that they were not cattle or sheep, but horse bells. I do not, of course, imply that all these bells belong to the sixteenth century; some may be considerably later. Since the introduction of india-rubber tyres, bells of the same shape are largely used on the harness of cab and car horses. I merely wish to point out the fact that similar bells were in use in mediaeval times, and to suggest the possibility that some of the bronze bells in the Academy's collection belong to this period.—E. C. R. ARMSTRONG.

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**Dublin Street-Names.**—I had hoped that some information might be forthcoming about Glass House Lane, mentioned by Mr. E. J. French,

<sup>1</sup> See coloured reproductions of two figures from this roll in the Illustrated Catalogue of the Heraldic Exhibition, Burlington House, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Stuttgart, Verlag von Julius Hoffmann, 1899.

on page 164 of the last volume. Of the many Dublin maps in my collection not one gives any such lane. An article, however, by Mr. M. S. D. Westropp [“Glass-Making in Ireland,” *R.I.A. Proceedings*, vol. xxix, sec. C, No. 3] alludes to a glass-house, at this exact position on Lazer’s Hill as follows:—

“In 1750, a new glass-house was erected at the lower end of Lazer’s Hill. The advertisement in *The Dublin Journal*, of June 9th, 1750, gives a list of the articles made.”

The writer adds—

“This factory does not seem to have lasted very long. No other notice of it occurs; and it is not marked on Rocque’s map of 1756.”

Mr. French’s lease now gives us one additional notice of this Lazer’s Hill glass-house, to which beyond doubt the lane was a usual approach. Already, in 1765, Cumberland Street had appeared in that locality, although entered in rather varying positions on the different maps. The other names in this lease present no difficulty. Hansard’s Lane, for instance, took its name from John Hansard, the property-owner who gave the site for St. Mark’s Church (1729). In 1762, Mr. Samuel Sandwith or Sandwich held two lots, Nos. 26 and 27, on the South Strand, known also as Clenhan’s Folly or merely the Folly. Many of the more familiar Dublin maps (*e.g.* that in Malton) give the street under that name; and of course Dr. M’Cready does mention it under Sandwith Street. Precisely one hundred years later than Mr. French’s lease, the advertisement of a sale [1864] in the Landed Estates Court alludes to “part of the ground called the Folly on the north side of Denzille Street and the south side of Boyne Street.” As to the “shore,” I venture to suggest that the reference is not, as Mr. French thinks, to an early Main Drainage Scheme, but merely to the actual shore of the tidal river which, before the South Lotts were reclaimed, formed a large bay here along the line (very roughly speaking) of Moss Street, Sandwith Street, and Grand Canal Street. Hence, of course, the phrase “The Folly, formerly the Strand,” in this lease. See Moll’s map, 1714, and Brooking’s picture on the 1728 map.

So much additional, or corrected, information in connexion with the Dublin street-names has been gathered by Dr. M’Cready, that it is a matter of regret that, so far, there has not appeared a second edition of his book, which is simply invaluable, although professedly *tentative* in its original form.

A few other Dublin *wants* may perhaps be mentioned. A really complete list of all known maps of the city (up to, let us say, the first Ordnance Survey) is still to seek, and could be made of high value and

interest if furnished with descriptive notes on the differences or inaccuracies of these "accurate surveys" as they all claim to be. Some also of the more important surveys of special parcels of ground made from time to time by the "Surveyor of the Hon'ble City of Dublin" might very well be reproduced in our *Journal*, and (if one may risk seeming ungracious to those toiling writers who so loyally support the Editor) might supply a not unwelcome variety after the real feast of Promontories, Rathes, Forts, Motes, and Middens, with which recently we have been regaled.<sup>1</sup>

Finally one may put in a plea for the publication by the Society of that part of Dineley's Tour which deals with Dublin. If, as we are told, the ms. has at last been traced after so many years, surely some one can now be found willing to edit it for the benefit of those members who are interested in Dublin.—LEONARD R. STRANGWAYS, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

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**Souterrain at Craggs.**—There is a fine example of an earthen fort or *lios* in the townland of Craggs, in the parish of Clashmore, about two miles from Goish Bridge. The neighbouring county is rich in these relics of bygone days. In the townland of Tinascart, which adjoins Craggs, there are three forts (one of which has a large flagstone inside), which I excavated, but found no remains. Knockanarris, another townland, also has three forts; Curradarea, one; Coolbagh, one; and at Kilmore is a huge enclosure, commonly called Kilmore Rath, but which the Rev. P. Power says is really an ancient church-site. It is 260 yards in the greatest diameter, and is composed of walls no less than 12–16 feet high in parts. Further information will be found in *Place Names of the Decies*, by Rev. P. Power, M.R.I.A.

The *lios* at Craggs is, however, of average size; its greatest diameter is 124 feet, and the other a few feet less. The height of the rampart from the inside is 5 feet 9 inches; from top of the rampart to the bottom of the fosse is 10 feet; the fosse itself is 10½ feet broad. In the east and west diameter, about 82 feet from the west rampart, there is a small opening in the ground which leads into a souterrain, and which comes out again, probably through a falling in of the roof, about 6 feet from the last rampart, after an underground passage of some 35 feet. The entrance to the passage is very low and narrow; the path slopes gradually downwards. After traversing 10 feet 9 inches, traces of what appear to me to have been a sort of doorway are met with; the ground still slopes, and at length another doorway is reached, so small that it is difficult to squeeze through it; once through this, it is almost possible to stand up

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<sup>1</sup> [The importance of such publications is fully admitted, but it should be remembered that they can be brought out at any time: the pressing necessity at the present moment is to have as many of the field remains surveyed as possible, in face of the deplorable destruction taking place.—ED.]

n a chamber 4 feet 3 inches broad, 11 feet 3 inches long by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ –5 feet in height. At the right-hand far corner, there is a passage leading straight out for about 14 feet, where progress is stopped by a fall of earth and stones from the roof, through which daylight may be seen, percolating through the interstices. The floor of the passage and chamber is covered with loose stones, like field-stones, which, I think, have been thrown in by people, as they do not seem to have fallen from the roof, with the exception of a few. I searched the sides and roof of this souterrain for ogham and other scribings as in the well-known souterrain at Drumloghan at Stradbally, but found no traces of such writing. What these souterrains were intended for, is a difficult question to answer. Generally they are supposed to have been either places of

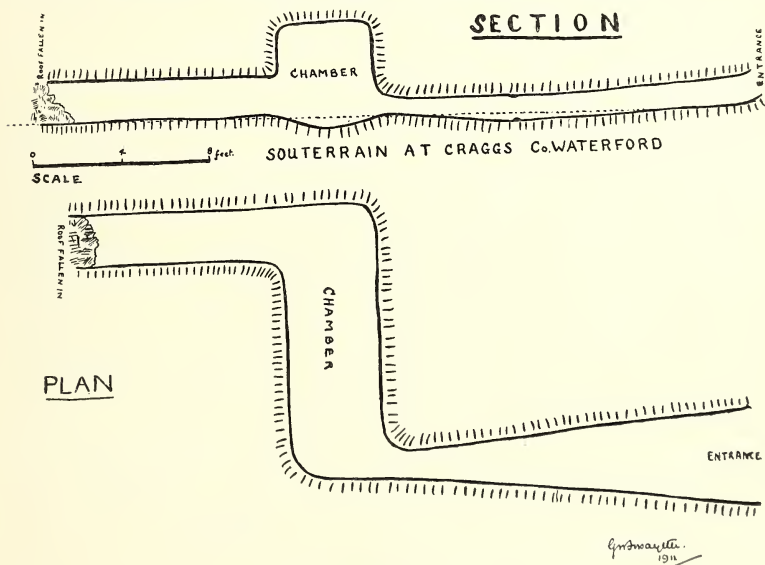


FIG. 5.

retreat or stone houses. The latter theory appears to me to be the more likely, as few people only could possibly hide in a souterrain, such as at Craggs; and, moreover, could easily be made to surrender by smoking them out. All these raths and forts were not used for defence against human enemies, I think, but rather against wolves and bears, when the people of Ireland used, and probably built, these forts, to shelter their cattle at night. Of course when we find a rath with a double or triple rampart and a deep moat, that they were intended as forts against hostile tribes is no doubt the correct theory.

The accompanying plan and section of the souterrain will doubtless give a better idea of its shape and dimensions than any further written description.—GORDON W. FORSAYETH.



**Prehistoric Cooking-Places.**—In the year 1885 the late Mr. Quinlan excavated a prehistoric cooking-place, known locally as a “Folacht Fiad,” in Cloncordin Bog (*R. H. A. A. I.*, vol. vii, 4th Series). In his essay on the discovery he mentioned that these cooking-places are to be found by the side of small streams, and are fairly common. In the townland of Ballygambon, in Whitechurch, there are no less than five. One I excavated thoroughly (plan and section enclosed). The shape of the cooking-place is like a horseshoe, and the banks comprising it are a few feet high, and about twice the height in breadth. I commenced digging

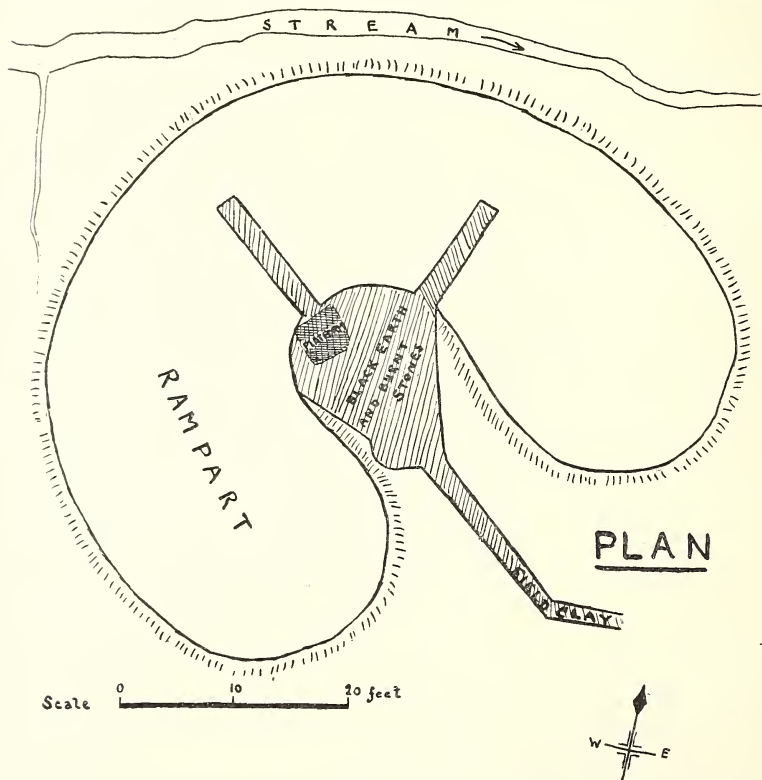


FIG. 6.

a trench, about 3 feet deep, starting at the centre of the oval and working right through the enclosing bank. At a depth of a few inches the earth became black, and full of fragments of charcoal, and the stones mixed with it all bore traces of fire. No traces of bone, burnt or otherwise, were found, which strikes one as peculiar, if they are really cooking-places. At a depth of about 3 feet a rude platform was met with, corresponding somewhat to that Mr. Quinlan mentions, with

this difference, that the stones composing the platform I found were simply quarried, and not hewn to any particular shape, while Mr. Quinlan describes the stones composing his platform as "heavy sandstone blocks, apparently dressed neatly and hollowed out." Also, the Ballygambon cooking-place is larger than the Cloncordin one by about 10 feet. Mr. Quinlan also found a trough composed of an oak-tree, hollowed out, and in the neighbourhood three bronze celts; no like objects were, however, discovered by me. In the townland of Cool, which adjoins

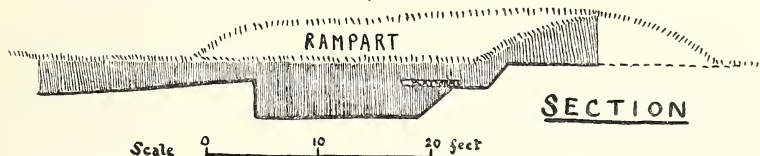


FIG. 7.

that of Cloncordin, I excavated another Folacht Fiad, with the same result, only finding the rude stone platform; and R. J. Ussher, Esq., of Cappagh, also dug a Folacht Fiad in or near Cappagh, finding only burnt stones and earth. From these circumstances, I am inclined to doubt the truth of the statement that these mounds are cooking-places. If so, why is it that no traces of burnt bones are ever found near them? Surely, if people took the trouble to construct an elaborate fireplace, which could cook a whole deer at a time, they would have a feast, and consume the meat then and there, and thereby leave traces in the shape of bones. I am of the opinion that these places corresponded to Turkish baths, or at least hot baths, the bath being the wooden trough, the dimensions of which are about 10 feet long by 2 feet wide—in fact, a little larger than the modern metal bath. The country people knew the value of hot baths and sweating, as is evident by the sweating-houses in parts of Ireland, on which see Col. Wood-Martin's book, *Pagan Ireland*, p. 197. Lewis and Clarke, in their *Voyage up the Missouri*, describe a vapour-bath—"We observed a vapour-bath, consisting of a hollow square of 6 or 8 feet deep, formed in the river-bank by damming up with mud the other three sides, and covering the whole completely, except an aperture about 2 feet wide at the top."

The water was undoubtedly boiled by means of stones brought to a high temperature by fire, and then dropped into the trough; this was filled by the temporary diversion of a stream, which is always a feature of these so-called cooking-places. My theory is not weakened by the absence of a trough in my two excavations, for, doubtless, it decayed and vanished through countless ages, as the ground is not of a turfy nature where I dug, and therefore would not act as a preservative. There are many other Folacht Fiad in the County Waterford, half a dozen or

more within 2 miles of where I live, which I hope to explore. I shall be greatly obliged if any archaeologist, digging any Folacht Fiad about these neighbourhoods, will compare notes with me to test my statement that no traces of bones, burnt or otherwise, have been, or will be, found in these monuments of antiquity.

The plans (figs. 5, 6, 7) will be, I hope, of use in giving an idea of the appearance of the Folacht Fiad to any persons who have not seen Mr. Quinlan's drawing of the one at Cloncordin.—GORDON W. FORSAYETH.

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**St. Patrick's Well and Bed, Co. Galway.**—A walk of about a mile from Recess Hotel on to Oughterard road brings one to a road which turns off to the left towards the mountains. Proceeding along this road for about another mile, one reaches the foot of a pass, up which a barely recognizable track runs between two of the range of Maam Turk Mountains. At the summit of the pass, and just as the country on the other side opens out to view, the holy well of St. Patrick is reached. It is as lonely a spot as can be imagined, and the well is no doubt of great antiquity. A loose circle of stones surrounds it, on which old jam-crocks are to be seen. A rude wooden cross stands in the circle. St. Patrick's Bed, which resembles St. Kevin's Bed at Glendalough, is cut out of a rock-cliff on the west side of the pass, somewhat higher up than the well.

The accompanying photographs, which were taken on a somewhat gloomy day, show the well and the Bed, and the little shepherdess guide, Delia Joyce.—H. A. COSGRAVE.

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**Concentric Circle and Cup-marked Stone in Westmeath.**—A short time ago Mr. George Kelly, M.A., of County Roscommon, mentioned to me that he noticed a curious stone at the right side of the Ballymahon road, a short distance outside the village of Rathcondra, that he thought it would be worth looking up. A few weeks afterwards Mr. N. J. Downes and I visited the district, and found at the place indicated (Ballinlug near Rathconrath) a very good specimen of concentric circle and cup ornamentation, incised on a large block of millstone grit. The stone is of rather regular shape and not native of the district. It is 34 inches across, 19 inches in height, and 10 inches thick, and resembles the kind of slab used for covering pagan cists, which are very numerous in this part of Westmeath. Ballinlug is quite near Uisneach, and just a mile off in the townland of Glascorn is the great Rath Lochaid, which according to the Four Masters was erected in the time of Nial Faidh, son of Eremon, A.M. 3529 (F.M., vol. i, page 37, identified in index as Glascorn, Westmeath). The outermost of the concentric circles, of

[To face p. 180



ST. PATRICK'S WELL AND BED.





which there are three, is 11 inches in diameter, the other 7 and 5 inches. The inside of the smallest circle is cup-hollowed to a depth of about 1 inch. Running through the lower part of the circles is a radial groove, which, however, might tend to show that it was not a cist-cover. On the left are two diagonal grooves. There are five cup-markings at the top right-hand corner, and two others near the top, over the circles. So far as I know this is the first concentric circle ornamentation discovered in Westmeath. I send a photograph of the stone.



FIG. 8.—CONCENTRIC CUP AND CIRCLE-STONE.

Some years ago this stone was taken from the adjoining field and used in the erection of the wall, the mason placing it with the carved side inwards. In more recent times, the wall requiring to be rebuilt, the carved side was turned outwards to face the road.

While we were engaged in taking a rubbing from the stone and photographing it, about half a dozen persons came to look on. We told them something about its history, and they at once became interested and anxious to help us. This and similar experiences I have had show me clearly that all that is wanted to secure the support of the people in the preservation of our historic monuments is to tell them what the monuments are and what they represent. In about a week after our first visit we returned to the place, but the stone was gone. We were certainly amazed. However, in a few minutes an old woman came on the scene, and told us that Mr. Donohoe, who owns a little farm at the

other side of the wall, hearing that the stone was valuable, had removed it to the yard of his nice cottage, where it now serves as a seat alongside the door. There no doubt it is safer than it was in the wall. We received a hearty welcome from Mr. Donohoe. He and his brother that day showed us many kindnesses by bringing us around to see other antiquities, and, when leaving them, we felt that we had done a good day's work in the cause of local antiquarian research.

JAMES TUITE, *Local Hon. Secretary for South Westmeath.*

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**A Good Example.**—We have received from Mr. N. J. Downes a copy of a circular which has been issued by him and Mr. James Tuite, our energetic local secretary for county Westmeath, for distribution among Clergy, County and District Councillors, Justices of the Peace, Teachers, Police, and other prominent residents in the county. When all our local secretaries show the same appreciation of their duties and responsibilities as Mr. Tuite, the work of the Society in securing the preservation of ancient monuments by arousing local interest in them will be more than half accomplished. The circular is a four-page sheet of ruled foolscap, on the first page of which is printed the following excellent letter:—

“MULLINGAR,

“14th February, 1913.

“DEAR SIR,

“May we, as Members of the Antiquarian Society of Ireland, solicit your assistance to preserve a record, for the benefit of future generations, of the various places and things in our county which have an antiquarian or historic interest? We wish to obtain a list of the ancient Castles, Churches, Graveyards, Holy Wells, Cromlechs, Rathes, Artificial Mounds, Caves, Pillars or Inscribed Stones, Crosses, &c., in your district with the names of Saints, Scholars, Chiefs, or other remarkable personages associated therewith, and to collect the legends or stories of the local people about these places or things.

“No matter how apparently ridiculous or improbable a legend may be, we would like very much to have full details, for very often these legends, with the help of information obtained in other directions; assist in elucidating obscure parts of the history of our land. In addition, we would urge that no feeling that the story would appear to be hostile to our national or local history, or our different views on religious matters, should prevent details being given.

“In filling up this form we would ask you to give the fullest list and the fullest details possible, even in cases where you feel that we must know the places already, such, for example, as in the case of the well-known places or ruins of Fore, of Tristernagh, the rath of Rathconrath,

the hill of Usnagh, the ancient gravestone at Portloman, the Holy Well of St. Finian at the Downs, or the Caves of Skeagh.

“To facilitate a visit to take further details and photographs, we would suggest that the name of the townland and of the occupier of the land should be given, and, if at all possible, the Irish name of place or thing. [Then follow specimen descriptions, as a guide to correspondents.]

“When you have filled up the form, you will please fold it so as to show the address on the back, and drop it into the nearest post-office.

“Trusting you will kindly participate in our work, and apologizing for troubling you,

“We are, dear Sir,

“Your obedient servants,

“JAMES TUTTE, *Hon. Sec. (Local) R.S.A.I.*

“N. J. DOWNES, *M.R.S.A.I.*”

**Discovery of Gold in Co. Wicklow.**—The following official letter is so circumstantial and informing that it is considered worth printing in the *Journal*. It was communicated by the Lord Lieutenant to the Prime Minister of the day, and is copied from the *Hardwicke Papers* in the British Museum, vol. dlxxxv, fol. 76 :—

“Dublin Castle, 8th October 1795.

“His Grace the Duke of Portland, &c., &c.

“MY LORD,

“I have the honor to acquaint your Grace that a Quantity of Gold ore has been lately discovered in the Vale of Ballinvally, situated amidst the Mountains about seven miles from the Town of Arklow in the County of Wicklow. The existence of this Ore has been well known for several years only to a poor Farmer the Tenant of the Land, who collected it secretly and from time to time brought small Quantities of it to Mr. Vigne a Jeweller in this City, to whom he sold it. Within a very short time the knowledge of this Ore has become no longer a secret, and multitudes of the neighbouring County people are assembled there in search of it. The Quantities now collected are very considerable, many lumps weighing several ounces. Booths are erected for the sale of whiskey, and a Spirit of animosity begins already to appear among the different parties employed in gathering the ore. I have therefore thought it necessary without loss of time to direct the Commissioners to order the Collector of the King's Revenues for the District of Wicklow to take



charge of the Mine, with the assistance of a military force, to prevent the plunder of the ore and to preserve the peace of the Country.

“Small grains are got in the sand of the Rivulet which runs from the Mountain through the Vale; larger pieces are found in the adjoining boggy soil, but the largest pieces are procured by raising the strata of a slaty stone, between which the gold lies, in appearance as if it had been in a state of fusion and had taken the form of the hard substance of the stone. The ore is uncommonly free from impurities, and in its crude state is nearly of the value of Standard Gold, and I understand from Mr. Vigne, who has refined it, that the alloy which nature has mixed with it, is of the purest silver.

“Having been informed that this mine lies in the manor of Arklow, which Manor belongs to the Ormonde Family under a Grant from the Crown, I caused the Rolls Office and the Entries in the Auditors’ Office to be searched, in order to know whether the Grant included the Royal Mines. But no enrollment of the Deed has been found, and I have been since informed that the original is properly [*sic*] deposited in the Tower of London. At all events I deemed it expedient whether the property be immediately in the Crown, or held under a Royal Grant, to protect it from the depredations of the country people.

“I have hastily thrown together the several circumstances which have as yet come to my knowledge that some sort of judgement may be formed upon the probable importance of this discovery and upon the measures to be taken in consequence thereof. And I request your Grace’s speedy instructions for my conduct.

“I have, &c.,

“CAMDEN.”

The first discovery of gold here is said to have been made by an old schoolmaster about the year 1775. In 1795 a piece weighing half an ounce was found by a man crossing the Ballinvalley stream. The country people soon heard of the find and swarmed from all quarters to search for more. The Government then interfered, and stationed a party of the Kildare Militia on the banks of the stream to stop operations. During the short space of two months spent by the peasantry in examining and washing the sands of the Ballinvalley stream, it is supposed that 2666 ounces of pure gold were found, which sold for about £10,000. From that time until the year 1798, when the works were destroyed, Government undertook the management, and appointed directors under an Act of Parliament. For a while the produce of the work repaid the expenditure of Government, and left a surplus besides. In 1801 the directors applied to Government for permission and support to commence more important works. They desired not only to continue the stream-work in search of alluvial gold, but also to drive levels into the depths of the mountain in

search of auriferous veins. The experiments proved unsatisfactory, and Government support was withdrawn.

The quantity of gold found while the stream-works were under the blighting management of Government appears to have been inferior to that collected by the peasantry, amounting to the value of £3,675 7s. 11½*d.* only. (Cf. *Guide to Co. Wicklow*, Dub., 1834).—JAMES BUCKLEY.

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**Earthwork near Curtlestown, Co Wicklow.**—On the hills flanking this beautiful valley, leading from Powerscourt up to Glencree, Mr. Guy Lloyd called my attention to a remarkable earthwork. It runs along a steep slope just up the hillside, westward from the Roman Catholic Church of Curtlestown. It consists of a fosse, up hill, at least 12 feet wide, and often 5 feet deep, with a mound 6 feet high, and about as wide, running beside it.

We followed its course for some distance eastward, and I understand that traces occur at intervals along the hill. I am anxious to learn if this has been noted, as it does not appear on the maps, and yet seems too old and massive for a late fence. So far I only heard one probable suggestion<sup>1</sup> as to its character, that it may have been the fence of the ancient Royal Park of Glencree. This latter has been recorded in a historic sketch by Mr T. P. Lefanu in the *Journal*.<sup>2</sup> The forest was brought under the Norman forest laws at least before 1229, and covered the whole valley of Glencree. In later days (as Holinshed and Spenser attest) mighty trees covered the hillsides of Wicklow, the hill-tops (as was the case in various forested parts of western Ireland) at the time of the Civil Survey, *circa* 1655, being bare. This may account for the fence being specially protected up hill, as the enclosed park was in the valley. The forest was stocked with eighty deer from Chester in 1244; this again shows that “the King’s Park at Glencree”<sup>3</sup> was amply fenced to keep the game from escaping into the wilds. So late as 1654 there was an organized “Department” for the forests of Wicklow and Wexford, with a woodreeve, four assistants, and a clerk.

Mr. Lefanu gives many early records of great interest; grants of large oaks fit for timber, and sales of copsewood are given from 1280 to 1289. Queen Eleanor established large timber works at Glencree and New Castle Mac Kinegan in 1290 for her castle of Haverford in Wales. The Scottish wars of King Edward I and his Flemish expedition drew off strong bodies of Normans, and left the hill tribes unchecked. Their raids gave serious trouble to the Irish Government in 1301–2 and 1306–7. In the Bruce invasion the O’Tooles, O’Byrnes, and O’Moore’s wasted from

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. Mills, Deputy Keeper of the Records.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xxiii (1893), pp. 268–280.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. Documents, Ireland, vol. i, section 2671.

Arklow to Leix with fire and sword, and the unsettlement and growing decay of the Norman power were probably followed by the decay and jettison of the Royal Forest of Gleneree. If, as seems probable, the earthwork is part of its enclosure, I hope attempts may be made to seek other traces, and mark the ambit of the park on the maps of the county.

T. J. WESTROPP.

**Copper Plate Engraved with the Taylors' Arms.**—Antiquaries are greatly indebted to Dr. H. F. Berry for much information about the Dublin City Gilds. On p. 338, vol. xxxv, of the *Journal*, he published a list of the existing records and properties of the old Dublin City Gilds, including records or objects at present existing of the Taylors' Gild (St. John the Baptist). I am happy to be able to add one more object to this list, a copper plate engraved with the arms of the Taylors, which is preserved in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It is entered in the Academy's Register in the year 1863, but there are no particulars as to how it was acquired. The plate measures  $6\frac{3}{8}$  inches in length and  $4\frac{3}{8}$  inches across. It has three holes on each side, and was probably affixed to the wall of the Taylors' Hall. It bears the arms granted to the Taylors in 1684 by Sir Richard Carney, Ulster King of Arms:—Silver a tent between two sleeves gules, on a chief azure a silver lamb passant between two bezants. Crest, on a helmet and wreath of the colours St. John the Baptist's head on a golden charger. Supporters, two camels spotted with bezants. Motto, NUDUS ET OPERUISTIS ME (Matthew xxv. 36).

Below are the following names:—

PAT<sup>K</sup>. REYNOLDS MASTER : 1741

GILB<sup>T</sup>. M<sup>C</sup>COLUM

JAMES BURN

JOHN MOORE

W<sup>M</sup>. M<sup>C</sup>VOEY

} *Asistants*

THO<sup>S</sup>. HEAD MASTER : 1742

EDW<sup>D</sup>. GREEN

JOHN CASTILLO

GEORGE READ

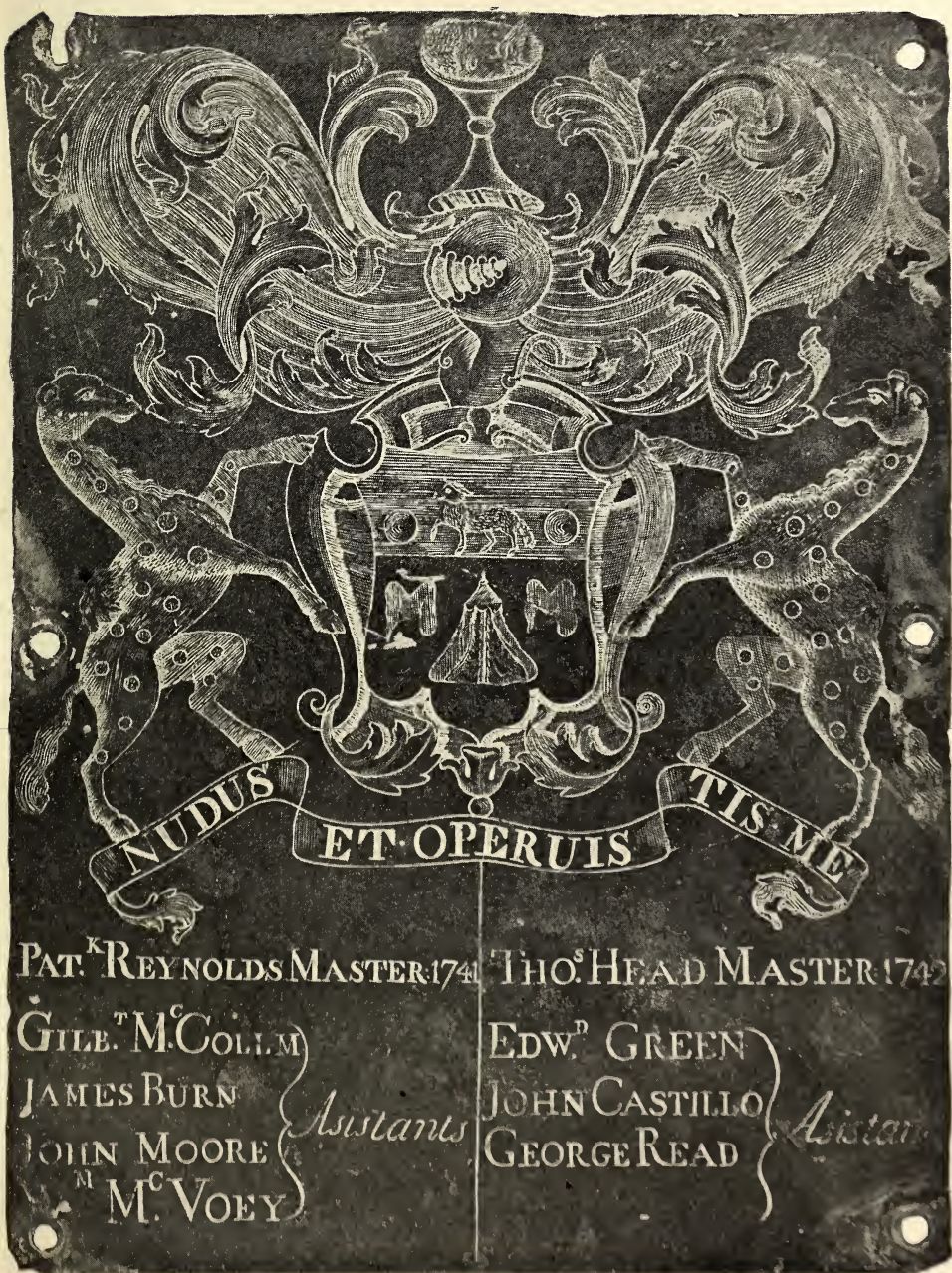
} *Asistants*

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG.

**Addenda and Corrigenda,** *Journal*, xlii, p. 106, *add* to the legends of Geodruisge one edited by Mr. T. F. O'Rahilly in *Gadelica* i, p. 171. (In one version Crom Dubh takes the place of Geodruisge); p. 201, line 7, for *wildest* read *widest*; p. 291, line 8, for *Daibre* read *Dairbhre*; p. 300, plate, Title should be "1. CROSSES IN COOL", 2. CROSS NEAR ST. BRENDAN'S WELL"; p. 304, plate, for "DUNCANNIG" read "DUNCANUIG."

<sup>1</sup> The date of the plate being late, it seemed unnecessary to identify the Masters and Assistants mentioned.





COPPER PLATE ENGRAVED WITH THE TAYLORS' ARMS.





**Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Bill.**—This bill, introduced in the House of Lords by Earl Beauchamp, is now going through Parliament. Its chief provisions enable local authorities to acquire monuments. It constitutes an Ancient Monument Board; enables preservation orders to be made, and inspectors to be appointed; and prescribes penalties for injuring monuments; and, most important of all, provides by sect. 4, sub-sect. 2, that all expenses incurred by the Commissioners of Works in maintaining monuments acquired shall, subject to the approval of the Treasury, be defrayed out of the moneys provided by Parliament. The Bill is especially excluded from application to Ireland, although so much important work of the kind has to be done in this country which it is absurd to expect to be defrayed out of the limited funds at the disposal of the Board of Works and the County Councils. Why should English, Welsh, and Scottish Monuments be thus specially favoured to the exclusion of the equally important monuments of Ireland?

R. J. KELLY.

## Notices of Books

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NOTE.—Books marked thus (\*) are by Members of the Society.

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\**Prehistoric Faith and Worship.* Glimpses of Ancient Irish Life, by the Rev. Canon J. F. M. French, pp. 212 + vii,  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$  inches, bound in cloth, with five plates and twenty-five illustrations in the text.

THE title of this book is a little misleading, as only about half the chapters deal with prehistoric faith and worship. The rest are a series of articles on a variety of subjects put together in no particular order. It might have been better to call the book "essays" or "studies" on Irish subjects. The title is too weighty for so discursive and popular a treatment of a very big subject. Of course it is impossible to treat it really scientifically from the Irish point of view at our present stage of knowledge. The treasures of Irish literature and of archaeology are not yet sufficiently explored and known to permit anyone to write authoritatively on their contributions to the study of ancient Irish religions. The author has collected a vast number of facts, and has evidently read widely. Unfortunately his acquaintance with Irish literature is second-hand, and based in many cases on old-fashioned authorities, good in their day, but already superseded by newer knowledge.

Under these circumstances one regrets that any time should be spent in treating of matters only fit for the research stage. The concluding essays on Clonegal, tribal badges, &c., are pleasantly written, and are full of information.

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\**Ireland under the Commonwealth: being a selection of Documents relating to the Government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659.* Edited, with Historical Introduction and Notes, by Robert Dunlop, M.A., Lecturer in Irish History; author of *Life of Daniel O'Connell*, etc. Two vols. Manchester, at the University Press, 1913.

MUCH has been written with regard to the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, in almost every instance with more or less of a partisan bias. Mr. J. P. Prendergast, in especial, who had the advantage of consulting original manuscripts under peculiarly favourable circumstances, and

had a rare opportunity of giving to the world an unprejudiced account of that important period in the chequered history of Ireland, may be said to have missed his opportunity. He wrote a prejudiced and inadequate narrative of events, of which Gardiner expressed the opinion that he was more intent on describing the woes of the Irish than on trying to give a complete view of the Commonwealth Government.

In the two fine volumes before us, Mr. Robert Dunlop gives us the documents themselves, from some of which Prendergast drew, for the period 1651-1659; and henceforward no one who deals with the Commonwealth, and desires to be impartial, can afford to overlook the wealth of material here collected. Many years ago Mr. Dunlop saw the importance of these Records, previously preserved in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, but now in the Public Record Office, and he copied or had transcribed a large number of the State Papers contained in the collection. Considerable space is devoted to an Historical Introduction, in which the course of events from 1541 to 1649 is reviewed, and the policy of the Tudors and Stuarts in the government of Ireland is considered, chiefly with a view to discovering the true cause of the outbreak of the Rebellion. Putting aside various theories as not in accordance with facts, Mr. Dunlop thinks that its true origin may be traced to the feeling of antagonism between the English in Ireland and the English in England, noticeable from the time of Henry the Second. The English looked on and treated Ireland as a conquered country, while the Irish refused to acquiesce in this view. The Rebellion may be looked on as an episode in the great European struggle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, in which England and Ireland once more found themselves ranged on opposite sides; and the situation was rendered all the more acute by the question of the independence of the latter country.

Mr. Dunlop points out that the settlement under Cromwell appears to have been a natural consequence of the policy pursued by England from the time of the Reformation. Here, however, she lost the opportunity presented to her of establishing the reformed religion, which was seized on by Rome, and a war of religion commenced.

Nothing appears plainer—and Mr. Dunlop fully brings out the point in his Introduction—than that England's policy continually shifted; there was no continuity, and every few years some different plan was tried, which kept the country in a perpetual state of unrest that seriously affected its progress and settlement. He conceives the actual rising to have been due more to a fear of a Puritan ascendancy entertained by the Roman Catholics than to any serious religious or agrarian grievances of the Irish, and he thinks its breaking out was more or less of an accident.

The documents begin at the time of Cromwell's arrival in Ireland, and Mr. Dunlop furnishes his readers with a special Introduction to



them, lucidly written. The first printed is an abstract of the Instructions given to the Commissioners of Parliament for the affairs of Ireland. The remainder deal with the measures taken to establish a ministry, even to preaching to the people of the country in their own language; to preserve freedom of conscience; to repress ungodliness in public and private life; and to enforce a habit of moral living on the students of Dublin University; legislation as to habitual beggars; to repress "coshering"; to advance trade and manufactures; to give the country a solid coinage; to suppress piracy; to prevent woods being destroyed; to improve the postal system; and the erection of lighthouses for the safety of shipping, &c.

Apart from the study of the documents themselves, a perusal of Mr. Dunlop's Introduction will be found to afford much food for reflection, and a great deal of broad-minded criticism of events and of the personages who swayed the destinies of Ireland during the century that preceded the Rebellion. While there are many points on which it would be impossible that all should agree, it must be admitted that the author has performed his allotted task in scholarly fashion, and that Mr. Dunlop's pages are those of a fair-minded and candid historian.

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*\*The Diocese of Emly.* By Rev. St. John D. Seymour, B.D., with a preface by the Lord Bishop of Cashel. Dublin: Church of Ireland Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., 61 Middle Abbey St.; pp. 291, 9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

This book is a welcome addition to the literature of Irish Ecclesiastical History, and Mr. Seymour has once more placed students of the medieval and modern records of our country under an obligation. The imposing list of authorities consulted, occupying three closely printed pages, is enough to show the care which the author has bestowed on the task to which he set himself.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters, followed by three short appendices and a full index. In the first chapter the pre-ecclesiastical history of the diocese, if we may so style it, is sketched—an account being given of the tribes and tribal districts, and their relation to the rural deaneries which are comprised in the diocese. In this chapter are one or two blemishes, suggesting that the author is here not so much at home with his authorities as he proves himself to be in the latter part of the history. For instance, it is possible to pick several holes in this passage:—"At one period the entire Diocese seems to have been inhabited by a race named the Aradha [better Arada], from whom the district was named Ara Cliach . . . Whether the Aradha were a pre-Celtic people, or whether it was merely a general name for a number of

separate tribes, is not at all clear. A recent writer believes them to be equivalent to the Iberians, who were the neolithic inhabitants of Ireland, and, therefore, that the old stone monuments scattered throughout the district, the pillar-stones, the circles, &c. . . . must be laid to the credit of these latter, who . . . have . . . become identified with the Ma[i]rtine, a sept of the Firbolgs." One might remark on this (1) that so far from Ara Cliach being the name of the district derived from the tribe, it is really the name of the tribe derived from the district (Clíu, of which Cliach is genitive, though treated as nominative in this book); (2) that we ought to have fuller references vouchsafed us than the vague "a recent writer"; (3) that such terms as "pre-Celtic," "Iberian," "Firbolg," have no ethnological meaning, and should be got rid of; (4) that pillar-stones and circles are not necessarily neolithic; indeed circles belong usually to the Bronze Age; and (5) that the form "Firbolgs" is incorrect. "Firbolg" is itself plural, as we may perhaps hope that in time everyone who concerns himself with Irish antiquities will realize.<sup>1</sup> We hope also to see in time the omission of the hyphen from Irish names that consist of more than one word: we should no more have the hyphens in "Aos-tri-muighe" than in "Little-Peddlington-by-the-sea" or in "Appii-forum." Another curious slip is the promoting of the "eclipsing" *n* after old neuter substantives into the dignity of a capital letter. Thus *muir n-Icht* and *fert n-Ailbi* become respectively "the sea of Nict" and "Fert Nailbei" (pp. 46, 49). Nor can we pass without comment this sentence on p. 41:—"The earthen *dun* [the fortress of Cormac Cas, where he was buried] has long since vanished, but it was probably piled up over the still existing cromlech." For "cromlech" read "dolmen": the word "cromlech" ought, for various reasons, to be expunged out of existence altogether. This, however, is not the point. A dolmen is essentially a Stone Age, or *very* early Bronze Age, monument, and therefore could not commemorate Cormac Cas, supposing such a person to have existed; nor can a "dun" (which is not a tumulus) be "heaped over" such a structure.

We are sorry to see, on p. 61, the phrase "a mass of legendary absurdities" applied to the traditional life of St. Ailbhe. This takes up the obsolete attitude of Campbell, whose very interesting *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* is here several times quoted, and who, after a paragraph about the beliefs in fairies, ends impatiently: "But enough of this trash!" Granted that the details of such documents are not of historical value, still they are now recognized as being of value in other directions, and they should not be dismissed quite so disdainfully.

Let us assure Mr. Seymour that we do not indicate these flaws in the first few pages of his excellent book in order to find fault. It is to point

<sup>1</sup> It will be a happy day for science in Ireland when such dreadful nonsense as "the de Danaans" (a monstrosity that Mr. Seymour does *not* perpetrate) will be set up in print for the very last time!

a moral. Irish Archaeology is gradually emancipating itself from the clouds of false notions that imperfect knowledge had accumulated round it. It is becoming a scientific study, and therefore all books that contain pseudo-phonetic misspellings and "anglicizations," falsely so called, of Irish words and names, misconceptions as to the relative periods of rude stone monuments, and confusions between the traditional history and the true history as deduced from archaeological, ethnological, and linguistic study, must expect to run the gauntlet of an ever-increasing severity of criticism. The welcome time is approaching when it will be recognized that for an Irish historian to speak about "Turlogh O'Connor" or Brian "Boru" is in every respect as deserving of censure as for a Greek or Roman historian to speak about "Zenefun" or "Seezer."

When Mr. Seymour gets into the region of ecclesiastical record proper, one feels at once that he is on more familiar, and probably more congenial, ground. The history of Emly Cathedral is sketched in a chapter that begins with the *Vision of MacConglinne*, and ends with 1887. We then are given the names of the bishops, with biographical notes on each; many of those notices are of great value for the student of social history. Two chapters on the pre-Reformation history of the diocese, its manors, monasteries, and parochial clergy, testify to the careful study which the author has made of his subject. In the following chapters the chronicles of the disastrous seventeenth century are set forth. This century tries as with fire every historian's work that touches upon it. In relating such events as the massacres of 1641 the author of the book before us makes no attempt to hide the point of view from which he contemplates them; but he is studiously impartial. Some interesting documents relating to these unhappy events are here printed. Finally, we have in a concluding chapter the history brought down to the present day. In the Rural Deans' Returns for 1780 we are told that "the outsides of some of the churches were damaged by hand-ball-playing; but in at least one instance this was put a stop to by the simple expedient of digging up the ground, which, of course, prevented the ball hopping." We recommend the device to modern custodians of some of our ancient buildings, where the evil still continues.

Of the appendices, the first is of especial value; it is on account of the church plate now existing in the various parishes of the diocese.

Not the least interesting part of the book are the illustrations, many of which consist of *facsimiles* of sketches, made by the seventeenth-century travelling antiquary Dineley, of buildings now much ruined or totally destroyed.—R. A. S. M.

## Proceedings

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the 65th Yearly Session of the Society was held at No. 6, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on Tuesday, 29 April 1913, at 8.30 o'clock p.m.

ROBERT COCHRANE, LL.D., I.S.O., F.S.A., *Past President*, in the Chair.

Also present :—

*Fellows*.—S. A. O. FitzPatrick, J. Ribton Garstin, Thomas Laffan, P. J. O'Reilly, G. W. Place, Andrew Robinson, Andrew Roycroft, William C. Stubbs.

*Members*.—J. P. Dalton, T. G. H. Green, R. J. Kelly, Rev. F. J. Lucas, D.D., R. D. Ormsby, Miss A. Peter, Richard Blair White.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Associate Members were elected :—

### AS FELLOWS.

Boyd, John E, 21, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines, Dublin : proposed by O'Meara Conyngham, *Member*.

Cotterell, Howard Herschel, F.R.HIST.S., Myvot, Foden-road, Walsall : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

Dawson, William R., M.D., Inspector of Lunatic Asylums, Dublin Castle : proposed by M. J. Nolan, *Fellow*.

Glynn, Joseph A., B.A., St. Jarlath, Ailesbury-road, Dublin (*Member*, 1901) : proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., I.S.O., *Fellow*.

Lawder, James Ormsby, D.L., Lawderdale, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim : proposed by Mrs. Tarleton, *Member*.

M'Donald, John J., Solicitor, 116, Grafton-street, Dublin : proposed by P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Place, G. W., Indian Civil Service (retired), 9, Ailesbury-road, Dublin (*Member*, 1904) : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

Roycroft, Andrew, 94, Drumcondra-road, Dublin (*Member*, 1906) : proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., I.S.O., *Fellow*.

### AS ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Andrew, James, 69, Pembroke-road, Dublin : proposed by G. W. Place, *Member*.

Brnen, Mrs., Oak Park, Carlow : proposed by The Hon. Mrs. Shore, *Member*.

Eustace, Major H. M., Munfier House, Ballycarney, Ferns : proposed by Francis Guilbride, J.P., *Member*.

Harold-Barry, Philip, J.P., Ballyellis, Buttevant, Co. Cork : proposed by M. J. Nolan, *Fellow*.

M'Lean, A. H. Blumenville, Tralee, Co. Kerry : proposed by Singleton Goodwin, *Member*.



AS ASSOCIATE MEMBERS—*continued*.

M'Nulty, Robert, Lifford, Co. Donegal : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

Maddock, Simon William, Mount Jerome House, Dublin : proposed by P. J. Lynch, *M.R.I.A., Fellow*.

Nagle, Garrett, R.M., Fortwilliam, Belfast : proposed by M. J. Nolan, *Fellow*.

Stokes, Frank, 60, Dawson-street, Dublin : proposed by P. J. Lynch, *M.R.I.A., Fellow*.

Townshend, Thomas Loftus, 7, Palmerston-park, Dublin : proposed by Thomas C. Townshend, *Member*.

The following paper was read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

“The Islands and Shores of The Corrib.” By The Very Rev. Jerome Fahy, *P.P., V.G., Fellow*.

The Meeting then adjourned until the 23 June 1913.

The Meeting held at Sligo, 23–28 June 1913, will be reported in the next issue of the *Journal*.



## GROUND PLAN



# PLATE I

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES  
OF IRELAND  
FOR THE YEAR 1913

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART III, VOL. XLIII

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Papers

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THE DOMINICAN CHURCH AT ATHENRY

By R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

[Read 28 JANUARY 1913]

IN 1241 Meyler de Bermingham, second baron of Athenry, granted land for a Dominican friary, and contributed a hundred and sixty marks towards its foundation. This was done, it is said, at the request of St. Dominic himself. In 1242 a general chapter of the order was held in the newly built monastery. The founder, Meyler, died in 1252, and was buried in the precincts.

A house for scholars was founded in the friary by Finghin Mac Floind, Archbishop of Tuam, in 1256; and in 1324 the house received a further benefaction from William de Burgh and his wife Fionnghuala, who then gave above a hundred marks to the friars to help in building the front of their church. They also enlarged the choir twenty feet. Pope Boniface IX granted in 1400 a bull of indulgence to those who visited the monastery and contributed to its repair.

A catastrophe overtook the house in 1423, the church being consumed by an accidental fire. A bull was issued for its repair by Pope Martin V, and renewed by Pope Eugene IV in 1445, at which time there were thirty friars in the foundation.

The buildings were granted by Queen Elizabeth to the portreeve and corporation of Athenry, at the yearly rent of 26s. 6d. Irish. For a brief



period of revival, dating from 1644, the house was made a university; but this cannot have been for long, as the *Walls* tomb (1682), described below, records its destruction by Cromwellians, and its subsequent restoration. In the eighteenth century the remains of the Dominican house were utilized as a barracks, and Archdall records how part of the ruins had been taken down in this adaptation, and how the "numbers of mausoleums" that the church had contained had been "erased" by the soldiers, and their fragments strewn over the church, which was nearly covered with them. The church was roofless in 1792, but the tower was still standing. It is shown in Bigari's drawing, reproduced in Grose's *Antiquities*. Probably the fall of this tower reduced the church to its present condition of final ruin, and perhaps helped to demolish the barracks, which have now entirely disappeared, their place being taken by small houses and an open field.

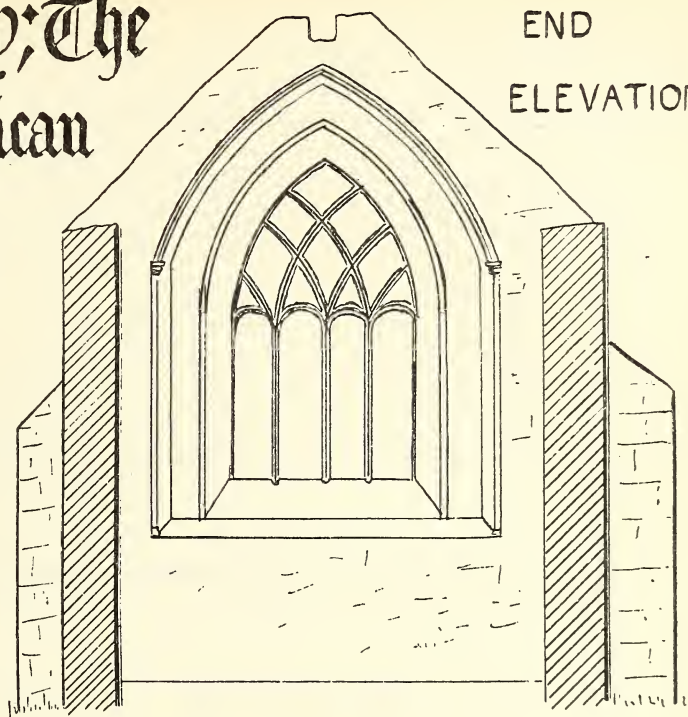
The foregoing is an outline of the history of the Dominican friary of Athenry, of which nothing remains but the ruined church, standing in a neglected and overgrown graveyard. We may now proceed to describe this church and its monuments.

(Archdall gives a list of persons of importance buried in the monastery. This list it is unnecessary to transcribe; not a single one of the monuments that no doubt commemorated the persons named can now be found.)

It is evident that the Dominican church of SS. Peter and Paul, Athenry, when originally erected, was a simple oblong structure, of considerable length in proportion to its breadth, and without any *structural* division between nave and choir; no doubt there was a wooden or built stone screen at the junction. There was probably no bell-tower, the bells being hung in a bell-cote on one of the gables. The church was lighted by rows of lancet windows, probably on both sides in the nave, and on the north side only in the choir. The south side of the choir was always blank, as the sacristy (which remains) and the various monastic offices (of which traces are to be seen) butted against it. Some of these lancets still remain. There are five perfect on the south side of the nave, and half of an another which has been partially blocked by the erection of the tower; and six perfect on the north side of the choir, with half of another that has been partly cut away in building the transept. It is not improbable that there were originally in all three groups of seven lancets, one in the choir and one on each side of the nave; as the block-plan shows (fig. 1*a*), such a distribution would about fill the available space. There were probably three lancets in the original east front, and three, or perhaps two, in the west. There may have been a west door under these; in any case there was a door, with a plain equilateral pointed arch, underneath the westernmost lancet on the south side of the nave. This still remains blocked up, and will be seen in the south elevation (Plate III).

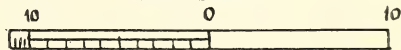
# Athenry; The Dominican Church

END  
ELEVATIONS



*EAST*

SCALE OF FEET



*WEST*

The lancets are all deeply splayed, with equilateral pointed heads. They are quite plain, not being enriched by mouldings in any way. In fact, the church of Meyler de Birmingham was of the simplest possible

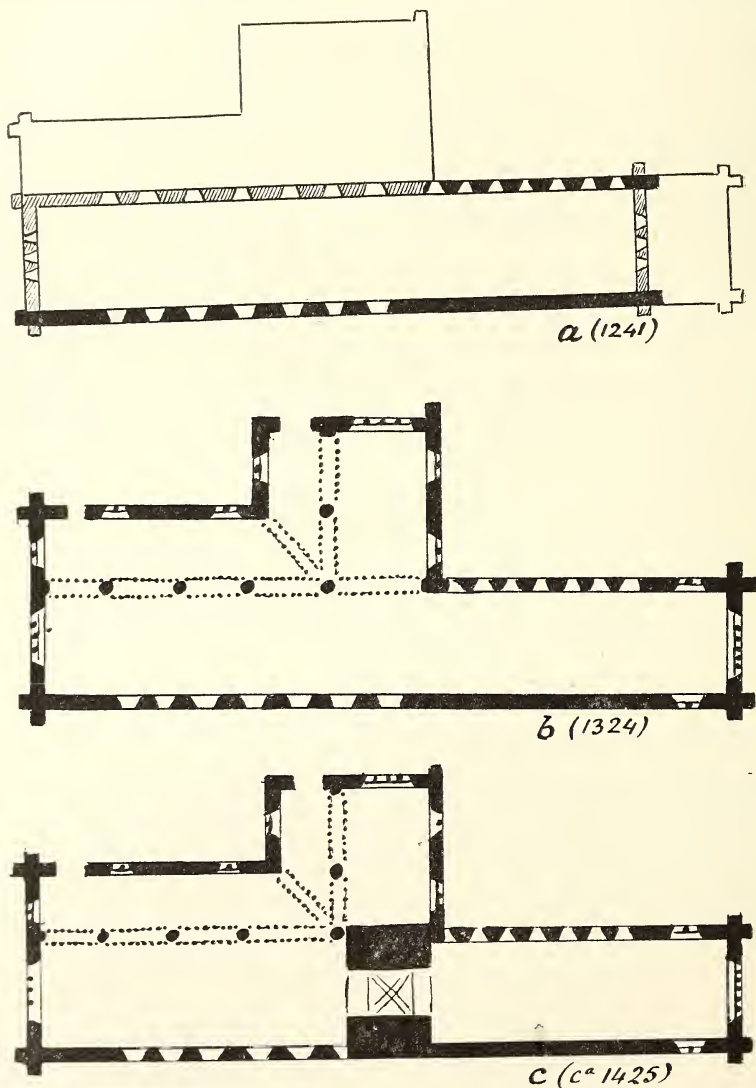


FIG. 1.

BLOCK-PLANS OF THE CHURCH, SHOWING SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF CONSTRUCTION.

description, and there is no evidence that it possessed any decorative details whatever.

The greater part of the church, as we see it now, dates from the reconstruction of 1324, to which William de Burgh and his wife contributed. These benefactors "enlarged the choir twenty feet," i.e., they

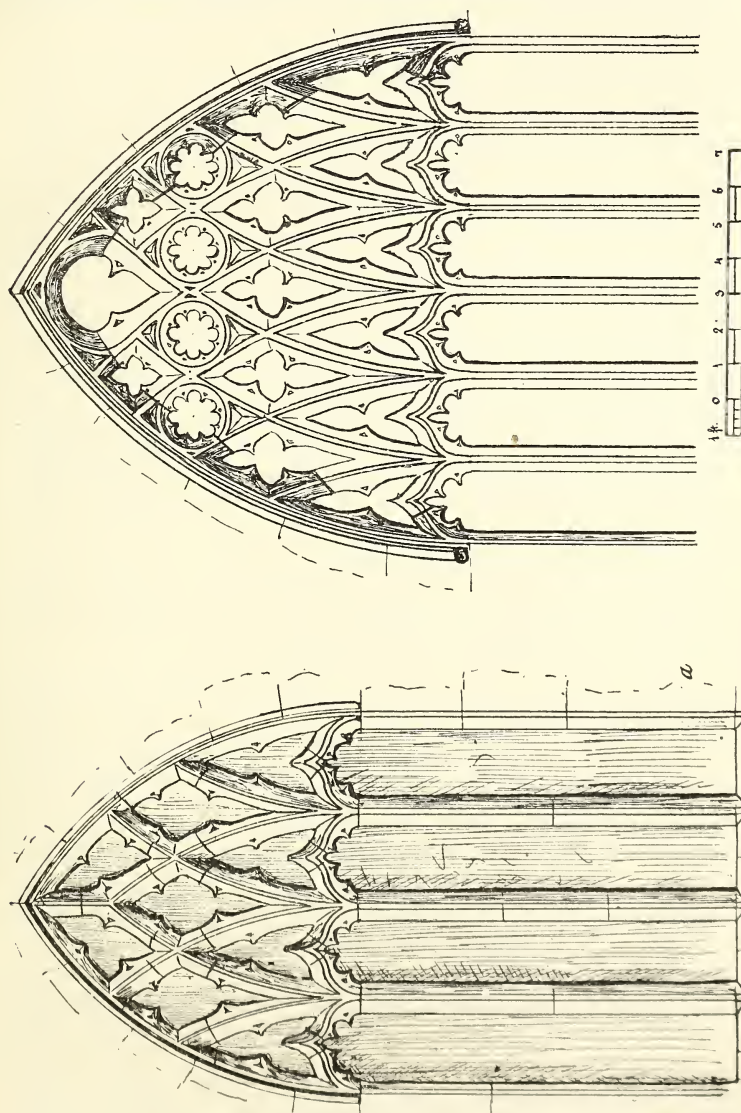


FIG. 2.—WEST AND EAST WINDOWS.

built the sanctuary, with two charming two-light windows on each side and a superb six-light window in the east end, and they also "gave above a hundred marks to the friars to assist them to build the front of the church." This must mean the west front, which contains a window,



still in fair preservation, of the same period as those of the new part of the choir. The north aisle and transept were added at the same time. The cloisters of the monastery being against the south wall of the nave, extension in this direction was impossible. Fig. 1*b* shows a block plan of the church at this stage.

The church, as thus completed, is 148 feet in length, internally. The orientation is not exact, the direction of the long axis being  $112^{\circ}$ . The choir is 64 feet 6 inches long and 23 feet broad. As already mentioned, six and a half of the original lancets of 1241 survive on the north side; the remainder were removed when the north transept was thrown out.

The east window must have been a very fine specimen of geometrical tracery, if we may judge by the meagre fragments remaining. The window opening was moulded, and on the inside had jamb-shafts with moulded capitals and bases. There were six lights. Nothing remains but the points of attachment of the tracery to the window arch, and even the cusps are hidden by the masonry of the Jacobean window that has been inserted into the opening. Under the circumstances, restoration can be only conjectural. An attempt at indicating the possible appearance of this window will be found in fig. 2*b*. The heavily shaded parts of the drawing are the parts which alone remain.

The two side windows of the sanctuary are simple and pleasing. They each consist of two lights with trefoil heads; in the apex of the northern window is a spherical triangle, in that of the southern window a circle, both enriched with cusps (fig. 3*b, c*).

The south side of the nave remained unchanged in the 1324 rebuilding. The west wall was probably rebuilt, and in any case a four-light window was inserted in place of the lancets or whatever other opening there may have been in the original structure. This window is shown in fig. 2*a*. It will be seen that the lights are capped with squat ogee arches, and the mullions prolonged to interlace. For the topmost interlacement a vertical bar is substituted in the design. All openings in the tracery are cusped. The design is simple but effective. The central mullion, and the part of the tracery depending on it, have been destroyed, but enough remains to make the restoration certain. The present appearance of the window is shown on the west elevation (Plate II), and in the photographic view, Plate X*a*. The lower part of the wall is now built up to make a ball-alley against the outside of the wall.

The north wall of the nave was pulled down in 1324, and in its stead were built an aisle and transept, separated from the nave by an arcade of five bays, supported on circular columns, with capitals partly octagonal, and having octagonal responds at the ends of the arcade.

The arches of the arcade were in two orders, the edges being finished with a simple chamfer. The section of the mouldings of the capitals

is shown (in fig. 4, no. 1); the bases are now buried in earth, and are quite invisible.

The aisle, separated by this arcade from the body of the church, has no architectural features except four windows and a doorway. The latter is quite plain, not dissimilar from the older south doorway in the nave. It is now built up. There is a window at each end of the aisle, and two in its south wall; the latter are remarkably far apart. The design of all these windows is similar; they are two-light windows, the head bifurcating with cusps (fig. 3*a*).

The nave arcade is returned along the transept (with a skew arch at the south-west angle of the transept), and thus cuts off a porch from the transept area. The skew arch springs from the angle of the transept with a corbel dying into the wall.

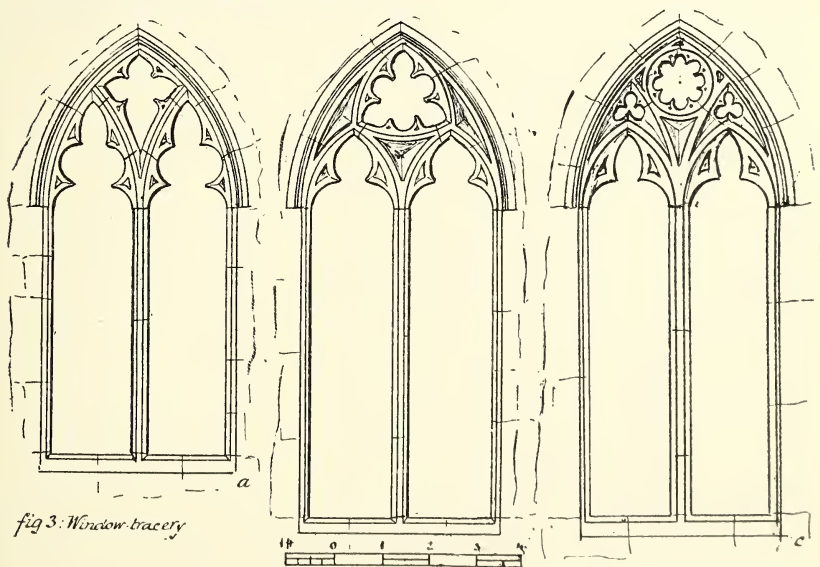


FIG. 3.—WINDOW TRACERY.

The porch thus cut off has a plain pointed doorway, the archivolt being in two orders. This, however, appears to be a reconstruction. There is a west window of similar design to those of the aisles. The transept proper had, in its north wall, a great four-light window. The tracery of this has entirely disappeared, and not even such small fragments as are left of the east window are to be seen. In Grose's time there appears (to judge from his drawing) to have been tracery, like the poor Jacobean tracery of the later east window, still to be described. The original window was probably similar in pattern to the west window of the church. Beside this, there was a two-light window on the east wall of the transept, similar to and alongside of the east window of the aisle.

The tracery of this was probably similar to the porch window opposite, and thus identical in pattern with the other two-light windows of the added part of the church; but it was rebuilt in the Jacobean period. An extraordinary mullion, with a double shaft on the outer surface, remains from this reconstruction; otherwise the later window has followed its predecessor into oblivion. Grose shows this window as identical with the aisle window beside it.

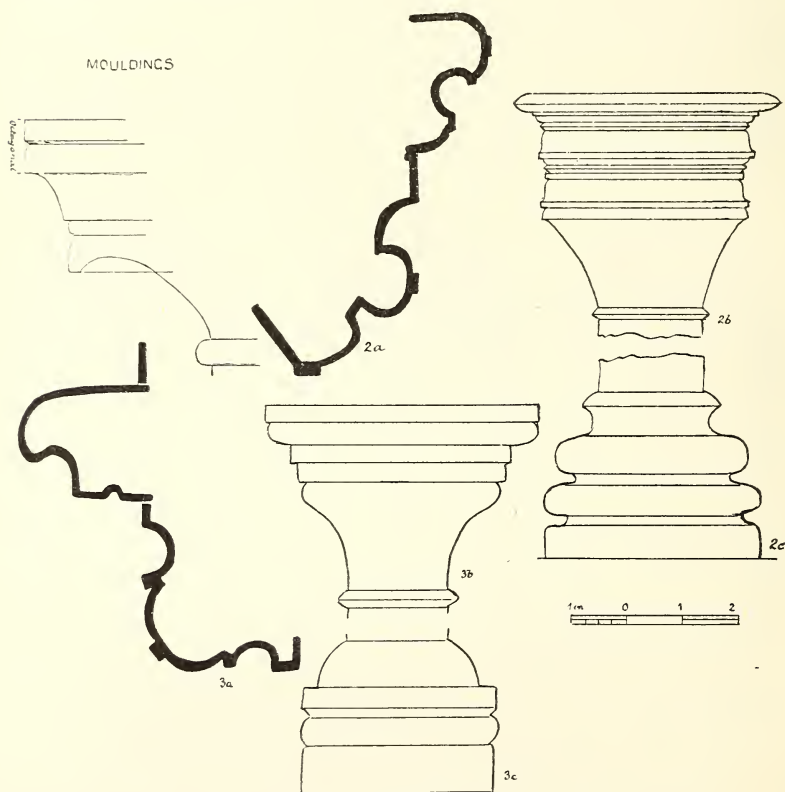


FIG. 4.—MOULDINGS.

The most striking feature of the transept is the charming arcade, or rather series of arcades, running under the north window. These are probably not so much an architectural ornament as a row of sepulchral monuments, and as such they will be described later when we have finished discussing the fabric of the church itself.

It is evident that the roof was finished with a half-hexagon ceiling, which was flat under the tie-beams. The outline of such a roof remains indicated on the western gable. There was apparently a long, narrow chamber in the roof above the ceiling, lighted by a small lancet window

at the east end. This was complete in Grose's time ; the lower half of it still remains.

The fire of 1423 cannot have done much injury to the structure, though no doubt the woodwork of the church was consumed. In 1427 we learn that William Ryedymer and Richard Golbe, and other Dominicans, petitioned the Pope (Martin V) for licence to found two chapels and oratories, with a belfry, bell, cemetery, house, cloisters, and other offices. Where these structures were intended to be erected is not clear. It is uncertain whether they were at Athenry. But in all probability the tower of the Athenry church is to be assigned to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and we may with probability assume that, whether this petition referred to Athenry church or not, the tower was built about this time ; and that the opportunity, afforded by the repairs rendered necessary by the fire of 1423, was taken to make this important addition to the church building.

To support the tower two strong rectangular piers were built, the southern pier occupying the nave wall, and stopping up half of one of the original series of lancets ; the northern pier, which has completely disappeared during the past century, must have blocked up the transept entirely, and turned it into a small subsidiary chapel. The passage under the tower was spanned by two broad arches, with crossed groining-ribs vaulting the space between them. The springs of these arches, starting from a string-course, and the groining-ribs, supported on capital-like corbels, still remain in the fragments of the south pier, which is all that is left of the tower. In fig. 1c is a plan of the church at this stage.

Bigari's drawing, in Grose, shows that the tower was in two square stages, the upper slightly narrower than the lower. There was one window in the east of the belfry-chamber, and two in the north ; probably there were corresponding windows in the sides opposite to these. In the lower stage, just above the archway, was an opening which gave access to the chamber under the roof already mentioned. This is shown in Bigari's drawing, immediately above the archway, which is lofty and pointed.

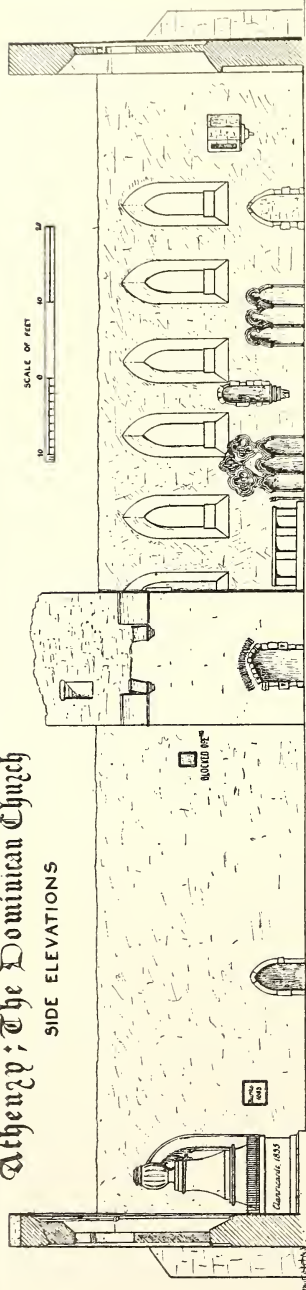
On the north side of the tower, in the lower stage, there are two window-openings, one below and one above the apex of the transept roof. These are probably for lighting a turret staircase. There is such a staircase remaining, starting about 12 feet above ground, on the outside of the church, in a turret projecting on the south side. This was the last important structural addition that the church received before the vicissitudes through which the foundation passed under the Tudors and Stuarts.

A remarkable feature of the church is the watching-loft(?) projecting into the nave on the south side, west of the westernmost lancet. This is like a small balcony, in plan half a hexagon, and is supported on a

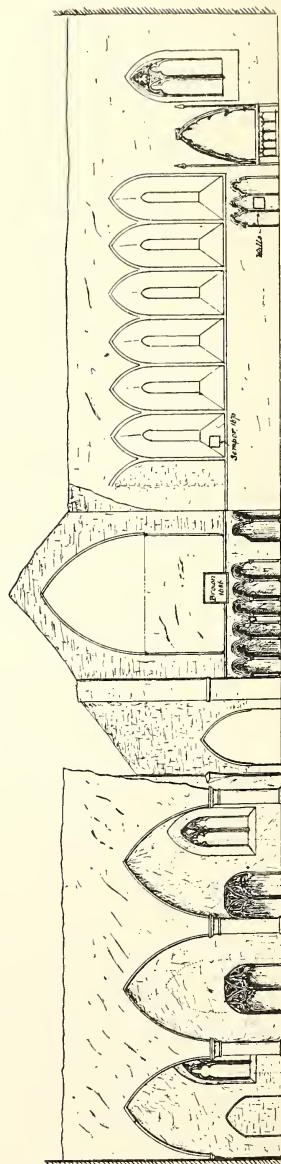


# Athenry; The Dominican Church

## SIDE ELEVATIONS



SOUTH



NORTH

PLATE III



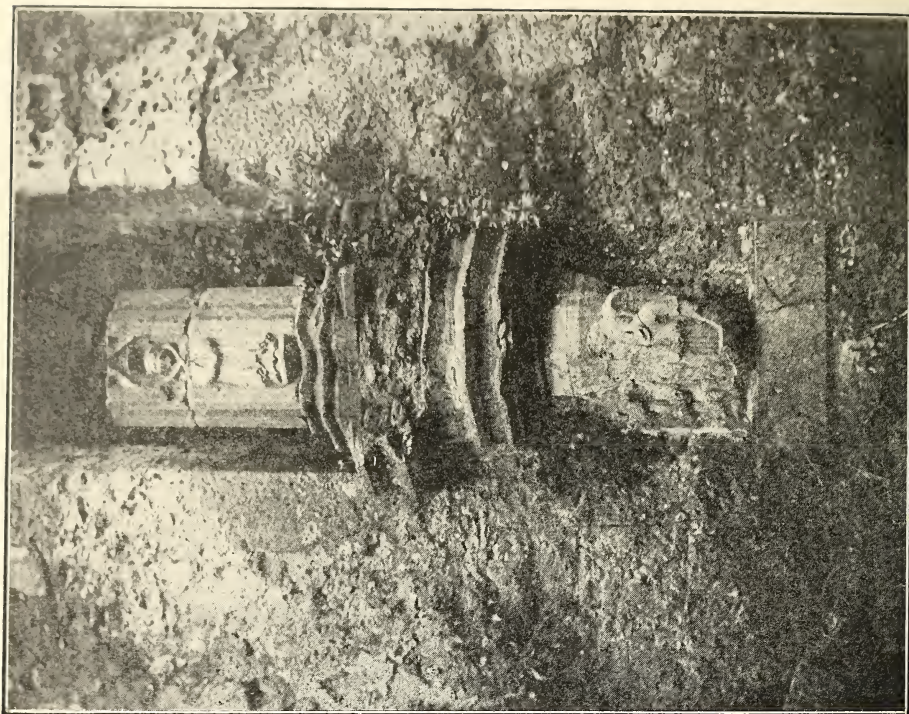


PLATE IV *b*  
CORBEL AND NICHE IN NAVE WALL

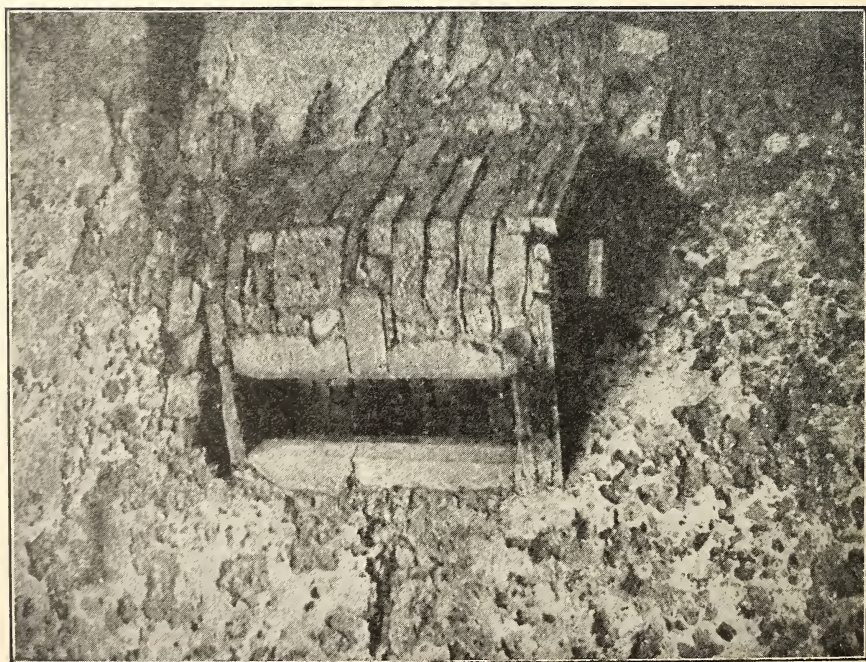


PLATE IV *a*  
"WATCHING-LOFT" (?) IN THE NAVE WALL



corbel. A narrow, flat-topped window-opening in the eastern side, enables a person within to see a limited part of the nave. It is evidently not a pulpit, which it is popularly called. It is approached by an external staircase, now blocked up. Mr. Westropp records a tradition that this is the "cell of a penitent of the last century." Its place will be seen in the south elevation, Plate III, and a photographic view will be found in Plate IV *a*.

Between the third and fourth lancet of the nave (counting from west to east) is a niche for a statue, which also appears to date from the sixteenth century. The niche itself is round-headed. The statue (missing) was supported on a richly moulded octagonal console, borne by a demi-figure of an angel (which has recently been defaced by boys). The most remarkable point about this console is the way in which one of the mouldings is developed into a plait. See Plate IV *b*.

The church, no doubt, suffered much injury during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and probably was reduced to ruin by the Cromwellians; the destruction of the *Walls* tomb was surely not the only damage they wrought. During the brief period of hope under the later Stuarts an attempt was made to restore the church. The east window had evidently been destroyed; the opening was partly filled up, and a poor four-light window, with interlacing mullions, but no cusps, was inserted. This, which still remains, was singled out by Grose for special admiration. The transept windows seem to have been repaired in the same style. The most remarkable structural alteration, however, was the enclosing of the pillars of the nave and transept arcade inside heavy rectangular pieces of masonry, supporting smaller arches. The church thus attained its final shape, represented in plan in Plate I. The masonry piers, and the arches they support, would, if drawn in the north elevation, prevent the details of the aisle being seen; they are, therefore, represented by faint dotted lines, and the older pillars and arches are drawn instead (Plate III).

In the eighteenth century the transformation of the old Dominican house to a barrack no doubt aided the ruin of the church, which, as Archdall hints, was wantonly defaced by the soldiers. The total absence of monuments between 1730 and 1780 is to be noticed. The fall of the tower at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century completed the ruin.

There is a large series of interesting monuments remaining, though probably only a small fraction of what were once to be seen. It is possible that there may also be some stones worthy of notice in the graveyard; but till the luxuriant nettles and other noxious weeds that fill it are cut away it is impossible to say what may be there. I noticed only one monument that called for a passing glance—a tombstone of the end of the eighteenth century, the top decorated with a couple of spirals.



Inside the church there are monuments of every period from the date of the foundation.

The earliest monuments remaining all take the form of arcades of two or three arches inserted into the wall. These cannot have served for sedilia, piscinae, or for any other practical purpose; nor are they mere architectural ornaments, as they are too irregular in their disposition. They must, I think, mark the graves of persons buried under the church floor. There are nine such monuments remaining in the church.

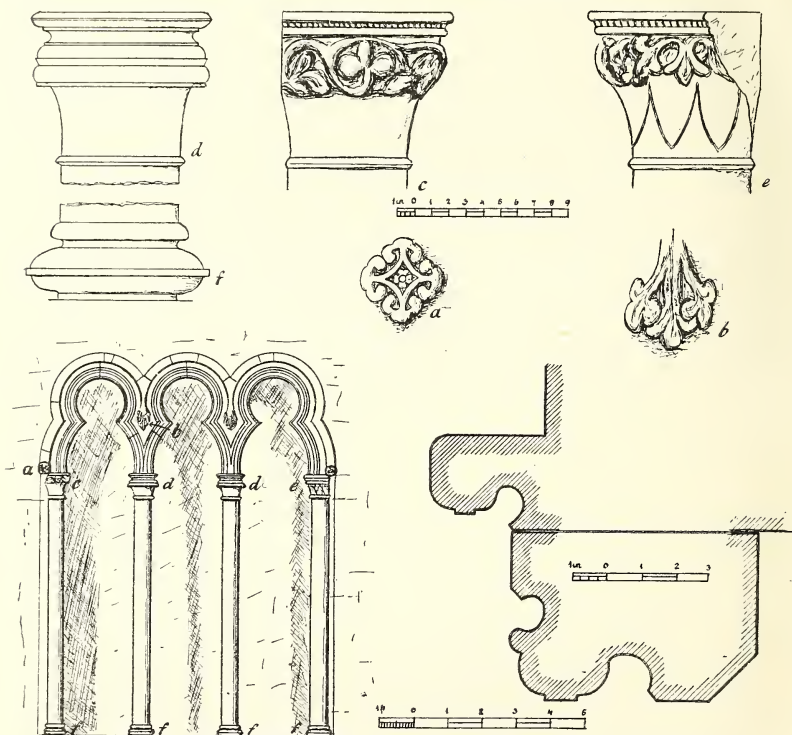


FIG. 5.—TOMB ARCADE IN NAVE: ELEVATION AND DETAILS

On the south side of the nave there are three, duly recorded in the elevation (Plate III). The first (westernmost) is drawn out in full detail in fig. 5. It is a handsome structure of three three-centred moulded arches, supported on slender columns; the mouldings and foliage with which it is ornamented indicate the first half of the fourteenth century as the probable date to which to assign it. The second is similar, but has in addition three moulded quatrefoil openings inserted in the wall above; these encroach on the fourth of the series of nave lancets. This tomb-recess has been built up, and the central part is now completely hidden. Immediately east of it is the third of these tombs; all but the western



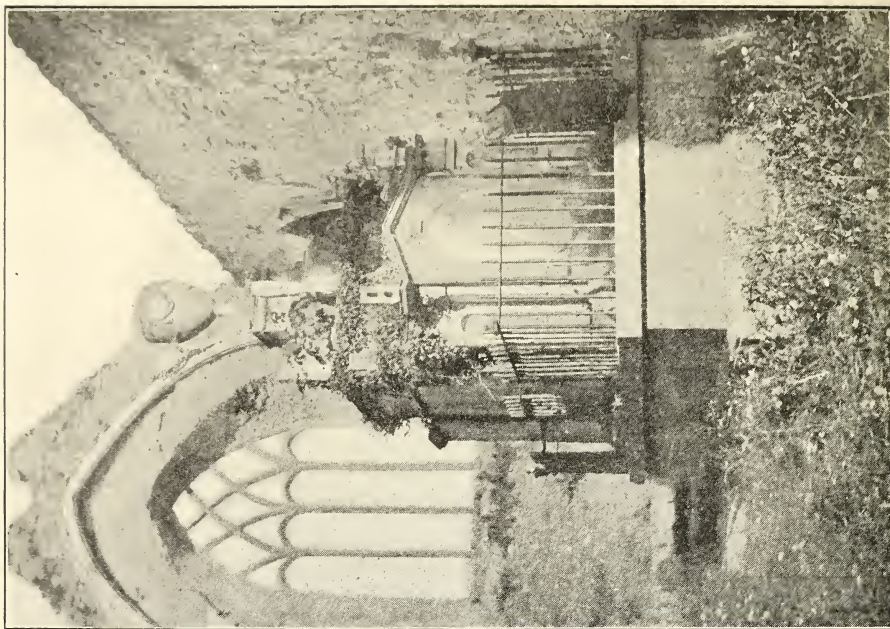


PLATE V b

THE JACOBÆAN EAST WINDOW AND TOMB OF LADY M. BERNINGHAM

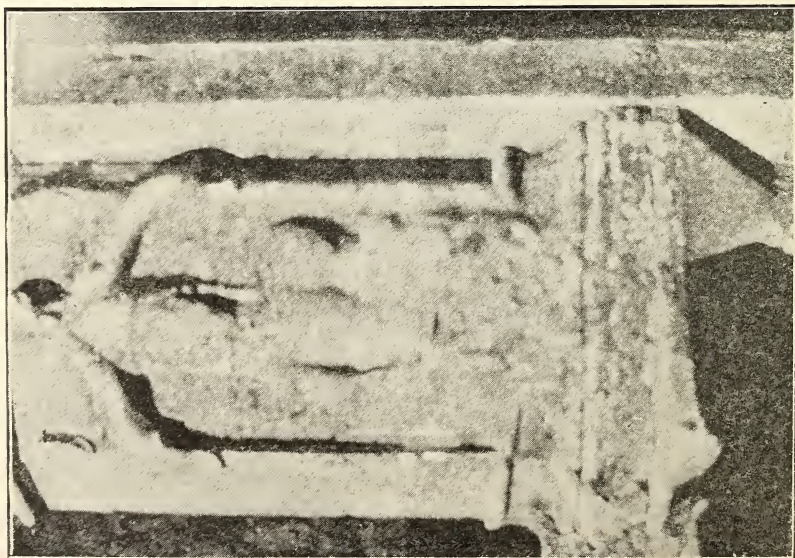


PLATE V a

FIGURE OF VIRGIN AND CHILD ON ALTAR-TOMB



jamb and the spring of the arch above it is concealed by masonry, and by a comparatively modern altar-tomb erected in front of it.

In the choir there is only one of these arcade-tombs. It is of similar type to the first described, except that the arches are pointed above (four-centred) and not round above (three-centred). The arch-mouldings, capitals, and bases of this tomb are shown in fig. 4, no. 2 *a-c*. This is the monument claimed by the *Walls* family in the remarkable inscription which is built in under the central arch.

The north wall of the transept contains a series of three tombs of the same type which, at first sight, look like an ornamental arcade. But,

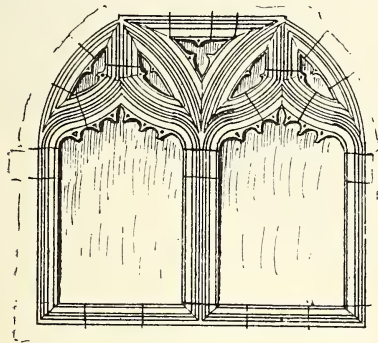


FIG. 6

TOMB-RECESS IN AISLE

on examination, it proves to reduce itself into three groups of arches, with two arches in one (the easternmost) and three in the others. There is a narrow pier separating the two latter from one another, and a wide pier between them and the third; and it will be seen from the plan that it has been necessary to cut out the north-east corner of the transept obliquely in order to admit of the insertion of the last arch. Obviously, this would never have been done, nor would there have been the unequal dividing piers, had the whole

been an ornamental insertion of one time. The three tombs must have been put in separately, at short intervals of time, after the erection of the transept. The mouldings of these arches are uniform, and are shown in fig. 4, no. 3 *a-c*. A photographic view is shown in Plate X *b*.

In the aisle are two tomb-recesses of a different type. Each consists of two low ogee arches, underneath equilateral arches; the openings are richly moulded and cusped. There is a drawing of one of these tomb-recesses in fig. 6; the other is identical in design, but is much injured, having lost several stones from the middle of the tracery. These tombs probably belong to the end of the fifteenth century.

There is a sixteenth-century traceried altar-tomb on the north side of the church (Plate VI). The front of the altar is divided into five panels, capped by low four-centred arches. Above is a very lofty arch, with rich but rather flat mouldings, and filled with tracery like a window. Of this tracery only the springs remain, and I cannot suggest a satisfactory restoration. On the eastern jamb is in low relief a rude figure of the Virgin, crowned, and Child (Plate V *a*). There are two stiff pinnacles, one on each side of the arch, with clumsy finials; and the top of the arch is widened and flattened, probably to receive a figure or some other ornamental termination which has now disappeared. On the jamb



is a curious group of scratches, of which fig. 7 is a full-sized facsimile from a rubbing.

There is no inscribed tomb now remaining older than the seventeenth century. There are, however, a number of interesting slabs belonging to that period, as well as several of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There are also a few altar-tombs. The following is a list of

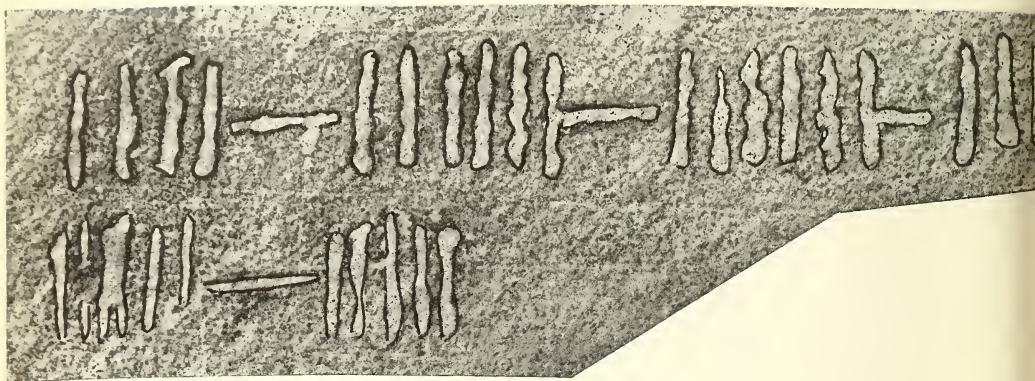


FIG. 7.—MARKS ON THE JAMB OF THE ALTAR-TOMB CANOPY.

the more important monuments remaining in the church, in chronological order:—

I. 1615. *Mariota de Burgo*.—A rectangular slab, with the lower corner cut obliquely off. It bears a handsome circular foliation in lieu of a cross-head, and a plaited stem, terminating horizontally below. There is a difficult inscription running spirally around the margin which reads: HIC IACET DNA MARIOTA DE BURGO FILIA WALTERI ALS DORHAN M BARO (i.e. alias d'Oran More baro) PRO CUIUS AIE (?) ET RIE (?) ET(?)ERNO URNAS (?) SPECTARE PRECES FUNDITE 1615. The unusual ligatures, especially RN, make the inscription peculiarly difficult to decipher, but the general sense is clear (Pl. VII, No. 2). In the choir, close to the south pier of the tower.

II. 1627. *John Burke*.—This elaborate monument bears a floriated cross-head, with a plain stem, ending below in a handsome interlacing pattern. On the dexter side the initials IHS and a lozenge-shaped ornament. On the sinister side three animals and a peculiar ornament of curves enclosing a figure of eight. The slab is rectangular, but has a small shouldered projection bearing the words ION BURKE 1627; and round the margin is the legend: THIS IS THE TOMB OF ION BURKE AND OF HIS ANCESTORS AND KATHREN BURKE HIS WIFE THE 12 OF 10BER 1627 (Pl. IX, No. 12). In the middle of the choir on the north side.

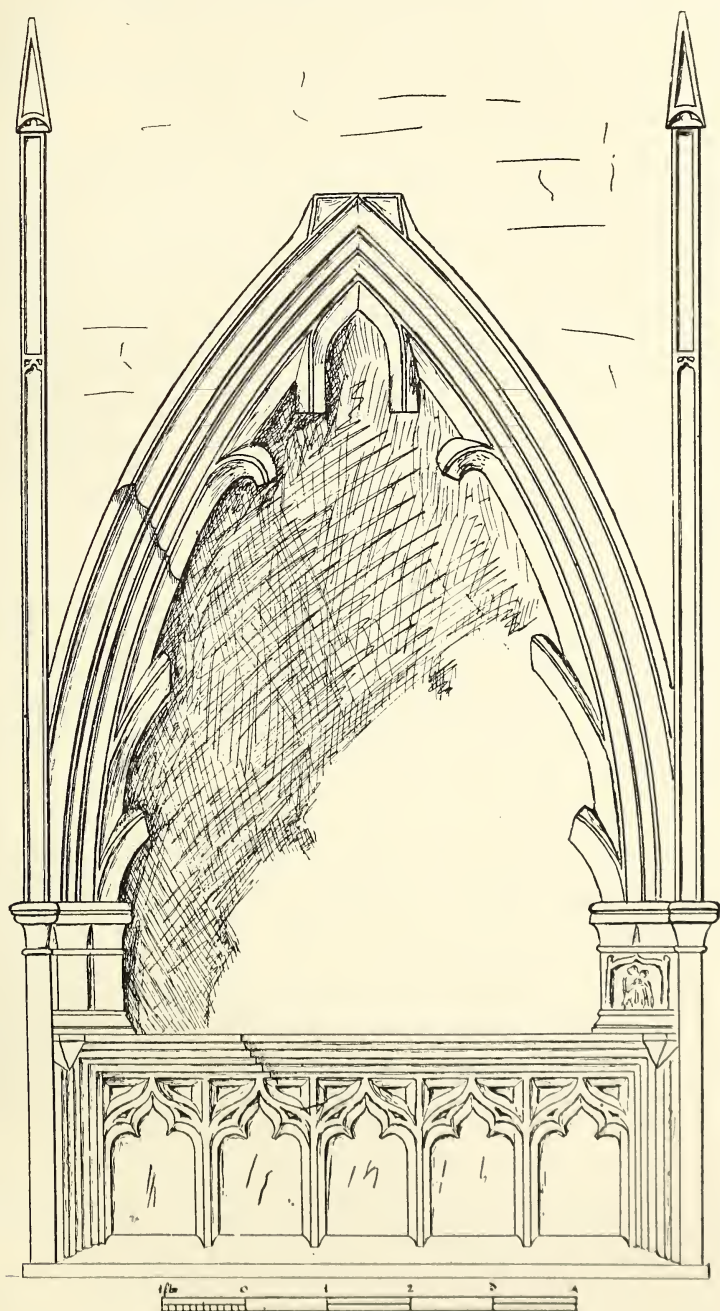


PLATE VI.—ALTAR TOMB

III. *c.* 1630.—A handsome floriated cross, with a lozenge-shaped body and long stem; the base is concealed by the sedilia, under which the stone runs. There is no inscription (Pl. IX, No. 14).

IV. 1631.—A broad, slightly coffin-shaped slab, bearing a cross with interlaced lozenge-shaped head, on a plain plaited stem. On the dexter side an interlaced pattern of six points and a triquetra; on the sinister a set of smiths' tools—hammer, chisel, and anvil. In the upper sinister corner a reversed tetraskelion in a circle; in the upper dexter the initials <sup>+</sup> IHS and the date 1631. There is no other inscription (Pl. VII, No. 4). The second of a row of four slabs inside the door in the porch. This slab is evidently imitated from that of Mariota de Burgo, described above.

V. *c.* 1650 (?).—A slab, with incised ringed cross, the arms ending in rude floriations. On the sides a knife and bellows. The knife has no ring, and appears to be in a sheath. The bottom part of the slab is broken. There is no inscription (Pl. VII, No. 1). It is the second of a row of three slabs in front of the second arcade tomb in the nave.

VI. *c.* 1650 (?).—A slab, bearing in relief an anvil, and incised a hammer, with a raised knob in front of its striking end. The stone is coffin-shaped, shouldered at its narrow end. No inscription (Pl. VIII, No. 7). The third of four slabs just inside the door, in the porch.

VII. 1670. *Matthew Semper*.—A small tablet under the westernmost surviving lancet of the choir inscribed: PRAY FOR THE SOVLE OF MATHEW SEMPER WHOSE SOVLE YE LORD RECEAVE | 1670.

VIII. 1676. *Fathers Thomas and John Burke*.—A slab bearing the inscription: PRAY FOR THE SOVLES OF (THE) | VERY REVEREND FATHERS | DOCTOR THOMAS BURKE [*sic*] AND | FA. JOHN BURKE WHO CAUSED | THIS STONE TO BE MADE FOR | THEMSELVES AND THE FAMILIES | OF MAC WALTER 1676. Under the sedilia.

IX. 1677. *Bridgid and Mary Bermingham*.—A slab inscribed with the following in relief:—HERE : LYES : BRIDGID | AND : MARY : BERMINGHAM : DAUGHTERS : TO | EDWARD : LORD : BARON | OF : ATHANRY : AND | THE : LADY : MARY : BURKE | HIS : WIFE. THEY : DYED | IN : THEIR : INFANCY : IN | 1676 : AND : 1677. A good many of the letters are ligatured. Beside the tomb of Lady Matilda Bermingham, on the south side.

X. *c.* 1680.—A slab with a floriated cross of a type common in the church, but slightly more ornate than the majority; inside a raised border, which ends in spirals at each corner; lower end of slab missing (Pl. VII, No. 5). In the north-east corner of the transept.

XI. *c.* 1680.—A coffin-shaped slab, with a floriated cross of a type similar to the last. No inscription. At the west end of the existing portion of the arcade (Pl. VII, No. 3).



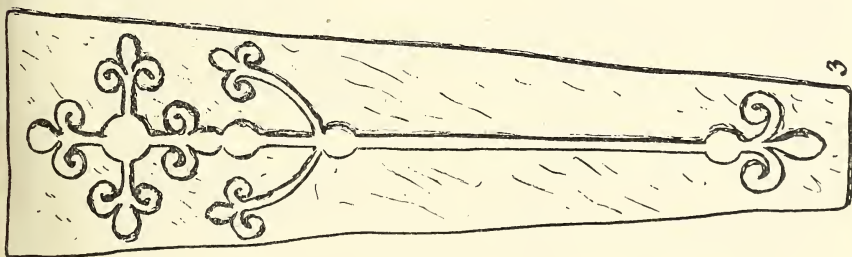
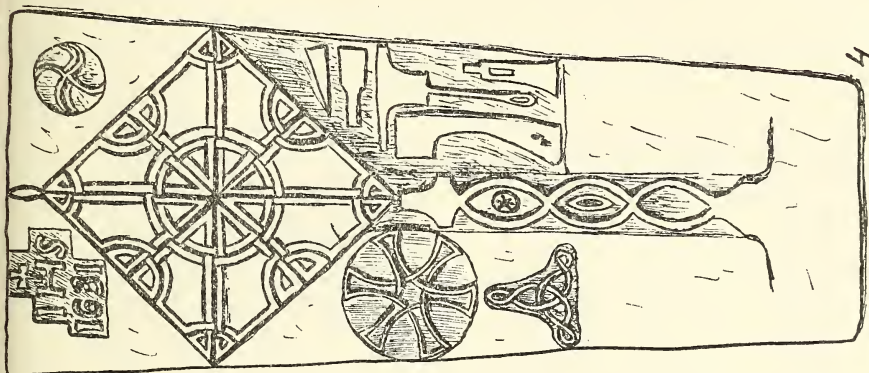
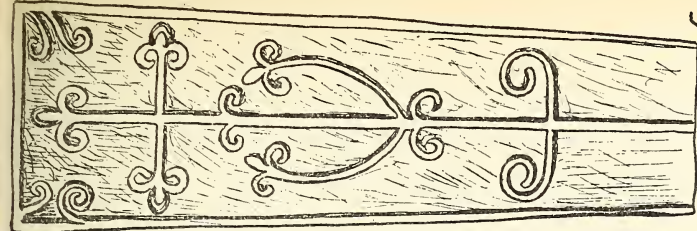
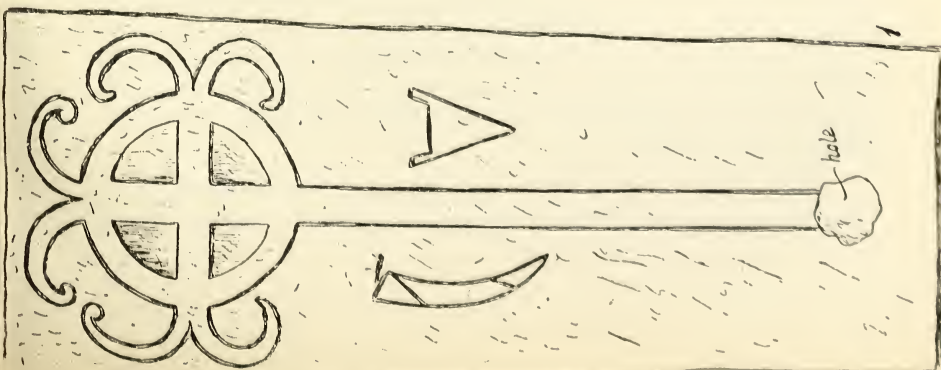
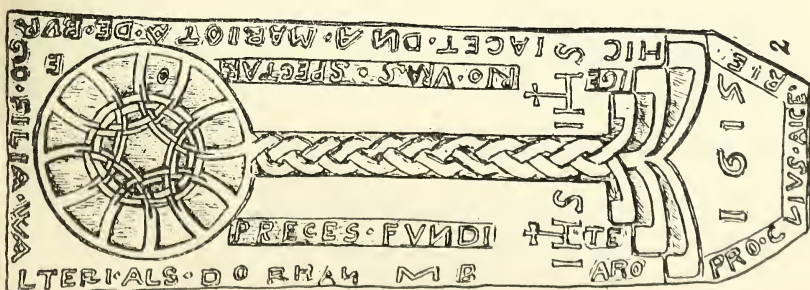


PLATE VII





XII. *c.* 1680.—A slab, with a floriated cross in relief, inside a raised margin. The stone is broken, and the lower part lost. It has been used to mark a modern grave. No inscription (Pl. IX, No. 11). The first of a row of four slabs in the porch, counting from the door.

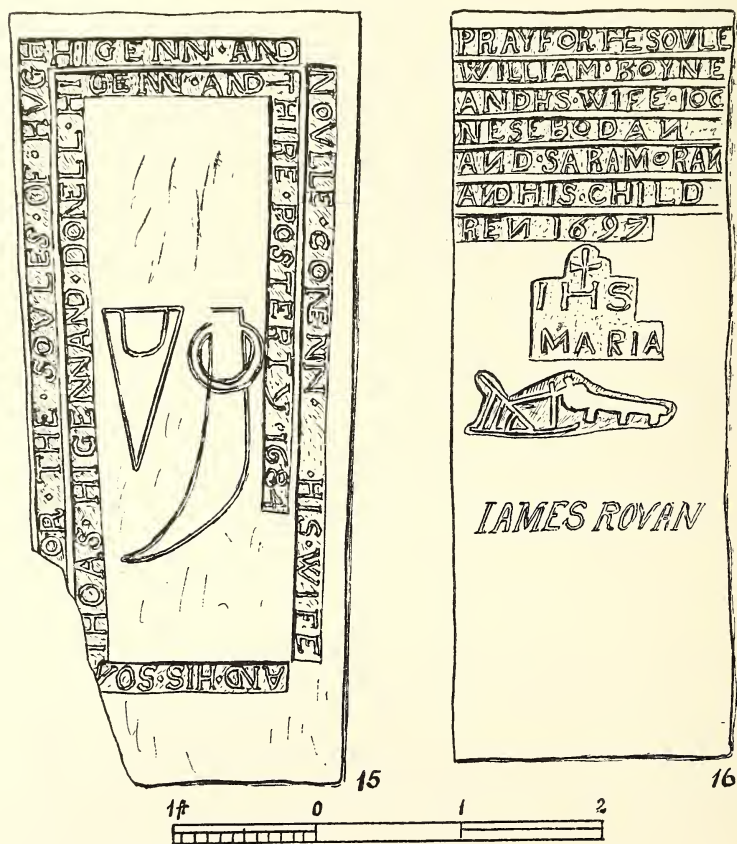


FIG. 8.—MONUMENTAL SLABS

XIII. 1682. *Thomas Tanian*.—A broad slab, unfortunately mutilated, under the tower and close to the south pier. It bears a cross pattée, with long stem, and a number of smiths' tools—a bellows on the dexter side, and on the sinister an augur, pincers, anvil, horseshoe, and a hook-shaped object. The date, 1682, is on the base of the cross, and the inscription, FOR THE VSE OF THOMAS TANIAN AND HIS (POSTERITY), on the top and sinister edge (Pl. IX, No. 13).

XIV. 1683. *Sir John Burke*.—On the south wall of the choir. A slab bearing a shield and the following inscription:—HEERE LYES THE

BODY OF SIR IOHN BYRKE OF DERRIMAGH LAGNIE KNIT DECEASED IN THE 36 YEEARE OF HIS AGE 1666 THIS TOMB WAS ERECTED FOR HIM AND HIS POSTERITIE BY HIS WIDOW THE LADY MARY BYRKE NOW BARRONESS OF ATHENRY. IN 1683.

XV. 1684. *Hugh Higenn*.—A recumbent slab, bearing incised a smith's bellows and knife, with the following inscription in *cavo rilievo* running spirally round the edge:—(PRAY F) OR THE . SOVLES . OF . HVGH . HIGENN . AND . NOVLE . CONENN . HIS . WIFE . AND . HIS . SON . THO (M) AS . HIGENN . AND DONELL . HIGENN . AND . THIRE . POSTERTY 1684 (fig. 8, No. 15). West end of aisle. The name spelt "Novlle" is probably *Nuala*, the modern abbreviated form of *Fionnghuala*.

XVI. (16)86. *Florence Heyne*.—A fragment lying on the step of the sanctuary, with the following inscription in raised letters:—<sup>+</sup>IHS | PRAY . FOR . THE . | SOVLE . OF . FLOR | ENCE . HEYNE | WHOE . DEYED | THE . 24 OF MAR | CH 86 THIS M | ... ITRE . . Two or three of the letters are ligatured.

XVII. 1686. *Owen Crawley*.—A slab with floriated cross much defaced, with the lower end broken away. The design can be seen in Pl. VIII, No. 10. On the sinister side of the cross this inscription, in three lines, *cavo rilievo*—FOR . THE . VSE . OF . OWEN . CRAW(ley) . AND . CATHERIN . MONAGHAN . AND . (their) POSTERITY . 1686. As is common in these slabs, several of the letters are ligatured. Centre of nave, opposite the console in the south side.

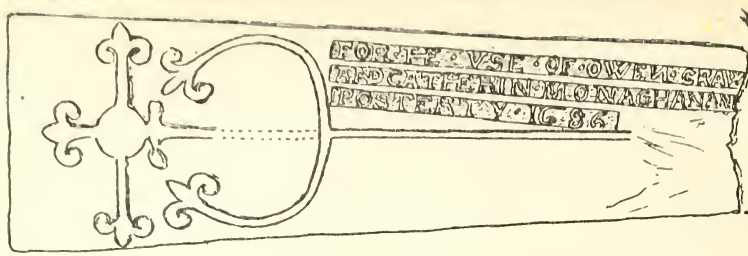
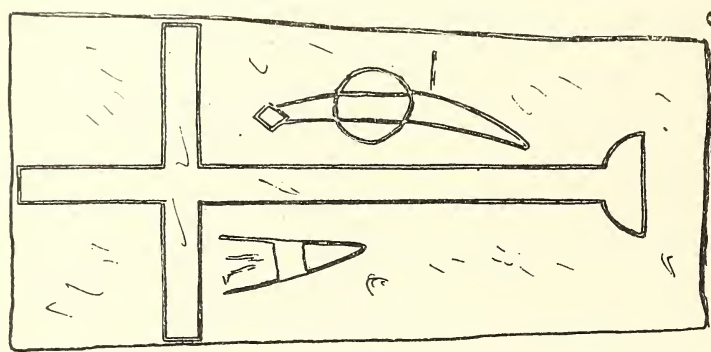
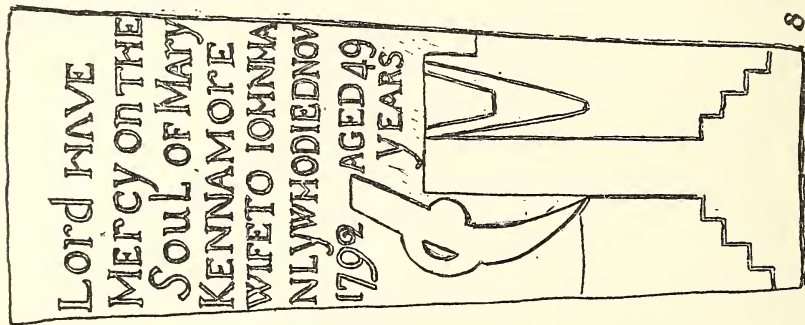
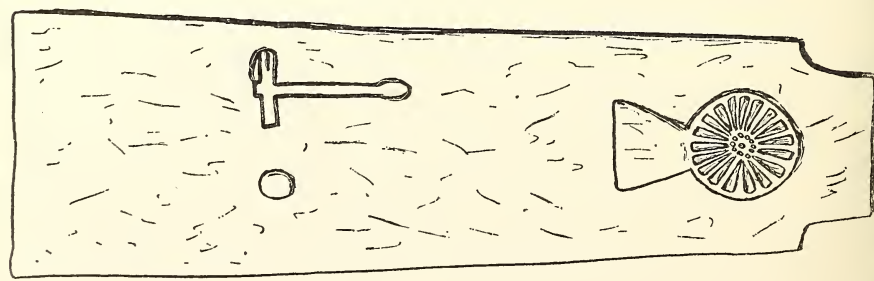
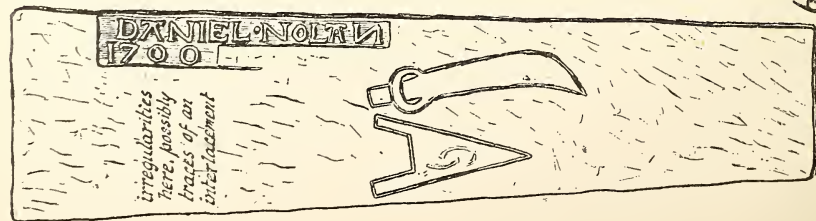
XVIII. 1686. *Oliver Browne*.—A rectangular slab built against the blocked north window of the transept. It bears on a shield, (or) *an eagle displayed with two heads (sable)* for BROWNE, impaling (azure) *a chevron between three trefoils slipped (or)* for LYNCH: an esquire's helmet, surmounted by the crest, *two eagles' heads couped conjoined (sable)*. The inscription, on each side of the shield and below it, runs as follows:—

PRAY		FOR TH <sup>m</sup>
SOVLE	[shield]	OF PT
OLIVE		R . BRO
WNE	ESQR	OF CVI,

ARAN . AND IVLIAN LYN  
CH . HIS WIFE . WHO EREC  
TED THIS MONVMENT FOR  
THEM AND THEIR POSTE  
RITY . ANO . DNI . 1686.

Several of the letters are in ligature. The slab appears in Plate X b.

XIX. 1686. *Bryn Vaghan*.—A flat coffin-shaped slab, which has become broken in two: the pieces are misplaced. On one fragment is



PRAY FOR, and the date, 1686; and on the other SOVLE OF BRYN VAGH(an). Centre of nave.

XX. 1697. *William Boyne*.—A slab bearing a puzzling inscription in seven lines of *cavo rilievo*. It runs: PRAY FOR THE SOVLE (of) WILLIAM BOYNE AND HIS WIFE: IOCNESE [*sic*] BODAN AND SARA MORAN: AND HIS CHILDREN, 1697. The punctuation is not given on the stone, but is here inserted to make the legend clearer. Evidently two married couples are commemorated. Beneath is IHS and MARIA, and underneath all is a plough. Below that again the name JAMES ROVAN has been added in italic capitals *incised*. The northernmost of three slabs in a row under the tower (fig. 8, No. 16).

XXI. 1700. *Daniel Nolan*.—A slab, much worn, with the usual bellows and knife incised, and the inscription DANIEL NOLAN 1700 in two lines, *cavo rilievo*, on the sinister side. Some irregularities on the centre of the slab are possibly (but not probably) remains of an interlacing pattern (Pl. VIII, No. 6). In front of the second arcade tomb in the nave.

XXII. *c.* 1700. *William Burke*.—A slab inscribed Pray for | the soul | of William | Burke and | his wife | Anne alias | Ward and | their | Posterity. The outermost of a row of three slabs in front of the second arcade tomb in the nave.

XXIII. *c.* 1700.—A recumbent slab, with a plain cross on a calvary between a smith's bellows and knife. No inscription (Pl. VIII, No. 9). Nave, just west of the blocked south doorway.

XXIV. 1713. *Patrick Morsy*.—A slab bearing a much-worn inscription in *cavo rilievo*, which reads PRAY FOR THE | SOVLE . OF . PATRI | CK MORSY & HIS | POSTERITIS 1713. Just east of the arch from porch to transept.

XXV. 1784. *McDonnell* family.—Built into east wall behind the Clanricarde tomb.

XXVI. 1786. *James Quin*.—A slab beside the choir wall on the south side.

XXVII. 1786. *Lady Matilda Bermingham*.—This gigantic monument dwarfs all the other memorials in the church. It is a large and costly erection of grey stone, with stucco medallions, wreaths, and symbolic figures, including a portrait of the youthful Lady Matilda herself, to whose memory the tomb was erected, and whose virtues the fulsome and tiresome inscription records at length. The maker's name, Coade of London, appears on several of the stucco ornaments (Plate V b).



XXVIII. 1789. *Rev. W. Burke*.—A partly defaced inscription on the north side of the tomb of Lady Matilda Bermingham.

XXIX. 1789. *Daniel Conneely*.—A slab inscribed <sup>+</sup> IHS | Underneath lie the | Remains of Daniel Conneely who | Did August 1789 | Agd 44 years | O Lord have mercy on him and his | Posterity. The fourth of four slabs, inside the door in the porch.

XXX. 1791. *Patrick Ryan*.—A slab, reading: This monume | nt was Erected | by James Ryan | and his wife | Elonora Ryan | in Remembr | ance of their | Son Pat<sup>k</sup> Ryan | who Died the | 14th year of his | Age 1791. The second of three slabs in a row under the tower.

XXXI. 1792. *Mary Kennamore*.—A slab which has been used twice. The original memorial bore, in *cavo rilievo*, a cross on a calvary of three steps, between the usual knife and smith's bellows; but the head of the cross has been carefully chiselled away, and this inscription substituted:—Lord have | mercy on the soul of Mary | Kennamore | wife to Iohn Ha | nly who died Nov | 1792 aged 49 years (Pl. VIII, No. 8). Beside John Hanly's stone, No. xxxiii.

XXXII. 1793. *Burke family*.—A defaced inscription. East of Lady M. Bermingham's tomb.

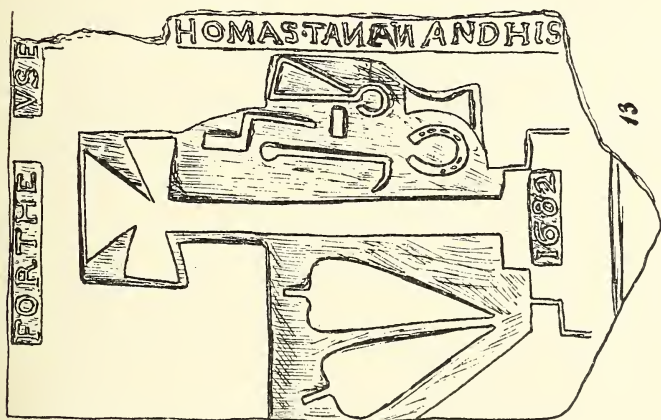
XXXIII. 1793. *John Hanly*.—A slab inscribed: Lord have | mercy on the | soule of io | hn Hanly | who Died | July the 12 | 1793 aged | 49 years. Nave, just in front of the westernmost arcade tomb on the south wall.

XXXIV. 1799. *James Ryan*.—A slab bearing a semi-circle with <sup>+</sup> IHS and this inscription: O Lord have mercy | on the soul of James | Ryan who departed | this life [*broken*] | 1799 aged 30 years | This Monument was | erected by his wife | Honor Ryan alias | Craven in memory | of him & | posterity. The southernmost of three slabs in a row under the tower.

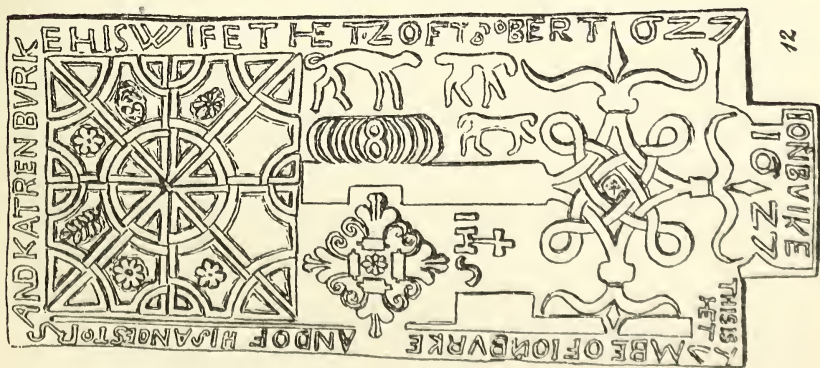
XXXV. End of 18th century. *Daniel Higgins*.—A recumbent slab inscribed: <sup>+</sup> IHS | O Lord have mercy | on the souls of Daniel | Higgins and his Daughter | in law Annie Higgins | this monument was erected by his son | Daniel Higgins in memory of them & his | Posterity. Nave, east of blocked south doorway.

XXXVI. End of 18th century.—An illegible slab. West end of nave.

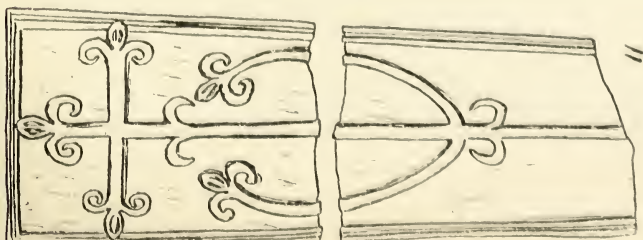
XXXVII. *c.* 1800.—A large altar-tomb of massive stone, the sides divided into plain panels, standing on a broad raised platform. No date or inscription. In the south-east angle between nave and tower.



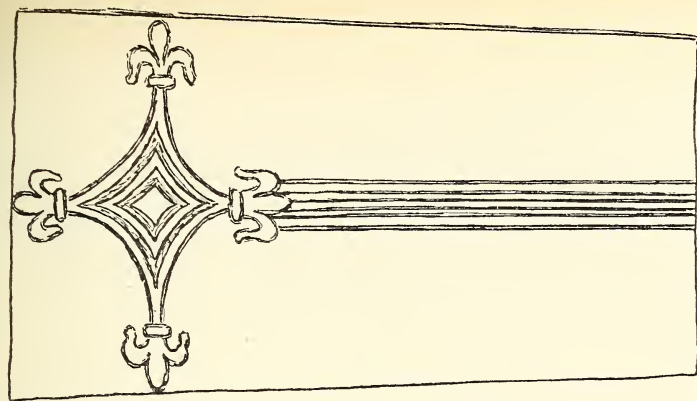
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12



11



14



XXXVIII. *c.* 1800.—Two large altar-tombs, without inscription. One of these occupies the place of the north pier of the tower, which was probably cleared away to make room for it. It was enclosed inside iron railings, which have disappeared. These tombs are against the east wall of the transept.

XXXIX. 1809. *Donell* family.—On the sanctuary step, beside the Clanricarde monument.

XL. 1810. *Dominick Grean*.—An altar-tomb, elaborately carved with the symbols of mortality, common in the period, and a long inscription. West end of nave.

XLI. 1836. *Earl of Clanricarde*.—A colossal erection of grey stone, pyramidal in general outline, with an iron railing, and crowned at the top by a stone cross. It fills about one-third of the east end of the choir.

XLII. 1841. *Alice Higgins*.—At west end of nave.

XLIII. 1847. *Murty Hanly*.—A slab at west end of nave.

XLIV. 19th century. *Egan* family.—A marble slab in the end of the recess in the south pier of the tower.

There are also the fragments of an ornate but debased altar-tomb lying loose in the east end of the choir. This, no doubt, dates from the end of the seventeenth century. They are ornamented with conventional floral devices in sunk square panels for the greater part, but in two of the panels the artist has copied the two end windows of the church. The Jacobean east window is easily recognizable, as is also the Decorated west window, though the latter is not rendered with exactitude.

It is clear that a large mural monument has disappeared from the west wall; there is a recess provided for it, filling the space under the west window.

But the most remarkable of all the monuments in the church is a slab inserted into the central arch of the arcade tomb in the choir (fig. 9). This is rectangular; the lower end is partly concealed, and some lines of the writing cannot be seen. This is one reason why the inscription is so obscure; but another reason is the pedantry of the writer of the legend, who attempted to compose in English, French, and Latin without having a sufficient knowledge of either of the latter languages. In consequence the text defies exact translation, and even the general sense is not very easy to grasp. The following attempt can claim only to be an advance on previous decipherments, which have missed the fact that the French part of the inscription is an attempt at a quatrain.

The slab bears a shield charged with a *lion rampant* and a *Latin cross on the dexter side*; an esquire's helmet and mantling, crest *a dexter hand*



*couped grasping a sword in fess.* The inscription can be rendered most clearly by setting it forth in sections thus :—

“ The mistcall sense of the armes [are] in this verse —

“ Pour honeur de conquestant,  
Et un illustre marque de glor,  
Il veut q[u]e le lion rempennt,  
Porta le pris de leur victoire.

“ Here is the antient sepulchre of the sept of Walls of Droghy, late demolished by Cromellians, and now reedified by Walter Wall fisch Peeter (i.e. *mhic Peadair*, son of Peter) of the said sept, for his oune and posterities use; Ano Domni 1682.

“ Insignia hujus famili[ae] *Crux et Leo*: et notat H . . . sus n[o ?] bilis antiquum retinet (*sic*) gens Vallia stema (*sic*) nam leo magnanimam eu . . .”

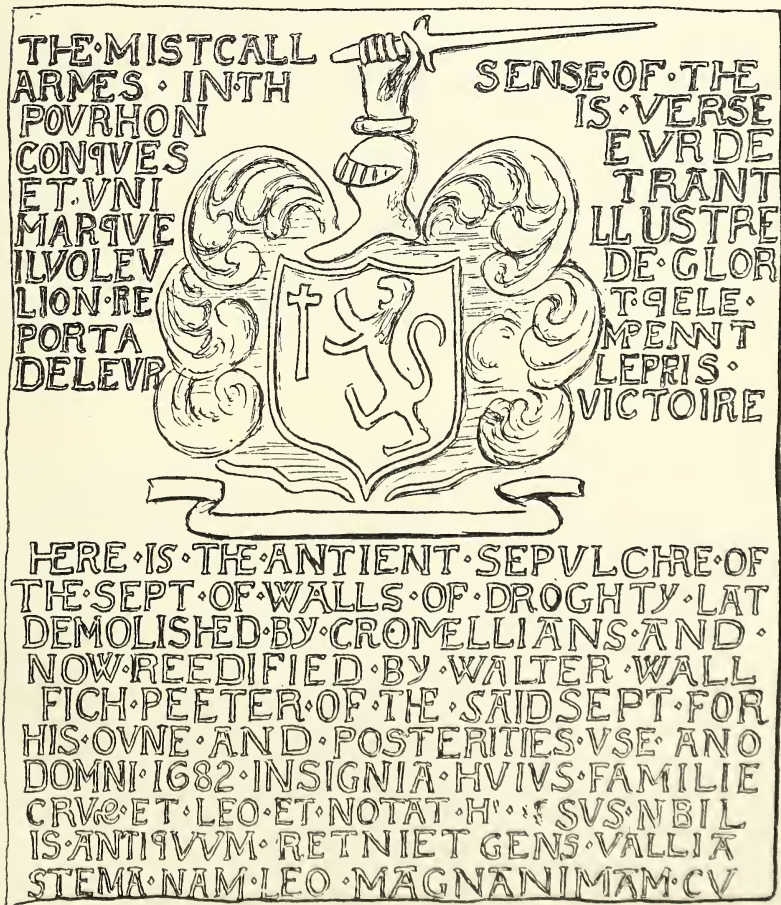


FIG. 9.

The sacristy is a small rectangular chamber on the south side of the choir, approached by a doorway with a plain equilateral arch. It



measures 28 feet 8 inches by 11 feet 9 inches. There are no architectural details of any interest, a flat-headed window of three lights at the east end being the only attempt at decoration. The south wall contains a series of three recesses; one of these is blocked up with masonry, from which the side of a stone trough projects. There is a fourth recess above, which is partly filled with human bones. This is most probably part of the original thirteenth-century church, but it is impossible to assign a date to it with any assurance.

Mrs. J. R. Green and Mr. Padraig Colum kindly assisted me in taking the measurements and rubbings necessary for preparing the drawings here presented.

[The illustrations in this paper have been supplied by the Author.]



PLATE X *a*



PLATE X *b*



NOTES ON SIR JOHN MACCOGHLAN, KNIGHT, OF CLOGHAN,  
CHIEF OF DELVIN-MACCOGHLAN, WHO DIED IN 1590.

By LORD WALTER FITZGERALD.

[Read 23 JUNE 1913.]

THE clan territory of the MacCoghlans was in ancient times called Delvin Eathra and Delvin MacCoghlan, to distinguish it from a Delvin in the neighbouring County of West Meath, called Delvin Mór, the territory of the clan O'Finnallan, and now the barony of Delvin.

Delvin-MacCoghlan is now the barony of Garrycastle, in the King's County; but the parish of Lusmagh (St. Cronan's), in the southern extremity of the barony, strangely enough belonged to the O'Maddens, the remainder of whose territory lay on the opposite side of the Shannon in the county Galway, and was known as Silanchia, now the barony of Longford.

Delvin-MacCoghlan contained the parishes of:—

Clonmacnois, the patron saint of which is	St. Ciaran, 9th Sept.
Gallen,                   "                   "                   "	St. Mochonog, 19th Dec.
Lemanaghan,           "                   "                   "	St. Manchan, 24th Jan.
Reynagh (in which Banagher is included), the patron saint of which is	The B. V. Mary.
Tisaran,                   "                   "                   "	St. Saran, 20th Jan.
Wheery, <i>alias</i> Fuire, <i>alias</i> Foithre (meaning "Forests").	

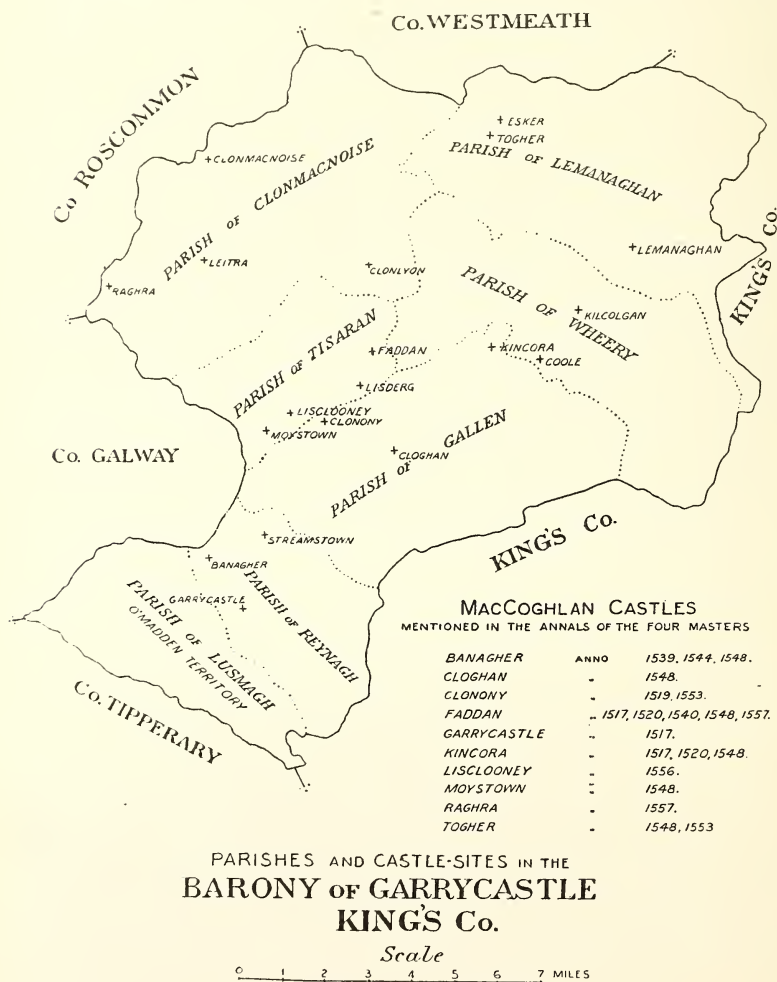
Some authorities, Archdall among them, state that the former name of the ancient church in Banagher was "Kil-Reynagh," or St. Reynagh's Church, so called from Rioghnach, a sister of St. Finnian of Clonard, hence the name of the parish in which Banagher lies; the Martyrology of Donegal, however, does not include her in its list of Irish saints, though it states that she was the mother of two saints.<sup>1</sup> That the church of Reynagh and the Church of Banagher are the same is proved by Sir John MacCoghlan's will of 1590, in which he desires to be buried "in ecclesia beate Marie de Ranach," and in the chancel of the Banagher Church ruins his tomb-slab lies at the present time.

<sup>1</sup> A St. Righnach, d. of Feradach, was venerated on the 18th of December; but this is not the sister of St. Finnian, whose father was named Finloch.



Sir John MacCoghlan, Kt., of Cloghan and Garrycastle, was the son of Art, the son of Cormac MacCoghlan, who was chief of his sept in 1521.

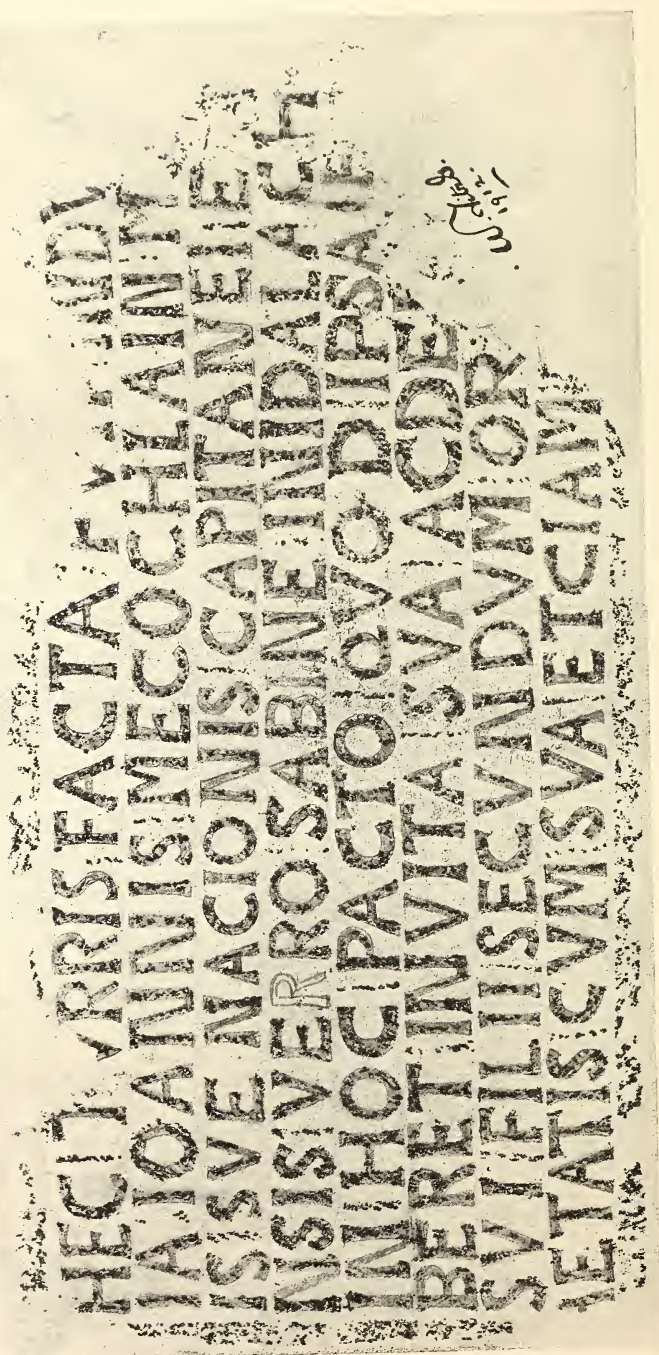
In 1539 the territory of Delvin was partitioned by Felim O'Melachlin, chief of Clan-Colman, in West Meath, between three of the MacCoghlan, one of whom was Art, son of the above-named Cormac.



This Art, in 1548, was appointed sole chief of his sept by the English; the date of his death is not on record, but he was still alive in 1554.

Art's successor, as chief of Delvin-MacCoghlan, was his son Shane, or John, who was knighted by the Lord Deputy in 1570.





INSCRIPTION ON A SLAB FORMERLY IN A MAC COGHILAN CASTLE, NOW AT BELVIEW, LAWRENCETOWN, CO. GALWAY  
 (From a rubbing by Lord Walter FitzGerald, 1912)

Sir John MacCoughlan appears to have been twice married, as is suggested in the following curious and scanty extract from the *Calendar of State Papers of Ireland*, dated the 22nd December, 1588 :—

Gerald McCoughlan in a letter to Sir John “Gifford,” *alias* McCoughlan in Delvin, claims him as his father. Threatens Teige and Hugh Daley (? Dallaghan). Has obtained the Pope’s pardon for him. Urges him to put away Daley’s (? Dallaghan’s) sister, and take back O’Molloy’s daughter for his wife.<sup>1</sup>

From this it would appear that Sir John had repudiated his first wife, O’Molloy’s daughter, possibly the “Lady Unina” mentioned in his will quoted further on; and married secondly “Sabina inghi Dalachan” (i.e. Soyv or Sabia O’Dallaghan), the mother of his son and heir Shane “oge,” or John the younger. The writer of the letter, Gerald, judging by the way he advocated the cause of O’Molloy’s daughter, must have been a son of hers.

At some period after he had been knighted, an event which occurred in 1570, and during the time that Sabia O’Dallaghan was his wife, he erected a castle, and inserted in it a mural tablet bearing the following inscription in small raised Roman capital letters, the words being divided by a perpendicular line :—

HEC TVRRIS FACTA FV[IT IN]DV[STR]  
IA IOHANNIS MECOGHLAIN M[ILIT]  
IS SVE NACIONIS CAPITANEI E[XPE]  
NSIS VERRO SABINE INI DALACH[AN]  
IN HOC PACTO QVOD IPSA H[A]  
BERET IN VITA SVA AC DE[INDE]  
SVI FILII SECVNDEM OR[DINEM]  
AETATIS CVM SVA ETCIAM[. . .]

There is no more of the inscription on the slab; the stone is badly damaged on the right-hand side, and the letters in brackets have been restored from a reading by the late Rev. Denis Murphy, s.j., which appeared on p. 380, vol. i, of the “Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead, Ireland.” A translation of the Latin would convey that :—

This tower (or castle) was built by the energy of Sir John MacCoughlan, Kt., chief of his sept, at the proper cost of Sabia O’Dallaghan, on the condition that she should have it for her lifetime, and afterwards each of her sons according to their seniority, with her . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1588–92, p. 89.



This slab was removed many years ago, and taken by one of the Lawrence family to his residence across the Shannon at Belview (formerly Lisreaghan) near Lawrencetown, nine miles from Banagher, and in the County Galway, where it still remains inside the house near the back door. Unfortunately it is not known from which of the MacCoughlan castles it was taken, but in all probability it came either from Garrycastle, the ruins of which stand less than a mile to the south of Banagher; or else from the castle of Coole in the parish of Wheery, nine miles as the crow flies to the north-east of Banagher, which is mentioned in Sir John's will as being left to his wife for her life (the will is quoted in full at the end of these notes). According to a King's County Exchequer Inquisition,<sup>1</sup> Sir John MacCoughlan surrendered his possessions in Delvin to the Crown on the 24th of August, 1581, and received a re-grant of them to be now held by knight's service, to him and his heirs, by Letters Patent, dated the 31st August, 1582; at the same time, instead of being styled "Chief Captain of his Nation," he was appointed to the office of Seneschal of Delvin-MacCoughlan, a post to be inherited by his son Garrett and his heirs, with remainder to his other son, John *junior*, and his heirs.

At this period, Sir John MacCoughlan was in possession of the under-named castles, towns, and lands:—

Cloghan, *alias* Cloghanegappagh; Cregan and Kappagh; Killreske or Kilbresk, Dryshoke, Ballinlaghan, Killineboy, Corcallingay and Coulreogh, Feyrbane, Knogouse, Garryrosse, Glencorlakensie, Rathmagherybane, Fyfadda, Clonin-Hughe, Ballenkyllin, Cowill-na-torchan in Clonifenloge, Cowle Raghra, and Garry-in-Caslan (Garrycastle), "ad regia via vocata Ballach-anoer," all of which were held from the Queen, and lay in the territory of Delvin-MacCoughlan, in that county called "le King's County."<sup>2</sup>

Several of these place-names do not now appear as townland names on the 6-inch Ordnance Survey Maps.

Sir John had a castle at Cloghan, parish of Gallen, of which there is now no trace. There is another Cloghan Castle, still inhabited, in the barony of Garrycastle; but, being situated in the parish of Lusmagh, it belonged to the O'Maddens of Silanchia, as mentioned above.

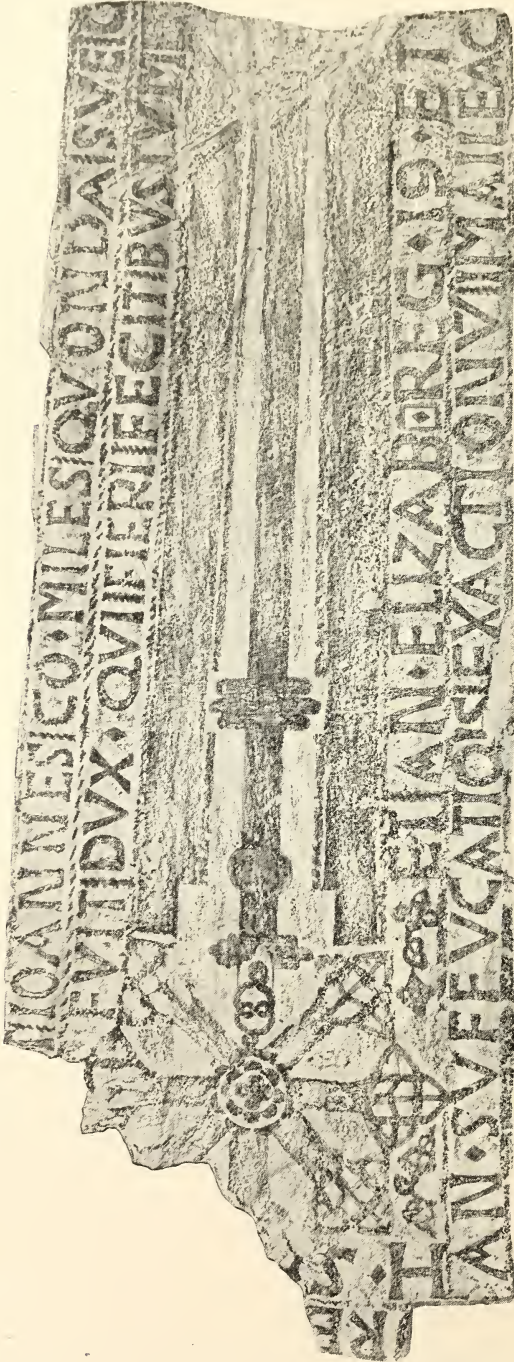
Sir John's other castles were—Garrycastle<sup>3</sup>, near Banagher, called by the Annalists, "Garrdha an chaisleain" and also "Caisleán an Fhothair";

<sup>1</sup> No. 39 of Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> In the southern portion of the townland of Garrycastle there is an old burial-ground, and a group of wells close to it—viz., "All Saints' Well," "Our Lady's Well," "the Head and the Eye Wells." Patterns were formerly held here on St. Peter and St. Paul's Day (29th June), and on Garland Sunday—i.e., the last Sunday in July.





SIR JOHN MAC COGHLAN'S TOMB-SLAB IN THE RUINS OF BANAGHER CHURCH  
(From a rubbing by Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, 1913)

and Coole Castle, 6 miles to the north-east of Cloghan. The *Annals of the Four Masters* mentions Cloghan Castle in the year 1548, and that of Garrycastle in 1517.

A tomb-slab lies in the ruined chancel of the church in the town of Banagher, and, judging by the inscription on it, it was ordered to be made by Sir John during his lifetime, *i.e.*, between the years 1576 and 1590.

This slab, in its present condition, measures 5 feet 3 inches in length; a few inches are evenly broken off at the lower end. In width it is wider at the top than at the foot; allowing for a portion that is fractured off at the right top corner, it was 25 inches across at the top and 21 inches at the foot. An eight-armed cross of an ornamental character occupies the centre of the slab. There are the remains of inscriptions in two lines at the top end and at the two sides; though some letters are missing at the ends of the two outer side-lines, the lower end possibly bore no inscription, as the reading of it, as it is, makes sense.

At the top end there was a word commencing with RE, for which *Resurgam* has been suggested. Below it there are an H · and an s; then comes the break in the slab. Mr. J. R. Garstin, in the work already referred to,<sup>1</sup> gives the following reading of the inscription, which is curiously abbreviated, particularly the co for COGHLAN:—

RESVRGAM.

H · (= hic) s[EPVLTVS]

[IACE]T IOANNES CO · MILES QVONDA SVE G[ENTIS]

EVIT DVX · QVI FIERI FECIT BVSTVM

ET AN · ELIZAB · REG · 19 · ET

AN · SVFFVCATIOIS EXACTIONV̄ IMAILEAC . . .

Except where there are diamond-shaped stops, the words are separated by jagged perpendicular strokes, as shown in the illustration.

The translation of the Latin is:—

I will rise again. Here lies buried Sir John [Mac]Coghlan, K<sup>t</sup>., formerly Chief of his Sept, who caused this tomb to be made, and in the 19th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign (*i.e.*, 1576), and in the year of the suppression of the taxes of (?) Imaileac . . .

The word IMAILEAC . . . is very puzzling, as there is no such place-name in the barony of Garrycastle, nor is it in the name of a tax.

Before service was discontinued here (the new Protestant church was built in 1829), this MacCoghlan slab must have lain under the flooring of the church.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 158.



Sir John's will<sup>1</sup> is in Latin, and dated the 10th July 1590 ; his death took place on the 18th July, in the same year.<sup>2</sup> The *Annals of the Four Masters* thus records the event :—

1590. MacCoghlan, John, the son of Art, son of Cormac, died. There was not a man of his (extent of) property, of the race of Cormac Cas, who had better furnished or more commodious courts, castles,<sup>3</sup> and comfortable seats, than this John. His son John Oge was appointed in his place.

As far as can be ascertained, Sir John had several children ; by his first wife, (?) Unina O'Molloy, may have been his sons Gerald, referred to before (who was alive in 1588), Teige, and Art ; the last two are mentioned in the Fiant of Elizabeth, No. 1580.

By his wife Sabia O'Dallaghan he had :—

- I. GARRETT, whose death is thus referred to in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the year 1583 :—"The son of MacCoghlan, Garrett, the son of John, the son of Art, the son of Cormac, an intellectual youth, was, on his first assumption of chivalry, slain by the son of O'Kennedy Fin,<sup>4</sup> namely, by Murrough, the son of Brian, the son of Donnell, the son of Donough."

Thus Garrett's death took place seven years before that of his father. He died without male issue, and so his younger brother, John, became his father's heir.

- II. JOHN, or SHANE OGE, of Cloghan and Garrycastle, was knighted by the Earl of Essex in 1599. His death took place on the 16th July, 1633. By his wife "Mary Coghlan" he had issue :

- I. GARRETT, who also died during the lifetime of his father, on the 17th April, 1629, and was buried at Clonmacnois. In 1613 he had married Honora, daughter of Sir William Burke, Kt., of Kilcooley, in the county Tipperary, by whom he had issue :—

1. JOHN MACCOGHLAN of Cloghan and Garrycastle, who, for rebellion on the 8th December, 1641, at Newtown, in the parish of Lusmagh, was outlawed, and his estates forfeited to the Lord Protector (Inquisition).
2. GARRETT MACCOGHLAN, and five daughters :—Honora, Mary, Joan, Margaret, and Rose (Funeral Entry).

<sup>1</sup> A Prerogative Will in the Dublin Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> King's County Exchequer Inquisition, No. 39 of Elizabeth.

<sup>3</sup> On the map of the barony of Garrycastle, on p. 222, all the known MacCoghlan castles are marked down.

<sup>4</sup> The O'Kennedy sept occupied the barony of Ormond, in the county Tipperary.

II. JOHN, who married Elenor, daughter of Edmond Bermingham, of Ballyvullan, county West Meath, a branch of the Berminghams of Rahinelly, in the county Kildare.

I. ROSE, the wife of Myles Bermingham, son of Edmond of Ballyvullan, mentioned above.

Of Sir John MacCoghlan's daughters, whether by (?) Unina O'Molloy or Sabia O'Dallaghan, the names of three only are known, viz. :—

1. PAROSINA.     }
2. DORENNA.     }     Both mentioned in their father's will.
3. SHYLY, who married Calvagh mac William "ower" (the pale) O'Carroll, otherwise Sir Charles O'Carroll, Kt., Chief of Ely-O'Carroll, who was slain by the O'Meaghers in 1600.

A TRANSLATION OF SIR JOHN MACCOGHLAN'S WILL, DATED 10TH JULY, 1590.<sup>1</sup>

In the name of God. Amen. To all who may inspect the present letters, the parish priest (*curatus parochialis*) of Fuire<sup>2</sup> sends greeting in the Lord. We make known that in our presence, and that of the witnesses underwritten, for this specially called and asked, having been therefor personally appointed, the honourable man, Sir John Cochlan, knight, my lord and parishioner, lying on his bed of sickness, infirm of body, but sound of mind, realizing and considering that the life of man on earth is short, that nothing is more certain than death, and nothing however more uncertain than the hour thereof, desiring to provide for the health of his soul, and to attain to the joys of eternal happiness, made and disposed his last will and testament in manner and form following.

First, he recommended his soul to the Most High God his Creator, when it should depart from the body, and his body to the worms of the earth, wishing it to be buried in the church of the Blessed Mary of Banach.<sup>3</sup>

Next he willed and ordained that all his debts should be paid in due form and restored to the persons to whom they should be due.

Item, the said testator, of the goods so conferred on him, bequeathed for the benefit of his soul to the church of Cluain m<sup>e</sup> Nois, a cow. Item to John, son of Hugh (Ioanni filio Hugonis) for a Mass-offering

<sup>1</sup>The original of this will is in Latin; a copy of it, with a translation, were made for me by Mr. Thomas Morrissey, of the Dublin Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Now written Wheery, a parish in the barony of Garrycastle.

<sup>3</sup> Now the churchyard in the town of Banagher, parish of Reynagh.

(*sacrificio*), a cow. Item, to the churches of Galine, Fuire, Techsaran, and Ranach, he bequeathed two cows. Item, to the church of Liamanachan, a cow in calf.

Item, he bequeathed to Margaret, daughter of Donnell (or Mac-Donnell, "Margarete Donaldi") four large and four small cows.

Item, he said that Solomon MacEgan (Salamonem McCaodhagain) should not be disturbed as long as he lived in the half-quarter of Cuile,<sup>1</sup> so to him thus left by his (MacCoghlan's) father, Art. Item, he left the castle and the remaining part of the same town to the lady his wife as long as she should live unmarried; and if she should marry again, the same to be restored to John Cochlan, son of Sabia O'Dallaghan (Sabina inghi Dalachan) as is just and according to the tenor of the intention of the feoffment of all the other fees.

Item, he formerly gave to the said John all his untrained farm-horses (caballos), horses, dishes, hauberks, pots, and all arms, and all flagons and vessels, and other utensils made of pewter, and the large pan which he lately had of the inheritance of his mother, which gift he now confirmed; but, however, he said that two horses were to be given to the lady Unina, viz.: the black palfrey and the brown.

Item, he said that whatever further movable goods, corn, chattels, and furniture he had, should be divided into three equal parts, and one part to be given to the lady his wife, another to his daughters Parosina and Dorena, and the third to his son John before named; with six silver vessels which are called in English "tonna," and two cups bought and made in his own name, which eight vessels are not reckoned in the division.

Item, he said that the fruits of the four quarters of the tithes which he lately had to farm for five years, were to be divided, and a third part given to the said lady (? Unina), and the remaining parts to the said John and his mother, and this with their accustomed charges; and to hold all and singular the premises, the said testator nominated as his executors Patrick Hogan, Archdeacon of Killaloe, John Cochlan, son of Sabia Dalachan, and Hugh Daly, to which executors for the fulfilling of all and singular the premises, the said testator bound all his goods whatsoever and wheresoever, revoking all other wills if any there are otherwise by him made, wishing this his will to obtain the strength of validity in the best way, manner, and form, in which it can and ought to prevail.

In witness whereof, I, Cormac Dalachan, the before-named rector (of Fuire), have placed my sign manual to this present will. These things were done in the house of Solomon MacEgan, in the town of Cuil, in the year of our Lord, 1590, and on the 10th day of July.

CORMAC DALACHAN, Rector (*Parochus*), witness.

---

<sup>1</sup> Coole, containing a castle in the parish of Wheery.

These witnesses written below were present at the time of the making of this will :

JOHN O'DONIS, priest, is a witness.

I, NIALL O'SHEILL.

I, HUGH O'SHEILL, witnesses.

I, SOL (unfinished).<sup>1</sup>

Proved, &c., by the oath of Hugh O'Daly, one of the executors, &c., and the burden of the execution of the will was committed to John, son of the said John MacCoghlan, saving the right of all persons whatsoever.

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<sup>1</sup> The last three signatures are in Irish characters.

[The illustrations in this paper have been supplied by the Author.]



PREHISTORIC REMAINS (FORTS AND DOLMENS) IN THE  
COROFIN DISTRICT, CO. CLARE.—(No. XI)

[Continued from vol. XLI, p. 367.]

By THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., *Vice-President*

[Read 25 FEBRUARY 1913]

THE extreme richness of the north-west angle of the County Clare in prehistoric<sup>1</sup> remains rendered an attempted survey far longer and more difficult than one could have foreseen when, in 1895, I laid the first of this series of papers before the Society. We have now reached the eleventh of the series; with one more paper I hope to close it, completed, at least as regards all structures of any importance. Begun in May 1878, and continued (at first at long intervals, 1883, 1885, and 1887), I have, from 1892, striven to work over the district as methodically as possible; but no worker can have been so many years as even from 1892 without modifying and widening his views. Structures, only briefly noticed in the earlier sections, seemed to be of greater importance as the value of their lessons was better appreciated. Trying to revisit in later times the chief remains, new facts stood revealed. So perilous and difficult were the fissured and often overgrown crags, that I had at first turned aside from sections of the county which later experience led me at all risks to examine. From these causes I soon found that a perfectly methodical design was sacrificed. Completeness of description, however, is of far greater importance, and the table giving the forts and dolmens under each parish in their natural sequence (with which I purpose to conclude the work) should compensate for the broken design, and bring together all references in the series of papers.

It became plain, even before the first part was published, that, instead of merely describing some eight or ten of the chief forts, a survey was needed.<sup>2</sup> Though this detailed task called for far longer and more severe

<sup>1</sup> I (as usual) apply the term "prehistoric" to any early but unrecorded period, even if within the limits of history in general.

<sup>2</sup> The earlier notes relate to Eastern Clare. Magh Adhair, vol. xxi, pp. 462-3; Killaloe, xxiii, p. 191; Moghane, Langough, &c., xxiii, p. 281; and Cahercalla, xxvi, p. 150. The survey of the forts of the other parts of the county may be found—the eastern half in *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, Sec. C, vol. xxvi, p. 217 (Newmarket and Tradree), p. 376; (Quin, Tulla, Bodyke), vol. xxix, p. 186; (Killaloe) South-west Clare, vol. xxxii, p. 58; (Broadford to Clooney), *Journal*, xxxviii, pp. 28, 221, 344; xxxix, p. 113; xli, p. 117. Many are briefly described, with plans, in "The Cahers of Co. Clare," *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vi, Ser. iii, p. 415.

work, and for more patience in students of its results, no one can question (however my personal work may have fallen short of my ideal) that this, and not merely records of exceptional remains, could alone be valuable to scientific workers. After Mr. Borlase's book, "The Dolmens of Ireland," appeared, the notes (which I had previously sent to him as soon as I examined any such monument) were included along with the forts. No one realizing the swift destruction falling on Irish field antiquities will grudge the publication of such notes; but the subject is neither popular nor fame-winning, and, to those who are interested only in history or elaborate architecture, must always be distasteful. Scholars both of our islands and the Continent, however, have already formed a different judgment.<sup>1</sup>

To those who wish to follow it on the field, great are the fascination and interest; for the wildernesses blossom with flowers and ferns; and the dainty colouring of the rock-ledges and their shadows, the lovely outlooks to distant hills and out on the sea, the ivied cliffs, the spray of the waterfalls, the loneliness, and the strange weird sounds on the uplands, have a vast and lasting charm. No one fully realizes how he loves the strange hills, glens, and plateaux till, after absence, he feels the joy of returning to them again, no matter how often this may recur.

The types of remains may be briefly enumerated as:—(1) promontory forts on inland spurs; (2) simple ring-walls or ring-mounds; (3) ring-mounds of more complex character, with more than one girding wall; two, as at Glenquin and Tullycommaun, or three, as at Cahercommaun; (4) the more or less rectangular "mothair"; (5) the hitherto inexplicable parallel earthworks, as at Ardnagowell; (6) ring-walls for worship or sepulture, like that around the dolmen of Creevagh and those at Ballyganner. Of other remains: (7) pillars, which are few; (8) simple tapering cists, usually in a mound, or cairn, the mound rarely higher than to the bottom of the cover; (9) anomalous monuments, like the pillared dolmen of Ballyganner or the enclosure of slabs round the cist of Iskancullin; (10) carns and tumuli, often with cists and kerb blocks, sometimes mere memorial carns; (11) tumuli within an earth-ring (like Lislard and the Mote), or carns within a stone ring-wall; (12) avenues, formed by removing the surface layer of the crags; (13) huts, which are usually badly preserved, but which were beehive structures, sometimes of several cells; (14) souterrains, usually simple, straight, curved, or L or T-shaped, in plan. Rarely do side cells occur. The nearest approach to a fort with a raised platform is the rock-cut fort of Doon. One fort, Ballykinvarga, has a remarkable abattis.<sup>2</sup> Alignments

<sup>1</sup> It is satisfactory to note the valuable work done by Mr. H. T. Knox in the *Journal*, vol. xli, pp. 93, 205, 302, and by Dr. Costello and Mr. E. W. L. Holt in the *Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* (vols. ii, p. 105, and vii, p. 205) on the forts of Connacht.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 260.

and large circles of stones are unknown in the district. None of the complex (and therefore possibly later) gateways with side cells and loop-holes exist; all are simple passages, with a lintelled outer gate, and, as a rule, coursed jambs, far more rarely with stone posts. The steps are equally simple, in Clare, usually running straight up to the terrace, or from it to the wall; a few examples of sidelong steps occur, as at Cahergrillaun and Cahernahoagh. There is rarely a second terrace. The wall is sometimes built in sections, like the Aran forts. The masonry of the stronger and probably older forts is very perfect, with beautiful curve and batter; cells never occur in the walls.

The district originally intended to be worked (as may be seen in the second section of this survey) covered the Barony of Burren, or East Corca Modruadh, along with the craglands adjoining it in the parishes of Killilagh and Kilfenora, the parishes of Kilnaboy and Ruan in Inchiquin, and a portion of Dysert and Rath. The present section completes the Inchiquin portion, and I hope to complete the Corcomroes in the closing paper. There are, roughly speaking, 280 forts in these parishes—in Kilnaboy about 90, in Ruan over 100, in Rath 30, in Dysert O'Dea over 40, in Kilnamona 20.

#### RUAN PARISH (O.S. 17).

Twice in the *Cathreim Thoirðhealbhaigh* we read of "Ruan of the grass-grown hollow *uamhadha*"; the latter word, locally pronounced *Ooan*, is used indiscriminately for a *cathair* or a souterrain. The first notice creates a difficulty, and may be a heedless slip of memory; but the last, in May, 1318, undoubtedly refers to this district. Here Sir Richard de Clare camped for the night before the fatal Battle of the Ford before Dysert O'Dea. The epithet is most appropriate, for Ruan abounds in ring-forts; to attempt a complete survey might add rather to the length than to the value of my survey, so I will only select a couple of important groups, and a few other examples. The Liss names are numerous: Lisnabulloge, Lisbeg, Lisduff, Lisheenavicknaheeha; the fort to the north of the last is locally Lisheenahuckera;<sup>1</sup> Lisnavooaun, Lisronalta, Lismuinga, Lissyline, and Liscarhuanaglasha (Carhuanalashee *alias* Cahernamart in 1666). To complete the Liss names known to me in the adjoining parishes I give Lisduff, Lisvetty, and Lisheenaboughil in Kilnaboy, and Lissyogan and Liscullaun in Rath. No such names occur in the parishes of Kilkeedy, Kilnamona, and Dysert so far as I am aware.

DROMORE AND RUAN (O.S. 25).—Three low earthen forts of no great size, and planted with hawthorns, lie to the east of the road from Teernea to Ruan.

<sup>1</sup> I believe my informant referred to the northern fort and not to "Lisheenavicknaheeha." It is Lisín an chróchaire (little fort of the hangman), telling a grim story of some forgotten execution.



LISHEENVICKNAHEEHA, "the little fort of the son of the night," is the most southern of these. This weird name may after all be simply derived from some former occupant, for the name, *Mac na haidehe*, appears in our Annals from 1104 to 1281. I have not found it in later records, a fact which favours some age for the *liss*. The form (if correct) seems akin to the name Cahervicknea in this district about 1650. It is a very low little earthen fort studded with hawthorn bushes.

CAHERMACREA (O.S. 17).—This once fine *cathair*<sup>1</sup> is most probably the Cahervicknea of the Down Survey and other documents of the mid-seventeenth century: *r* and *n* are interchangeable in local phonetics, as Croch and Knock, Cahermacrole and Cahermaenole.<sup>2</sup> The maps affix the modern name to a large oval ring of tumbled mossy stones in a

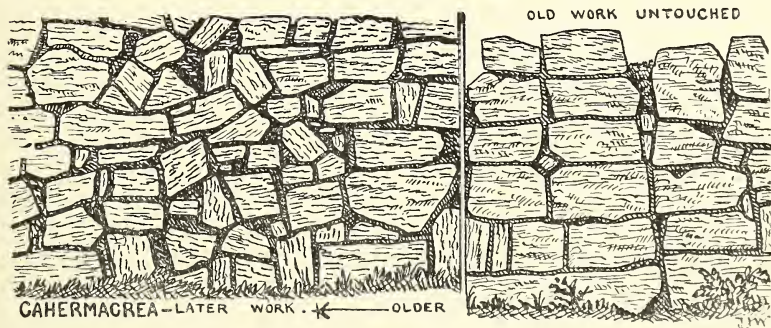


FIG 1.

thicket; the ring measures roughly 300 feet east and west, by 250 feet north and south, and (from the small amount of material anywhere remaining, the absence of facing and the lack of internal foundations) was probably an unusually large bawn, or cattle pen, against wolves. So far as I can find, no one attaches the name to it at present.

The ring-wall, now called Cahermacrea, is I believe entitled to the name. It was an important, massive *cathair* of excellent masonry, carefully fitted, and of large blocks. The wall is 7 feet high for a long reach, the batter is usually from 1 in 7 to 1 in 12; its facing is inferior to the east, but gets better at the north-east, at which point are several upright joints, as at Cahercloggaun and "Caherbeg" on Knockauns mountain. Some of the facing blocks are 19 inches by 11 inches by 16 inches up to 36 inches by 12 inches by 16 inches. The wall is about 9 feet thick with large filling, but the inner facing was of small blocks and, as so usually, has collapsed. The garth is 110 feet across; the fort being about 130 feet over all, and, being thickly planted, all traces

<sup>1</sup> Noted in the *Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> The Cahermacivra of the O. S. maps.



of house-sites are gone. Parts of the outer wall have been rebuilt to protect the trees, and all trace of the gateway seems removed.

LISAVOON or CAHERMORE, beside the road leading southward to Addroon (the site of a very curious dolmen formed of high pillar slabs),<sup>1</sup> is a thickly overgrown and nearly levelled stone-faced earthwork. It has a fosse 12 feet wide and only a few feet deep, and slight rings almost obliterated to the north. There is a straight souterrain in the garth in a thicket of hazels; it lies north-west and south-east, the walls being of small masonry roofed with shapeless surface slabs. It is nearly filled up. The road has cut into the rings along the south segment. A small defaced fort, LISBEG, lies west from it, and to the north at the cross-road is Kilranaghan, a large levelled ring 200 feet across.

LISSYLINE, north from Ruan, is a very low earthwork, somewhat oval, 250 feet north-west and south-east by 230 feet, with a shallow fosse, the mounds regularly set with hawthorns. To the south-west is a defaced normal *liss* called LISHEENAMUDDAGH, a low fort with a bank and fosse; its diameter is about 110 feet over the bank.

PORTLECKA (O. S. 25).—On the grassy ridge south from the village and ruined church of Ruan is a *cathair* commanding an extensive view to the Glasgeivnagh Hill round by Callan to Aughty and Slieve Bernagh, the ramparts of the eastern plain of County Clare. The ring was stone-faced, and is now rarely over 4 feet high, consisting chiefly of heaps of field stones with foundations of the outer facing of large blocks and more rarely traces of the inner face. This wall was from 15 to 18 feet thick, and enclosed a garth 183 feet east and west, 177 feet north and south, and 217 feet over all. It is strange that this evidently very important fort is nameless. The garth is levelled inside, being raised like a terrace 5 feet over the field to the south-east and lowered a couple of feet to the north. There was an inner house-circle, the wall 9 feet thick, and still over 3 feet high, extending for about 114 feet in the south-west segment. Another defaced enclosure lies beyond it to the north-west of the garth. In the centre of the fort is a souterrain of some interest. It is L-shaped in plan, the longer limb lying north-west to south-east. The southern entrance is 2 feet by 3 feet wide; the passage 17 feet 8 inches long and 4 feet 6 inches wide; at 8 feet it narrows to 15 feet 3 inches from the ope: this narrow passage being 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 10 inches wide. In the right (north-east) side is a recess 18 inches square, which, like a shallower recess opposite, was evidently for a doorpost. This is, I think, the only case I have found in this barony, though there are set stones perhaps for beam sockets in other souterrains. The passage turns at right

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. iv, Ser. III, Plate IX, No. 4, and p. 545.

angles to the south-west, being 5 feet 5 inches high at the turn. The next wing is 16 feet 6 inches long: the side walls are as usual of small masonry, with no cornice ledge such as we find at Mortyclough and Ballyganner. The souterrain is roofed with large slabs of limestone. There are two large slabs and four lintels over the outer passage, and seven over the inner; at two places are carefully arranged little openings, evidently shafts for air and light.<sup>1</sup>

Three entirely defaced ring-walls lie between this fort and Dromore Lake in the townland of Portlecka, and another lies in NOOAN. This townland is interesting both as recalling the "grass-grown *uamhadha*" of history by its name, and as having been once rich in early remains, now miserably defaced. Of three other forts, one has the stone facing of

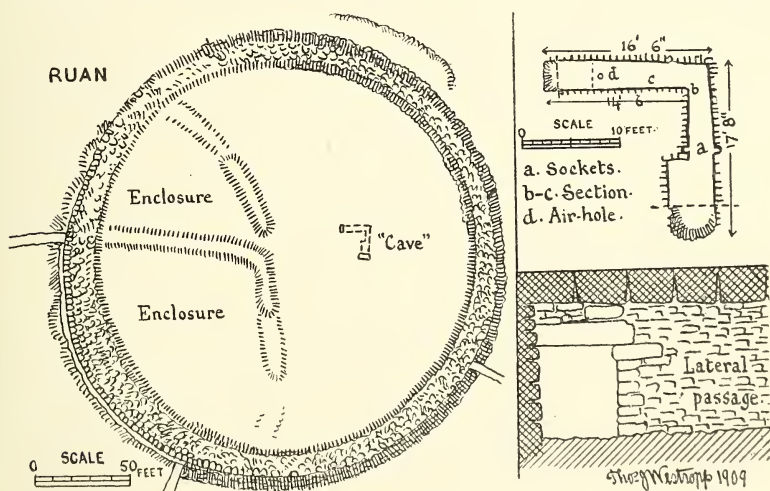


FIG. 2.—PORTLECKA.

good masonry intact to the south-west, the rest nearly all removed by road-makers. The souterrain lies in the open field between the two eastern forts, and is nearly stopped up; its entrance has a large lintel 8 feet 10 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 1 foot 7 inches thick. There is no trace of any enclosure round it.

CAHERNANOORANE.—This is a much-injured little ring-wall on a rising ground on the border of Ballymacrogan West. It is said to derive its name from the fairy songs heard in it.

TEMPLERARAH.—Below the last (in 1897) I found a very interesting though defaced ruin; a little oratory in a large ring-wall. The latter was

<sup>1</sup> For ventilating shafts see Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times* (5th ed.), p. 121. They occur in several Irish forts, e.g. Ardlinnan Rath.

151 feet across the garth, the wall of large blocks was overturned, and only in a few places was the well-laid facing visible, rarely 3 to 4 feet high. At 87 feet from the eastern curve lay the remains of a little oratory, the "Temple of the Rath": it was of fine "cyclopean" masonry, beautifully fitted together, and was 24 feet long by 16 feet 10 inches wide over all, the walls being 3 feet thick. The west door had inclined jambs formed of large slabs running through the wall; no part was much over 4 feet high, nor did any other feature remain. A neighbouring farmer had so little regard for antiquity or respect for church remains that he removed the ruin altogether in February 1906; poetic justice overtook him, as the calf-shed he built of the material collapsed, killing the animals in it not long afterwards. Strange to say, in Tooreen, not very far away, another outrage on our antiquities was avenged on the perpetrator. A man blew up a dolmen to clear his land, and in the explosion he was struck on his right hand by a splinter of stone, and was long crippled. A hope is left that such incidents may get known and discourage such sordid, unpatriotic destruction of our early remains, a blot on the present inhabitants of Clare and elsewhere. I have noted and given a plan of the wrecked dolmen in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.<sup>1</sup> Four small stones (one to the west and three to the east) remain, and part of the cover, one of the eastern stones being rather a low pillar, 4 feet 6 inches high.

CAHERLOUGH GROUP (O.S. 17).—This portion of the district lies between Ruan, Monanagh Lake (the Lough Cullaun of the maps), and Lough George. I can find no ancient name for these lakes. Near Kells (Cealla) on a low green ridge opposite Ballyportrea Castle, lies a large and, as usual, very low liss with a fosse, measuring about 250 feet over all, with two low rings; in its ambit lies the bossed stone cross described by Dr. G. U. MacNamara in these pages.<sup>2</sup> It is between Lough Cullaun and the lesser lakes of Knockaundoo and Toole's Lough, and commands the approach from the ancient ford of Corravickburrin (*Cora mhic Dhaboirean*) at Kells Bridge.<sup>3</sup> The fort is about 200 feet across; inside the fosse is a souterrain, to the east side an oblong foundation and the venerated hawthorn called *Sceach an bheannuighthe*. The early church of Templemore or "Moor" probably stood in a fort, as there is a souterrain near the graveyard, but I did not see any ring on either of my visits. It and a legendary church site at St. Catherine's gave the name Cealla "churches," now "Kells." The St. Catherine's site is now an orchard, and, strange to say, O'Daly's biting satire in the early seventeenth century (A.D. 1617) lampoons the people of Cealla for "digging

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxvi, p. 465, plate xxv. See also *Journal* xxxv, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, vol. xxx, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> See *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh* in 1317. Near it were "Bescnate's streaming banks."







in the churchyard in the snow." Burials have been found deep below the surface.

The old bed of the Fergus is now dry, but is still crossed by Kells Bridge over water-fretted sheets of rock, the fissures of which perhaps contain valuable antiquities. Dr. MacNamara found from a very old woman (who did not survive very long afterwards) that this old ford was named Corravickburren. This identifies it with an important ford of the Fergus, crossed by the army of Prince Dermot O'Brien, in 1317, on his way to the battle at Corcomroe Abbey; it was then called *Cora mhuic Dhaboirean* or MacDavoren's weir. South of the river bed and of Kells rises a long rough ridge of crag sheeted with dense hazels and thorns largely in the townland of Caherlough. It lies about a mile from the townland of Tullyodea and the fort of Liscarhoonaglasha or Cahernamart.

I think it probable that here and not at Tully the fierce little battle of *Tulach* (? *Ui Deadhaid*) was fought in 1313, when Prince Murchad O'Brien led his first attack on his opponents of the house of Brian Ruadh. He was aided by the O'Kellys of Aidhne, some of the Burkes, O'Maddens, Comyns, O'Loughlins, and Macraith O'Dea, with the men of Cineal Fermaic. O'Shanny brought them news that their opponents had mustered on Tulach's slopes to the southward with the clan Mahon O'Brien, the O'Gradys, and the *Ui Bloid* of eastern Clare. The foe saw Murchad's banners on the mountain moor, and soon he was leading his forces under a shower of missiles up "a steep-cut, rough, and seamy" hill "steep hillside," "a projecting bluff,"<sup>1</sup> and with difficulty he got foothold on the table-land on top, and after a fierce, bloody fight drove the enemy down into the wooded country; few could have escaped but that night fell, and Murchad's force could not pursue through "the close and rugged country." With the morning the Prince proceeded to take pledges from Corcavaskin in the south-west of the County Clare, and soon had driven out the sons of Prince Domnall and Mahon O'Brien, who fled to Richard de Clare at Bunratty Castle. The battle certainly did not take place on the ridge of Tully, a grassy, gently rising, broad-topped hillock. It was fought up a "steep, rough, and seamed ridge," on top of which there was hardly room to fight for the short space during which the issue hung doubtful. It commanded the approach from the important pass of Bealach Fhiodhail or Rockforest. All of these facts suit the Caherlough ridge; the only difficulty lies in the name, *Tulach*, and the titles of battlefields are notoriously artificial. The ridge is most difficult to examine between the often impenetrable thickets and the dangerous

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<sup>1</sup> No similar feature is found at or near the other Tulachs, *Tulach na nEaspog* in East Clare or *Tulach ui Chuire* near Kilfenora; while Tullycommoun seems off the track, and has no narrow ridge on top, though, as Mahon fled to Inchiquin, and the *Kinel Fermaic* came in to Murchad and went with him to Corcavaskin, the site is not impossible. But the question is at present uncertain.

fissures of the rock beneath, which is practically earthless. It has a curious group of late-looking forts which I purpose examining.

The first of the group lies just within the townland of Rinneen, divided by the side road from the end of Caherlough on its eastern edge. CAHER-RINNEEN is a nearly levelled but interesting ruin. The wall is from 10 feet to 11 feet 4 inches thick, the garth 73 feet across north-east and south-west along the axis of the souterrain. The "Ooan" (*namha*) is 6 feet 4 inches from the wall at the south-west, and is T-shaped on plan; the longer limb is 20 feet long and 4 feet 3 inches wide, its southern end is roofed with large limestone slabs for 12 feet. The cross-wing at the northern end is 13 feet 6 inches long and 4 feet 2 inches wide; only three of its lintels remain. It is 42 feet from the wall. North from the end is a trace of a hut-enclosure adjoining the rampart.

LISNAVULLOGH.—This lies due east from the last in Caherlough, a stone fort planted with hawthorns, and quite overthrown. Going up the lane as far as Thornville we pass two nearly levelled rings, and climb up the difficult crags to the north-east of the house. CAHERNAVILLARE lies on the summit; it is 63 feet over all, the stones so spread that its thickness cannot be measured. At 300 yards to its north-east lies CAHEREEN in a nearly impassable thicket; when I found it the fort was buried in bracken 6 feet high; the garth is 57 feet across the wall, as usual a tumbled ring of mossy stones. At 800 feet to the south-east lies CAHERLOUGH, almost exactly 1000 feet due east from Cahernavillare, and about 200 feet from Caherlough. Between the last two, but close to the last, is another small house ring of mossed blocks, barely 60 feet over all. The modern wall (apparently so unnecessary in this wilderness) curves round upon the old wall.

CAHERLOUGH.—The chief fort is about 95 feet across, thickly overgrown, on a most dangerous fissured crag. The wall has large facing, well set, with a slight batter of about 1 in 10 and about 9 feet thick. The fort has a large, but evidently later, annexe to the east; it is 114 feet across inside. The wall is built of large, coarse blocks, and is only 6 feet thick and 5 feet high, without filling (a late indication), on the bare ribbed crags. Inside, near the south, is a house-enclosure of large, rough blocks.

To the south-east is another far smaller *cathair*, also with a side enclosure. The former has a wall of coarse, large blocks with no batter, 5 feet high and 7 feet 6 inches thick. There are two hut-sites in the garth, which is 93 feet to 95 feet across, also a rock-cutting (probably once roofed to form a souterrain). It has a lining wall, and lies east-south-east, and west-north-west, being partly buried in debris. The fort-wall embodies several large blocks, which evidently lay on the crag before it was built. The annexe (unlike that at Caherlough) is carefully bonded into the fort; it is 6 feet thick with a little filling, and

it is evidently contemporary with the fort. The rough garth is 60 feet across north and south, and 75 feet east and west.

Another slight ring-wall, nearly levelled, lies some 700 feet northward from the last. Over the north edge of the townland, beyond the road from Teernea Cross to Ruan, and in Teernea, was a curious fort, 8-shaped in plan, of two equal rings, and excellent masonry with two faces and filling. It seems to have been built in one piece: the wall is usually 4 feet to 4 feet 6 inches high; so thick are the sloes and hazels everywhere (inside and outside) up to the wall, that I could not get any cross-measurements.

North from it, in an open field, is the last *cathair* of the group, also in Teernea. It is 102 feet wide inside, the wall 6 feet thick to the west, where it is only 3 feet high and 10 feet thick, and over 4 feet high to the east. The north and north-west parts are levelled to the foundations, which are of large blocks.<sup>1</sup> Of the other fort-names in Ruan, I note Rathcahaun, Rathvergin, Lisronalta, Lisbeg, Lisnavooan, Lisduff, Lismuinga, Lissyline, Doonanoge, and Ooankeagh.



FIG. 4.—MASONRY AT CAHERCLANCY.

DYSERT PARISH (O.S. 25).

CAHERCLANCY.—I examined three stone forts in this townland. The actual Caherclancy is greatly defaced, a laneway runs through it, and

<sup>1</sup> One of the Teernea cathairs is called, in 1655, Caher Tirnavoghter in the *Book of Distribution*.



the road to Ballygriffy Castle has encroached upon its base. Much of the wall of large blocks, with a slight batter, and about 5 feet to 5 feet 6 inches high, remains, but calls for no remark.

The other forts lie south of the road; passing across the thyme-tufted crags, we see on a low knoll, half-way between the road and the eastern fort, a large slab with a cave dug under it. The fort is greatly injured; only part of its walls is standing, 5 to 6 feet high, coarsely built with bad stones, and probably late. There are no foundations in the garth, which is about 100 feet north and south, by 80 feet east and west; it may be the bawn or cattle-pen of its neighbour fort.

The western *cathair*, on the contrary, is one of the finest pieces of masonry in this district of nobly built forts. It stands 68 feet to the west of the last, on a low grassy knoll, above a depression. It is from 6 to 7 feet high, and 10 to 12 feet thick, the last at the western side, with two faces of beautiful polygonal masonry of large blocks, but rather wide joints, and is fairly perfect all round. The batter is regular, 1 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in 4. The garth is level, and is raised 5 feet above the field; it is 90 feet across, and large, old hawthorns grow round the edge. The fort measures 110 feet to 120 feet over all.

#### DYSERT, RATH AND KILNAMONA PARISHES.

There are over thirty forts of earth and stone round Ballygriffy, and nearly sixty from Ruan to Dysert; none call for any special notice, being commonplace and featureless; a few deserve slight mention.

LISNANOWLE in Rath is nearly levelled to build the wall and back gate of Cragmoher House beside it. The records<sup>1</sup> give Cahernemohér and Cahergreenane in Cragmoher, alias Dromfinglas, 1655. It may be the "stone fort of Dromfinglas" (if the castle is not intended) in the Inquisition on the death of Donald O'Brien of Inistymon in 1588<sup>2</sup>. It is named in the will of Matthew Sweeny of Lisnanoule, yeoman, Feb. 3rd, 1695; the testator orders his burial in "the church of Coude (Coad)." There are curious outspoken directions about the mares and cattle; and two cows were named "Dufheane" and "Cronedovagha." The fort seems to have had two rings; considerable foundations of the inner one remain.<sup>3</sup>

CAHERCORCANE in Rath is a nearly levelled ring-wall. A coin of King John was recently found in its gateway. Conor (son of Mortagh) O'Brien owned Cahercorkeane, and was pardoned in 1591.<sup>4</sup> I could hear

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Distribution*, p. 526.

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office, Dublin.

<sup>3</sup> Will, Killaloe Registry.

<sup>4</sup> Report xvi, Dep. Keeper Rec. Ireland, p. 196. The place is Craig Corerain in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, 1589. In all other documents of Elizabethan times it is Cahercorcaun; probably both names existed as Tullycommann and Cahercommann, Cluainsavaun, Dunsavaun, and Clochansavaun.



of no stone fort in the adjoining CAHERNAMONA. There are three typical earthen ring-forts between it and Corofin railway station. LISCULLAUN has a rath with a conjoined larger annexe to the north-west, about 150 feet over both rings. Of other forts I may name—RATH BLAMAIC (an ordinary low earthen fort, and near it the base of a tumulus or cairn of earth and large blocks). CAHERVICKAUN and CAHER MACGORMAN (utterly defaced when the adjoining houses were built); they lie in a detached part of Kilnamona on a hillside.<sup>1</sup> Thence a steep road crosses the low part of Cappanakilla Ridge, close beside LISKILLACULLOO. The latter is a large low earthwork, pear-shaped in plan, about 250 feet east and west, and 200 feet across, and only a few feet high. RATHARELLA is an earthen fort, and CAHERBANNAGH<sup>2</sup> is a much-gapped, featureless ring-wall on a high spur; a sheepfold has been built out of the ruin; both lie in Kilnamona. The two largest forts are only of slight interest, being as usual low and featureless. That in KILKEE WEST is 200 feet across, while KYLMORE fort in Killeen, near Lough Atedaun, opposite Corofin, is 300 feet across east and west, and but little less north and south. In it is a killeen graveyard for children. There are many traces of cairns usually nearly removed. One gives its name to Knockacarnaun. One on a low crag near Shallee Castle in Ballyneillan is 74 feet across, and has a polygonal chamber about 5 feet every way. It was explored in 1874-6; it yielded a skull and the bones of two bodies.<sup>3</sup>

KILCURRISH (O.S. 25). An interesting group lies close to the curious church of *Cill Croise*, or Kilcurrish, in Kilnamona and Dysert. A cairn of large blocks stands on a spur about 300 feet above the sea on the edge of Caherbannagh. It is 57 feet across, and at present only 8 feet high, being hollowed out in the middle by treasure-seekers, but no cist is visible.

Down the eastward slope is a *cathair*, a ring of filling 7 to 9 feet high, with portions of the outer face of well-fitted, large blocks, with a batter of 1 in 4; the interior face is well preserved. The garth has been tilled, and is 102 feet across north and south, and 111 feet east and west.

Farther to the east in Dysert Parish is a huge natural block which some ignorant visitor has taught the local people to call "the Cromlech"; the mistake, however, led to my discovery of two real dolmens near it<sup>4</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> They and an earthen fort to the west named Ratharella are in line. Only the east segment of Cahervickaun remains.

<sup>2</sup> Morogh, Earl of Thomond, granted Cahirbeanagh in Inchiquin to Michael O'Dea, 14th December, 1660. The latter assigned it to Samuel Burton (of Buncraggy), July 18th, 1685. (Patent Rolls, William and Mary, No. 5, Pars 4, *facie*.)

<sup>3</sup> *Journal* xiii, p. 160, and xiv, p. 12, *Proc. R. I. Acad.* xxvi (c). Plate xxv for plan and section, p. 467 for description.

<sup>4</sup> Plan of the lower dolmen, *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxvi, (c), plate xxv, and p. 467.

one has collapsed, and is embedded in the roots of a venerable hawthorn 130 feet from the fort. The sides are 7 feet 3 inches north, 6 feet 10 inches south; the cover is 6 feet 3 inches, by 5 feet. North from the last, in the bottom of a valley among thickets of tall hazel, is another unmarked dolmen. It is 9 feet 10 inches by 4 feet over all, with two very rude blocks to each side and one to each end; it is not tapering, but rectangular. The cover has been tilted off, but rests on the side; it is 6 feet 8 inches long, and 5 feet wide like the last, and did not slope. We explored the open fields back towards Magowna Castle, but found no antiquities.

**TIRMICBRAIN** (O. S. 17).—A remarkable little rock fort in Rath Parish. It is greatly defaced, standing on a knob of limestone<sup>1</sup> on a steep, high ridge covered with brushwood and overlooking the lake and marshy valley of Tirmicbrain on the edge of Rath Parish. Local tradition connects the name with Bran the famous hound of Finn Mac Cumhail,<sup>2</sup> which, pursuing a magic stag, sprang from the top of Keentlea (Ceann Sliabh) or Inchiquin Hill into the lake, where it and its quarry disappeared for ever. The fort faces the richly wooded hill, the tall ivied castle, and the picturesque old terraced garden and villa of the Burtons. Reached with difficulty through thorny brakes, little is found. Two rings of large blocks rudely built, the walls rarely 6 feet high, crown the knoll, clinging irregularly to its edges. The upper ring is a little over 40 feet across; the annexe is over 50 feet, but is almost impossible to measure on account of thorn bushes.

The forts of Kilnaboy have, for the most part, been fully described; but a few extra notes on them and certain other antiquities seem desirable. The misleading statement in the Ordnance Survey "Letters of Co. Clare"<sup>3</sup> that "there are several cahers in this parish, but the most remarkable is Cahermore," ignores all the really remarkable examples in which Kilnaboy parish is so very rich.

**SLIEVENAGLASHA** (O. S. 10).—The lofty ridge at the high cliffs, almost overhanging the beautifully situated fort of Cahermore,<sup>4</sup> in Lackareagh,

<sup>1</sup> It is marked, but not as an antiquity, on the new map at the "R" of "Riverstown."

<sup>2</sup> The district appears in Irish literature as a haunt of Finn. "The Dialogue of Ossian" (*Trans. Ossianic Soc.*, vol. iv, p. 51) tells of his "two hounds at the lake of Inchiquin, two hounds at Formoil" or Formoyle in the neighbouring parish of Inagh. The scene of the *Feis tighe Chonain* is laid on the summit of Inchiquin Hill, and the same summit figures as a battle-field between Finn and the Tuatha Dé in the local legend of the Glas cow.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, vol. xxvi, p. 367, plan; vol. xxvii, p. 199. *Ancient Forts of Ireland*, Plate VII. It is called Cahermore in Glenkeane in 1655, in the *Book of Distribution and Survey*, p. 519.

at the mouth of Glenquin (*Gleanncaoin* in 1311), is crowned by a remarkable early cemetery. It is best reached past the Russells' house, up by the fort, along the echoing little glen below the cliffs, till we reach a vast talus of fallen blocks forming a rude ladder to the lofty summit. Cahermore, I may add, is a striking illustration of how little the fort-builders troubled themselves to secure an absolutely commanding site. Such a one was attainable on the ridge beside the little glen, yet the fort was built beside a high crag platform commanding its outer enclosures and the rampart of the central ring. Seeing it, Cahernawealaun and



FIG. 5.—GLENQUIN, WITH FORT OF CAHERMORE.

Caherlisaniska, in Co. Clare (even without considering the overhung forts in other parts of Ireland, and several promontory forts in Mayo, Kerry, and elsewhere), we cannot attach such weight as other antiquaries have done to the mere theory that a fort is not residential if its ambit is overlooked by neighbouring high ground. This view fails to recognize how rarely our so-called forts are "castles," how usually "courts" round a residence, whose builders hardly thought of attack or of siege, or mural assault as more than a mere possibility. The masonry of this noble fort



is similar in parts to Langough, near Newmarket,<sup>1</sup> in eastern Co. Clare, the stones being in certain cases rudely hammer-dressed to take the angle of the next block when necessary.

Three small carns stand on the cliff-bastion, which towers behind the fort and rock platform. They are much defaced, 12 feet to 16 feet across, and rarely 4 feet high. The middle one has a looped cattle shelter (for which it was dilapidated); much of the material was used to build the loose-stone wall on the dangerous edge of the precipice.

Far more interesting is the group of eight carns on the highest summit, 700 feet above the sea. The weird, bleached grey heaps<sup>2</sup> on the brown moorland overlook the curved grey rock terraces of Mullachmoyle and Glenquin, and all central Clare to the hills of Slieve Bernagh, across Co. Limerick to the Galtees. Southward we overlook glittering lakes and dark woods to Inchiquin Hill and Callan; westward we see out past the edge of the old world, for, when the sun gets low, a white blaze glows behind the low hills—the sunset on the waters of the Atlantic.

(1) The north-east carn is 18 feet across and 4 feet high; it is kerbed by a ring of slabs, set on edge, and usually 4 feet long and 2 feet to 3 feet high. There is a central cist, long since opened and partly filled; its cell is still opened for 5 feet inwards. (2) To the south is a levelled carn; part of its kerbing remains, but the stones are spread too widely for measurement. (3) At 50 feet farther southward is a third one kerbed, and 5 feet high, much dilapidated by rabbit-hunters. (4) At 140 feet to the south is a heap with remains of the kerb, and two slabs of the cist, which was 6 feet long. Another mass of stones of doubtful nature lies in a hollow to the north-west. (5) At 80 feet to the south of the last carn is the chief monument of the group, and perhaps on that account the oldest, being on the actual summit. It stands looking across the valley (where the bare brown patches are reputed to be the beds of the wonderful Glasgeivnagh cow and her calf), to the great cathair of Mohernagartan,<sup>3</sup> the fort and cave of the divine smith, Lon mac Liomhtha. Farther up the plateau are seen the largest cairn on the hill, and the fine neighbouring dolmen at Cappaghkennedy, while far to the south-west the ruined cottage and shining slabs of the wrecked dolmens of Slievenaglasha<sup>4</sup> catch the eye. Everywhere lie the rain-fretted level pavements of

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxvii, Plate X.

<sup>2</sup> The cairns in early times were sometimes the scenes of magic rites. *The Annals of the Four Masters*, under A.D. 555, cite a poem attributed to St. Columba, which alludes to "the hosts which proceed round the cairns." Also *Annals in Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii, p. 424, "round the *brugh* let him walk right-handed." I have heard of no relic of such observance in Western Ireland, though some attached to dolmens.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal*, xxvi, p. 364. It is also called Cahermore, a very common name in north-west Clare.

<sup>4</sup> The dolmen was destroyed about 1880 by an idiot, who set the fuel stored in it on fire.



the crag, showing (as the inhabitants believe) the actual tracks of the wonderful cow and Lon's sons. So, at Kinallia such markings represent in popular idea the footprints of the soldiers and hoofmarks of the horses of Guaire Aidne's guard pursuing the fugitive banquet, swept from the king's table by the Easter miracle of St. Colman MacDuach.

The identification of strange stones with cows is early in Ireland, e.g., in a twelfth-century manuscript, "the cows of Aife are stones which are on the sides of mountains, and are like white cows from afar."<sup>1</sup> Tracks and lines of earthworks are frequently attributed to supernatural animals; the Rian Bo of Ardpatrik, Co. Limerick, and that near Ardmore, Co. Waterford, were made by the horns of St. Patrick's cow, while the Dane's Cast, the Worm Ditch, and the Dunccladh in Ulster are believed to have been made by dragons, or by the Black Pig.<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that the Cladh Ruadh trench from Kerry Head to Athea may have once been connected with another pig, as the strange boar, *Banbh Sinna*, son of Maelenaig, was slain at Temar Luachra, near its eastern termination.<sup>3</sup> The *leaba* patches are very apparent from the cairn. I have given their curious legend elsewhere in these pages, and in *Folk Lore*, as it was preserved in 1839, and found practically unaltered in the recesses of these hills by Dr. MacNamara.<sup>4</sup> He and I were told by John Finn, in 1896 (I took it down at the time), a version mainly identical with O'Donovan's. "At Slievenaglusha are the Glas cow's beds; no grass ever grows on them; she used to feed near the herdsman's house [at the dolmen],<sup>5</sup> and over Cahill's mountain, where she could get plenty of grass, on to Teeskagh." His legend ended: "And she went away, and how do I know where? and there were no tidings." As another Tullycommaun version ended, "She was taken by an Ulsterman," one suspects that she was the cow hidden with the native of that province in the cave of *Leaba na haon-bo*, in Ballynahown, near Oughtdarra and Crumlin, farther west; but the natives say the "Hean bo" was not the "Glas."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Celtique*, 1892, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, vol. xl, p. 126; *Battle of Magh Tura*, p. 65. See also *Rian Bo* (Rev. Patrick Power), *Journal*, xxviii, p. 1, and xxxv, p. 110. For Mr. De Vismes Kane's "The Ulster Earthworks," see *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxvii, p. 322; also Canon Lett in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (new), vol. iii, pp. 23, 67—all very full and valuable papers. Also *Ancient Forts of Ireland*, section 149. In the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (ed. Faraday), p. 141, the Dun Bull digs a long double ditch.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Celtique*, vol. ii, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, xxv (1895), p. 227. *Folk Lore*, vol. xxii (1911), pp. 88, 89, also vol. xxiv.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal* xxvi, p. 365.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 346. Glasgeivnagh legends, see, for MacKineely and Balor at Tory Island, Donegal, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i, p. 115, and *Bentley's Miscellany*, Nov. 1837; for Elin Gow at Cluainte in Kerry, J. Curtin's *Hero Tales*, p. 1; for the Clare Stories, *Folk Lore*, vol. xxii, 1911, xxiv, 1913; also *Journal*, xxv, p. 227. For the "Gloss Gavlen" in Achill, see *West Irish Folk Tales*, W. Larminie, p. 1. She would pasture at Cruahawn of Connacht, and drink at Loch Ayachir-a-guigala. The legend also occurs at Ballynascreen in Derry, and Glengavlen in Cavan. There was a mound of the Glas at Tara.

The chief cairn is 42 feet in diameter, 7 feet to 8 feet high, and fairly perfect ; it has no kerbing, and the cist (if it exists) is concealed. The heap was an important trigonometrical station on the new survey, and a shelter was built on top visible far across the plains. (6) At 30 feet to the south is a large but greatly levelled cairn, also 42 feet in diameter, unkerbed, and hardly 3 feet high ; pens and cattle shelters have been built out of the stones close beside it. (7) On the edge of the platform to the extreme south, 135 feet from the last, is a defaced little cairn 18 feet across. (8) The last of the monuments lies across a shallow depression, and is about 255 feet westward from the last, and 288 feet south-westward from the chief cairn. It is 30 feet across, and 4 feet to 5 feet high, nearly perfect, save that it has been opened at one point, and the central cist exposed by treasure-seekers. This, unfortunately, is almost universal in Co. Clare, and took place everywhere too far in the past to recover any intelligible account of what was found. At the beginning of the last century it was recollected that pottery and crumbled bones, but no implements or gold, had usually been found. I carefully searched every open cist, but never found a particle of clay vessels or metal ; only sometimes bones reduced to the smallest flakes. I know of no closed dolmen, save, perhaps, one, and four cairns apparently intact, which it is best not to specify at present. It is noticeable that the three southern cairns of Slievenaglasha are unkerbed ; if (as I believe) one of these is the oldest, then the more advanced form (such as we find at Poulawack and elsewhere), may be the later ; however, kerbing is found round the mounds of important dolmens, such as Clooneen and Iskancullin.

GLENCOLUMBILLE (O.S. 10.)—The venerable church<sup>1</sup> dedicated to the great Columba, the patron of Ireland and of Iona, gives the name to the valley. I heard no tradition of the saint's sojourn here as I did at Crumlin. The church (as little known) I may describe, for it has been wrongly attributed to the fifteenth century,<sup>2</sup> because an inserted doorway is of that period. It is of the late eleventh or early twelfth century ; the west end and much of the north wall are destroyed, and part of the south side rebuilt in modern times, from the jamb of an early window eastward. The east light has a chamber and recess, and a well-built splay ; it is 16 inches wide, but the head is gone. There are projecting handle-stones in the east gable. The building measures 41 feet 9 inches outside by 21 feet 6 inches ; it is 16 feet 6 inches wide inside, the walls being 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 6 inches thick. The upper half of a conical

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, Ser. III, vol. vi.

<sup>2</sup> The Ordnance Survey Letters frequently describe essentially early churches as late when a Gothic door has been inserted.

quern of sandstone, 13 inches across and 7 inches high, lies at the north-west angle of the ruin.

The ridge on which the church stands lies between the glens at the foot of Cappaghkennedy Hill, between Glenquin and the rich thickets of Glencolumbcille—golden, scarlet, and pink in the autumn, with ash, hazel, hawthorn, pegwood, and wild guelder rose—running up past Cappagh Castle to the lonely hermitage and well of St. Colman MacDuach, under the huge Eagle Cliff of Kinallia. Glencolumbcille church commands lovely views of these and the terraced hills, and down the

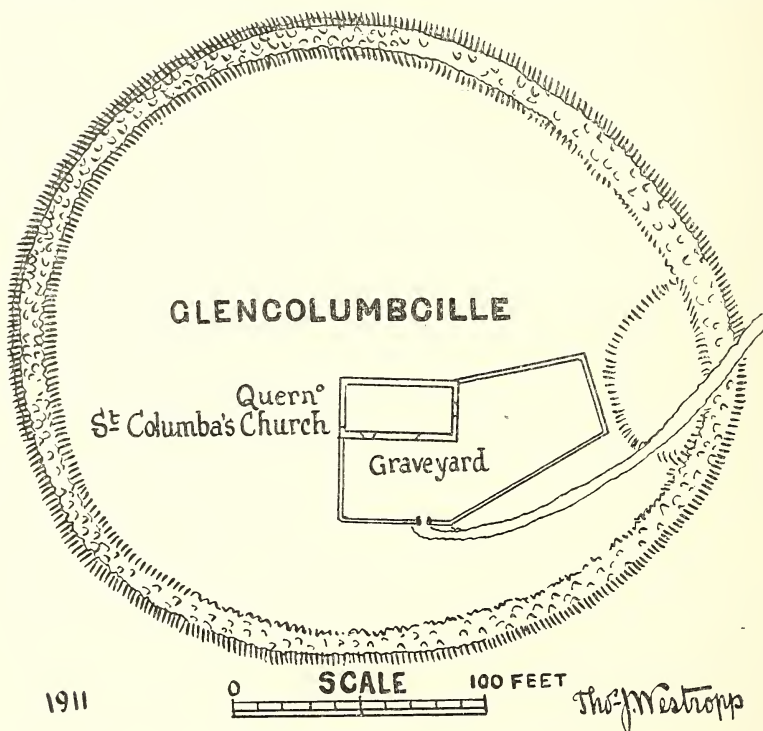


FIG. 6.—GLENCOLUMBILLE.

“pleasant valley” of Gleann Caoin, with a broad, open view of the low land down the glen.

I include the site, however, not for its religious interest or its beauty, but because the church and burial-ground stand within a large low ring-fort of earth and stones 236 feet across the interior, north and south, 258 feet east and west, and about 280 feet over all. It is largely of dry-stonework<sup>1</sup> to the south, and is much removed; the mound round the

<sup>1</sup> Miss Stokes in *Three Months in the Forests of France*, p. 28, mentions her discovery round the knoll on which once stood the monastery founded by St. Columbanus at

north semi-circuit is 10 feet to 12 feet thick, and 6 feet high, faced with large stones in part, but now featureless, for I found no trace of a gate. The area is terraced up on each side of the ridge for about 4 feet over the field. The occurrence of churches in forts is rare in the lower Shannon valley. Templenaraha oratory, with a massive ring-wall, near Ruan, I have noticed. Tulla church, in eastern Clare, had two circular ramparts about 150 feet and 480 feet across, stated in the life of St. Mochulla, in 1142, to have been dug and stone-walled by the seven converted soldiers of King Guaire, about A.D. 620.<sup>1</sup> Moyarta and Kiltinnaun stood on low, flat-topped mounds, with fosse and annexe; Killilagh and Rathborney, beside circular earthworks. In the neighbouring County of Limerick an imposing example occurs at Cloneagh church,<sup>2</sup> of which I give a plan. It is 750 feet

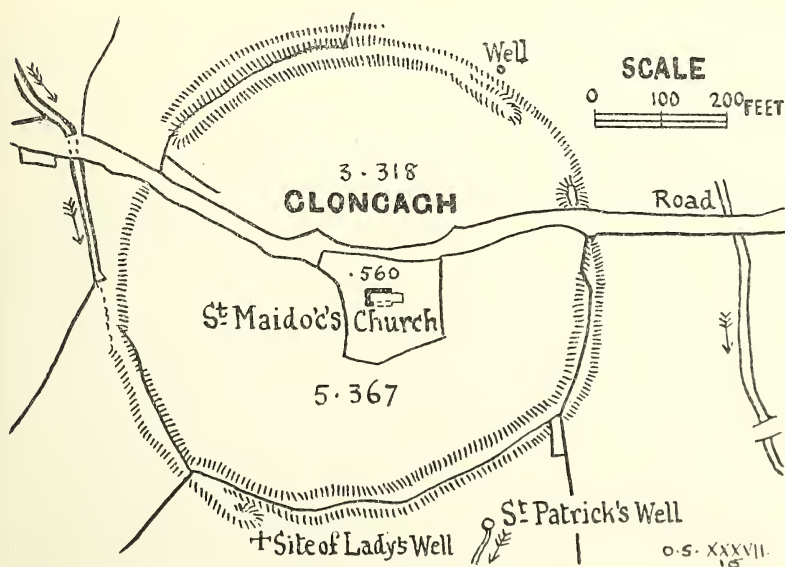


FIG. 7.—CLONGACH.

to 770 feet across, and consists of two mounds with a fosse between, such as St. Enda of Aran raised about A.D. 480, round the monastery of his sister, Fanchea, at Rossory,<sup>3</sup> where a circular fosse and mound remain. Templebryan Church, Co. Cork, stands in a large ring 400 to 500 feet across, with a souterrain and pillar-stone inside the ambit. Abbey Grey,

Annegraí, of a dry-stone wall, like Irish *cashels*, probably dating from the founder's time, circa A.D. 580; a view is given. There was a cashel at St. Elois' Monastery of Solignac, *ibid.*, p. xxxii.

<sup>1</sup> *Vita S. Mochullei Episcopi*, also *Journal*, xli, pp. 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, xxv (c), p. 413, xxvi (c), p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita S. Fancheae*.



or Monasternalea, in Athleague, on the Suck, is girt by a large mound 600 feet inside, and 700 feet over all, with a fosse 25 feet wide. It is, therefore, quite as probable that the Glencolumbeille earthwork<sup>1</sup> is ecclesiastical, as that some earlier chief gave his *dún* to God and the Church in the days of St. Columba. To the north-east of this work, close to the road, is a plain cross with three steps, and a thin octagonal shaft, each face only 3 inches wide. Across the road, on the fence, is a large natural block of limestone 4 feet long by 3 feet high, with *six* little round holes, the third and sixth larger than the rest, the reputed marks of the saint's fingers.

MULLACH (O. S. 17.)—I visited again the great cathair on Mullach ridge in Dabrien. I found that the hill (ridge) is locally named *Clochán*



FIG. 8.—TERRACED WALL, CAHERMULLACH, INCHIHUIN.

*wullach* and the fort *Caherwullach*. The large limestone boulder on the ridge is understood to be the “Clochan.”

My first brief description in these pages<sup>2</sup> is from a letter of Dr. MacNamara; from notes on my subsequent three visits I may expand it here. It is a fine oval ring-wall of good masonry, the batter in parts

<sup>1</sup> I found the supposed ecclesiastical earthwork at Kilmore, Co. Waterford, had no tradition or trace of a church or graveyard inside this strange but overrated earthwork. The name proves nothing, as the church (or wood) may have been elsewhere in the townland.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xxvi, p. 367.

being curved and in others in two slopes, 1 in 4 below for 6 feet up, and 1 in 3 above. The outer face of good large blocks sometimes 3 feet long, the inner of small stones. The rampart is often over 9 feet high and thick, the summit usually 6 feet 6 inches. Four inches lower is a narrow terrace from 27 inches to 36 inches wide (a part only 15 inches wide), being best preserved round the northern half, and reaches to the south-east. It is usually 4 feet above the garth. There are recesses perhaps for ladders, but the northern is only 10 inches deep, while 9 feet 6 inches long. The north-western is clearer, being 3 feet 3 inches wide. There is a well-defined rock cutting, a tank, or, more probably, a souter-rain, in the south-west segment. The fort measures 129 feet north and south, and 138 feet east and west outside, and the garth 112 feet and 120 feet inside respectively.

CAHERAHOAGH (O. S. 17).—Dr. George Mac Namara got the bushes in the overgrown garth of the fort cut away, disclosing once more the

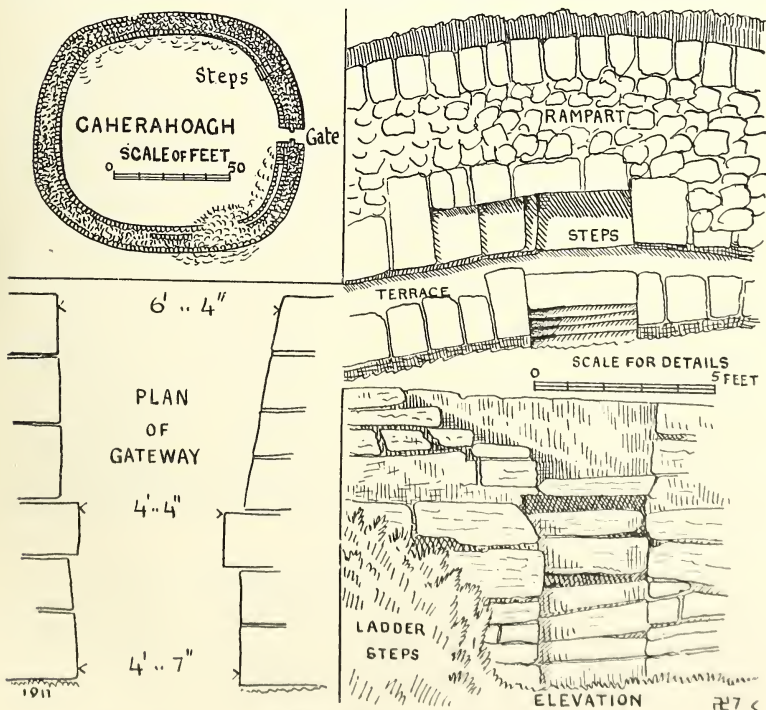


FIG. 9.—CAHERAHOAGH

curious ladder steps sketched by me<sup>1</sup> long before, but hidden for many years. I give a plan and details of the curious ring-wall. The gateway

<sup>1</sup> For the former description and views see *Journal*, vol. xxvi, pp. 366-7, and "Ancient Forts of Ireland," fig. 13, No. 6.

is of cut stone inserted about 1480; the steps near it are possibly as late, but have been nearly destroyed since my first visit. The laneway to the fort is called Bohereenacaheragh (*Boithrín na Cathrach*).

CAHERBULLAUN.—It lies 58 feet to the south-west of Caherahoagh, and is now quite levelled; the walls are 8 feet thick, the garth 82 feet across. To the east of this townland is Ballard; the local name for the adjoining part of it is “Bohaunnascraw,” while Ballyeighter is locally *Beol eighter*, and Lough Cullaun is known as Loch Monanagh. Aglish is Ballaglish.<sup>1</sup> Ashfield is called Garraunawhinshog.

CASHLAUNGAR (O. S. 10).—The townland of Tullycommaun is probably the Tulauch-comyn held by (King Torlough) O’Brien in 1298 as given in the *Pipe Rolls*.<sup>2</sup> Through it in 1317 the army of Prince Dermot marched on his way to Corcomroe Abbey, “along the fortress-begirt tracks” between Leana and Crughwill. Hugh O’Donnell’s troops plundered it in their great raid into Thomond in 1599. In again visiting the curious rock-fort I found two middens inside the wall at the south end of the platform, with bones of deer and oxen. The destruction of a bush revealed another fragment of wall not given on my first plan in 1896. I also found, utterly hidden in thick hazels on the platform spur below the rock tower on the north, a very massive walled enclosure or bawn, now nearly levelled. Mr. Richard Ussher made some experimental diggings in some of the caves in Glencurraun near the fort, and found very early traces of human habitation, such as he found at Edenvale. Unfortunately he was unable to carry on any works there. In Cahercommaun I also found a midden in the rock-cut drain; it yielded bones of oxen, deer, and swine, with shapeless iron implements greatly decayed. The fort name occurs in various records, as Kahirekamon in 1585<sup>3</sup> and Cahircomaine in 1655. The divisions of Tullycommaun in the latter year were Gleancrane, Leshene, Slewegg, Lisheenageeragh, Dullisheen, Cahir-comaine, and Cahir-comane or Lyshinlyane.<sup>4</sup> The personal name Chumann or Coman has been long connected with the district of Burren and Corcomroe; its earliest recorded chief, Celechar, slain in 701,<sup>5</sup> was son of Coman.

CAHERFADDA (O.S. 16). The cathair now bearing the townland name is most insignificant. It is a ring-wall of poor coarse crag slabs nearly levelled when some houses were built in it. The epithet, “fada,” long, does not seem justified in any fort on these townlands. As may be seen

<sup>1</sup> I have not, however, found the name Ballaglish in any document; the place is Eaglascarna in the Earl of Thomond’s Estate Map, 1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Pipe Roll* No. 27, anno xxvii Edw. I.

<sup>3</sup> *Fiantis Elizabeth* (Report D. K. R. App. No. xv).

<sup>4</sup> *Book of Distribution and Survey* (*P. R. O. I.*, p. 520); the name, though found in common use in the townlands by Dr. MacNamara and myself, does not appear in the 1839 map.

<sup>5</sup> Or 704, according to the *Annals of Ulster*.



(in the next section), the townland was "Carrowfadda," long quarter, in 1551 (*Ceathramadh*, not *Cathair*). The names, both in Irish and English forms, frequently interchange; but in this case the townland, not the fort, was "long," and the epithet probably passed to the fort. I may again point out that groups of nouns with the same terminal occur in place-names, e.g., Dun-savan, Clochan-savan, and Cluan-sumain, Cloghan-savaun, near Loop Head. The forts between Caherfadda and Lemeneagh Castle are a levelled ring-wall near the avenue, a low fort of earth and stones over the little valley, and another low earth-ring on the summit of Knockloon Hill. Traces of two small ring-walls lie between Caherfadda and the dolmens of Parknabinnia.

CAHERSCRIBEEEN (O.S. 16). I need only add to my former description of this rude but interesting and important fort<sup>1</sup> its plan and a record

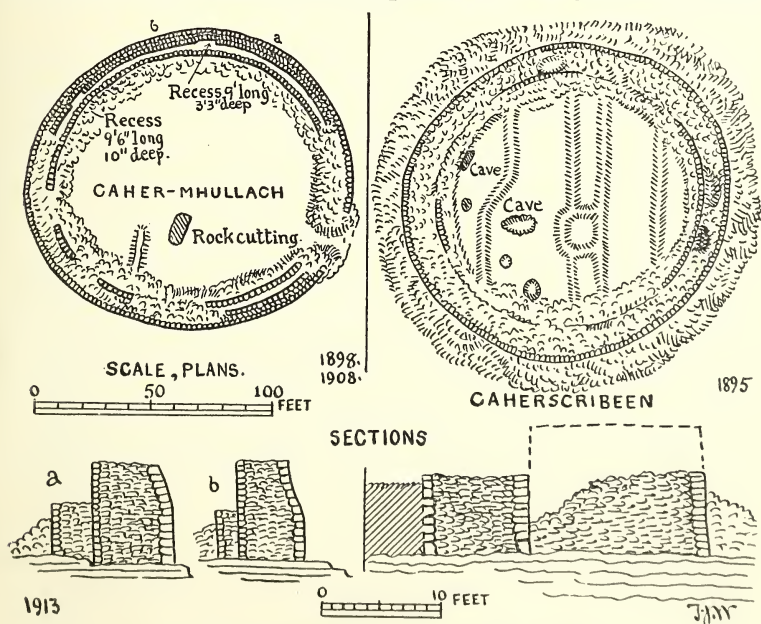


FIG. 10.—CAHERMULLACH AND CAHERSCRIBEEEN

bearing on the early form of its name which hitherto I found in no document (though well known on the ground) till it was inserted on the new maps. The will of Murrough O'Brien, "The Tanist," last recognized king and first Earl of Thomond and Baron of Inchiquin, is fortunately preserved in a contemporary copy at Dromoland, and dates 26th July, 1551.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, xxvi, p. 368. The nearest equivalents to the long parallel traverses across the garth are, so far as I know, those in the ring-fort at Carrowmore, Co. Sligo. Such also occur in German forts.

<sup>2</sup> I have to thank Mr. C. R. MacDonnell, of Newhall, for the use of his copy of the will.



In it occurs this passage—"Item. Altri filio tertio Donato relinquo castellum, vulgo nuncupatur *Leamneh*, cum quinque quarteriis sibi vicinis quorum nomina sunt haec, scilicet. tres quart. terr. *Cnokloine* et *Carah-Scribnib* et quarteria in *Clundin* (Clooneen) et dimidiate quarteriae *Fahafane*."<sup>1</sup> In the inquisition taken in 1626, after the death of Conor O'Brien in 1609, the three quarters of Lemeneagh are called *Carrowcastle*, *Carrowmoyle*, and *Carrowfadda*. The last two are evidently Cahermoyle-Roughan and Caherfadda, which also appear in the marriage settlement of the later Conor O'Brien and his formidable wife Maura Rhue, Mary, daughter of Therlogh Roe Mac Mahon of Clonderlaw,<sup>2</sup> October 19th, 1639. The gateway with his arms and an inscription in 1646 has only recently been pulled down and removed; it stood before Lemeneagh Castle, and was most injudiciously taken by the owner to his garden in eastern Clare.

**SHESHY** (O.S. 9). This townland, lying to the north of Lemeneagh, has two ring-forts. **CAHERMORE** occupies a good position on a gently rising crag; it has fine block masonry of the usual type, and is from 5 to over 6 feet high for much of its circuit. **CAHERACLARIG**, in a thicket of hazel bushes, near the Carran road, though far more dilapidated, has an unusual feature in the lower courses of its masonry. The bottom course is of large more or less rectangular crag blocks, but on these rests a course of thinner (header) slabs set on end like books on a shelf. I have only seen similar work in a *cathair* near Carrahan in eastern Clare, and even there all has been removed since 1892,<sup>3</sup> when I fortunately sketched it. There are somewhat similar courses in the upper part of the wall in Cahercommaun and Caherserebeen, but they rather radiate like rude flat arches than stand upright.

Near these forts are two dolmens, one in the deep little glen of Deerpark or Poulquillika. Borlase published my description and plan of it in "Dolmens of Ireland."<sup>4</sup> It stands on a low ridge, and consists of a chamber narrowing and lowering eastward, in all 18 feet long (in two compartments), and 7 feet to 5 feet wide. It has a fence of slabs round it. The covers are respectively 8 feet 2 inches by 5 feet 3 inches and 6 inches thick and 13 feet by 10 feet 3 inches to 9 feet and 9 inches thick. The remains of a small well-built house-ring appear on a small knoll to the west; the mere ring of large foundation blocks of a second *cathair* is seen on a bolder cliff between the Carran road and the old road to Castletown near their angle. There are also some defaced, roughly built, rectangular "mohers."

<sup>1</sup> It was called Cahirpolla, and adjoined Ballyganner; one document seems to place it next Lismohar.

<sup>2</sup> Dromoland Papers. For her legends and history, see *Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 363; vol. xxx, p. 408.

<sup>3</sup> Described in a paper on the remains in eastern Clare, *Proc. R.I.A.*, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i, p. 70.

## KILFENORA PARISH.

CLOONEEN (O.S. 9). The most beautiful of the dolmens in this part of the country is certainly Clooneen. Borlase's view,<sup>1</sup> though quite accurate, does not give any idea of its fine proportions; his plan is good. It lies in a dilapidated cairn, and is a tapering cist of very regular slabs; its cell, 15 feet 3 inches long, 5 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 2 inches wide, and 5 feet 6 inches high. The cover is over 15 feet by 8 feet and is 10 inches thick. A fence of slabs lay outside to the north, and a kerbing girds the mound. Such slab enclosures are no uncommon features in Co. Clare, as

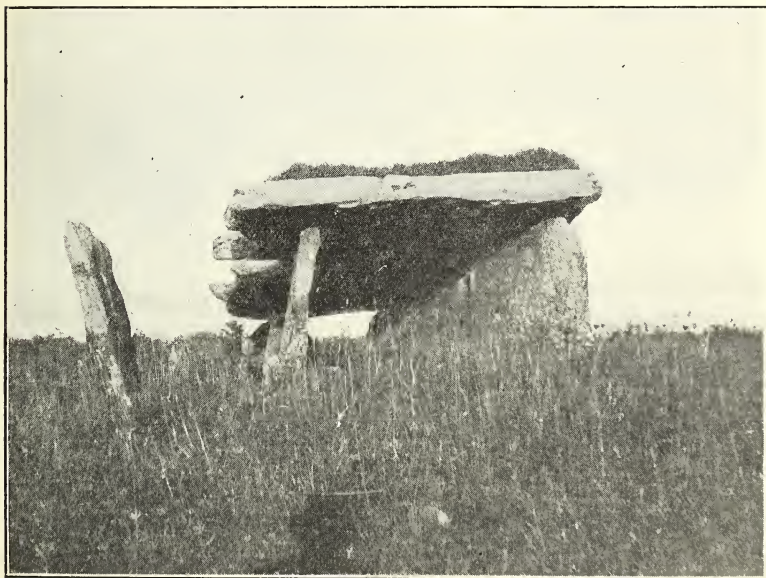


FIG. 11.—CLOONEEN DOLMEN.

I have recorded their occurrence at a now levelled "long dolmen" at Milltown, near Tulla, at Newgrove, Ardnataggle, and perhaps Killokennedy in eastern Clare, and at Iskancullin, Deerpark, and Clooneen. There is a small hole pierced in the south side-slab and the tops of the sides are hammer-dressed.

ARDNAGOWELL (O.S. 16). The most problematical of the early earthworks of Clare is certainly that on Knock Ardnagowell, a low green rise in the shale land, not far to the south of the road from Lemeneagh to Kilfenora,<sup>2</sup> in the townland of Ballyclaneahill. It is a conspicuous object

<sup>1</sup> "Dolmens of Ireland," vol. i, p. 80. See also *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> The plan is by Dr. G. U. MacNamara, who also measured the tumuli at Knockacarn and Ballyganner Hill for me. The townland is locally called Ballyclooneahill.





TULLAGHA (O.S. 16). I limit this paper from Lemaneagh onward to the antiquities lying immediately south of the Kilfenora road. Beyond these limits to the south there is but little to describe. Forts are few, and nearly all of the common type, about 100 feet across, of earth with rare traces of stone-facing and a fosse and low rings. The only ones worthy of any detailed notice about Milltown, Cahermurphy, and in the "Irrus" peninsula from Loop Head to Dunbeg I have already described.<sup>1</sup> Of dolmens, only those of Carncreagh and Callan and the problematical Ogham slab near the last needed and received notice. Two of the earthen forts lie near the road opposite the cross-road leading past Ballykinvarga, Noughaval, and Cahermacnaughten to Ballyvaughan; they are in Tullagh

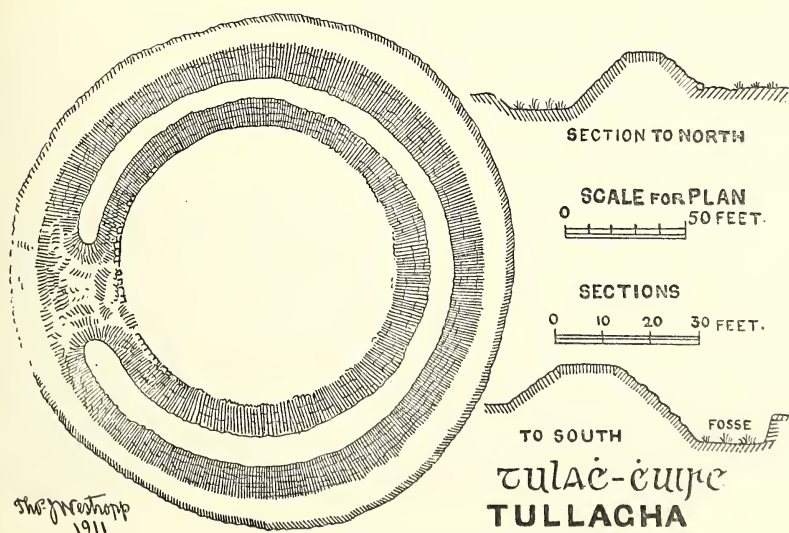


FIG. 13.—TULLAGHA.

(locally Tullagh) townland, probably the ancient *Tulach Chuirc*. The one nearest the road is 220 feet over all, and is a mass of beautiful green sward, rising 13 feet over the fosse, which is 6 feet deep and 15 feet wide, with no outer ring. It is nearly filled up on the east and south, and is still wet in parts and filled with yellow iris. The rampart is 31 feet thick at the field-level to the south, and rises 6 feet over the garth; it is 41 feet thick at the base and 12 feet on top to the north. There are three gaps, two very shapeless and narrow, the third faces the east and was probably the ancient entrance. The garth is 117 feet across and nearly a true circle; it has been tilled, and is now much overgrown with docks. The rampart was once evidently faced by revetments of large regular

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, xli, p. 125, pp. 132-136; xxxviii, pp. 28, 114, 221, 344.



sandstone blocks, but few traces remain, save along the inner foot of the mound.

The earthen fort on the low rising ground of KNOCKALISH lies about 400 yards away to the south-west. It is 150 feet across, but of little interest.

I have already described the more noteworthy forts of Kilfenora parish, Doon, Ballykinvarga, Ballyshanny, and Caherminaun. Doon was very probably the *Tech nEnnach*, the *dún* made by Ennach, son of Umor, on the river Dael, which rises from the ridge on which this great rock-cut fort sits imposingly, dominating the view from Roughan and the Tullycommaun ridges to far out to sea. CAHERBALLAGH is a



FIG. 14.—BALLYKINVARGA FROM THE EAST.  
(From a Photograph by Dr. G. U. MacNamara.)

featureless ring planted with hawthorns near Lough Ballagh. CAHER-SHERKIN is only a small defaced ring-fort. The "Down Survey," *circa* 1655, shows near it a large rectangular fort which is not given on the old or new Ordnance Maps, and I could not learn that any trace exists. Just within Kilnaboy parish lies LISSYOGAN, an oblong earthwork, 100 feet by 150 feet on Knockaunadrunkady (Little Hill of the Fleas) in Moherbullog, while CAHERGAL in Maghera is a barely visible ring of filling on a pleasant hillock on the flank of Inchiquin Hill, overlooking the green valley towards Applevale.

In the closing section of this paper I hope, so far as I am able, to conclude my survey of the ring-forts of north-west Co. Clare by notes on those undescribed round Lisdoonvarna, and the results of farther examination of the district thence to Ballyganner ridge and the Kilfenora road, so as to meet the present survey.

# A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF EARLY CROSS-SLABS AND PILLARS

By HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.A.I., M.R.I.A.

(Continued from p. 169)

## LEINSTER—continued

Locality and Townland.	No. of Ord- nance Map.	Situation.
------------------------	---------------------------------	------------

### COUNTY KILKENNY.

- |                               |            |  |
|-------------------------------|------------|--|
| 1. Gowran,<br>Gowran Demesne, | S.E.<br>20 | Near the W. window of the church, close to<br>the village. |
|-------------------------------|------------|--|

(a) A pillar-stone 5 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. square, bearing an incised cross of early design. See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xl, p. 345 (M.).

(b) An ogam stone 5 ft. high, 1 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft., bearing also an incised four-line cross potent with circle in centre. The cross is about 1 ft. 6 in. in length.—See Brash, *Ogam Inscribed Monuments*, plate xxxix (I.).

- |                        |            |   |
|------------------------|------------|---|
| 2. Killamery,<br>Same, | S.W.<br>30 | In the graveyard, 9 m. N. of Carrick-on-Suir. |
|------------------------|------------|---|

(a) A rectangular slab about 1 ft. 3 in. by 9 in., having a single-line Latin cross about 5 in. long, and with slightly enlarged ends incised on it. Below the cross is the inscription *op ap thuaθhal*.

(b) A rectangular slab 4 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 9 in., incised with a double-line Latin cross, having a semicircular base containing a triquetra. The cross is surrounded by a double-line frame below which is a triangle containing another triquetra. At the upper end of the cross is inscribed *op ap annin æbðæn*, and at the side *op ap annamn æbðæn*.—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 24 (D.I.) and *Journal of the Waterford and S.E. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix, pp. 11, 16 (D.).

(c) An upright stone 3 ft. by 1 ft 8 in. by 6½ in. thick, incised with a plain single-line Latin cross surrounded by two lines, which follow the outline except at the top where they break off.

- |                         |            |                        |
|-------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| 3. Ballyneale,<br>Same, | N.W.<br>37 | 4 m. N.W. of New Ross. |
|-------------------------|------------|------------------------|

A pillar-stone about 2 ft. high, bearing a plain incised Latin cross 1 ft. in length.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in *R. I. A. Library*, vol. i, No. 74 (I.).

## KING'S COUNTY.

- |                 |      |  |
|-----------------|------|--|
| 1. Clonmacnois, | S.E. | In the cathedral and graveyard, 9½ miles |
| Same,           | 5.   | N.W. of Ferbane Station.                 |

By far the largest collection of early slabs in the country belongs to Clonmacnois: 272 stones are recorded, of which 200 are still to be seen, 72 having unfortunately disappeared. It is not necessary to describe these slabs in detail, as those bearing inscriptions have been published in Dr. Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, and more recently the entire series has been clearly illustrated in Professor Macalister's *Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*. In the latter work they are divided into ten classes as follows:—

- (1) Inscriptions only.
- (2) Inscriptions with small initial crosses.
- (3) Inscriptions with small crosses not initial.
- (4) Larger crosses of simple form.
- (5) Crosses in square panels.
- (6) Crosses in circular panels.
- (7) Crosses in which the limbs extend outside of the ring.
- (8) Crosses having expanded centres and extremities.
- (9) Similar crosses having loops at the extremities.
- (10) Later designs, being Latin crosses in rectangular panels.

Since the publication of Professor Macalister's book, an additional slab has been found and is described in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xl, p. 235. It shows the upper portion of a five-line cross having a circular centre containing a spiral pattern, and semicircular looped ends containing fret and interlaced work.

The slabs most interesting for their ornament and inscriptions are:—

No. 81. An interlaced design in a circular fret border.

No. 120. A ringed cross decorated with swastikas, in a rectangular frame covered with Greek fret.

No. 156. Part of a slab showing a seven-line cross with elaborate spiral and fret patterns in the expansions.

No. 192. A perfect specimen of characteristic type; a three-line cross with a circular centre containing a triskelion and looped semicircular ends containing frets.

No. 195. A similar slab (broken), having in each quarter a worm gnawing the cross.

No. 249. A ringed cross having looped angles and a square base. In the centre a square panel surrounded by four lozenges. Each of these, as well as the shaft and arms, is decorated with separate interlaced pattern.

No. 253. Part of a cross made up of four separate endless bands. Each of these forms one quadrant, and interlaces on itself in an elaborate knot at the centre and at each end.

No. 39. Incribed *pechtoria*, an abbot, ob. 779.

No. 59. *bathal*, a bishop, ob. 817.

No. 70. *tuathgal*, an abbot, ob. 763.

No. 126. *tipparc annpeni*, an abbot, ob. 929.

No. 145. *odpan hau eolair*, a scribe, ob. 994.

No. 237. *ruibine mearlaehumar*, anchorite and scribe, ob. 892.

No. 239.  $\text{copbr iv chpvm}$ , abbot and bishop, ob. 899.

No. 240.  $\text{dubcen mac eadghain}$ , a prince, ob. about 950, and  $\text{conaing ua corghaig}$ , a bishop, ob. 997.

No. 262.  $\text{aed mc eadog}$ , a king, ob. 1014.—See Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, vol. i, Macalister's *Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, O'Neill's *Sculptured Crosses of Ireland*, *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. iii, p. 294, vol. xxix, p. 116, vol. xl, p. 235, vol. xli, p. 51.

2. Tihilly, S.E. At the ruin marked "Temple Kieran" on  
Laughaun, 8 the O. Map, 3 m. N.W. of Tullamore.

(a) A rough slab 4 ft. by 2 ft. 5 in., bearing a three-line cross with a plain square centre and rectangular extremities. A rectangular frame or panel surrounds the cross, and a defaced inscription occupies the sinister side.

(b) A similar slab in which the centre and extremities of the cross are filled by interlaced knots. A defaced inscription runs across the upper part. The slab is broken into three pieces, and the top is missing.—For (a) and (b) see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxvii, p. 132 (D.I.).

(c) A slab bearing a design consisting of a cross or four-rayed star formed of intersecting arcs of circles, and surrounded by two concentric circles, the outer being 11 in. in diameter.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.* vol. xxix, p. 65 (I.).

3. Durrow Abbey, S.W. In the graveyard in the demesne, 4 m.  
Durrow Demesne, 9 N.N.W. of Tullamore.

(a) The lower portion of a tapered slab of sandstone 3 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 10 in., bearing a cross formed of two bands, which fork and interlace in the arms, and are joined to the two bands which form the enclosing panel. The bands are mitred at the centre and interlaced with a ring. There is a partially effaced inscription in three lines in the upper sinister quarter.

(b) A narrow slab of sandstone 3 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., incised with one of the finest cross designs known. A ringed Latin cross of three lines, with square centre, and three rectangular extremities containing knots. The top is semi-circular and contains a spiral pattern. The segments of the ring are ornamented with a running design of spirals. In one line down the sinister side is inscribed  $\text{op do aigidu}$ .

(c) A rectangular sandstone slab 2 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., incised with a ringed cross, having a square centre, and rectangular extremities, all containing knots. The arms of the cross are nearly equal in length, and the ring is ornamented with plaits. Below the cross is the inscription  $\text{† op do cathalan}$ .—For (a), (b), (c) see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 138 to 141 (D.I.), and for (b) and (c) see *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 56 (D.I.).

4. Gallen Priory, S.E. On a mound near Gallen House,  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. S. of  
Gallen, 14 Fербane Station.

(a) The dexter half of a slab now 3 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 8 in., incised with a six-line cross having a circular centre, and a four-line frame surrounding it. The arrangement of the lines is unusual. The lower quarter is inscribed  $\text{diam}$  . . .—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 11 (D.I.).



(b) A slab 2 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 11½ in., incised with a seven-line cross with circular centre and semicircular looped ends; the centre contains a knot and the ends fret patterns. An inscription reads down the sinister side  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{do}}$  bpaun.

(c) A fragment of a slab 1 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., showing one arm of a four-line cross in a rectangular fret-border. Outside is inscribed the name beppan.

(d) A small slab 1 ft. 6 in. by 11 in., incised with a four-line cross in a circle, beyond which the stem alone projects. There are some remains of an inscription.

(e) A slab 2 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., incised with a large ringed cross between two smaller ones. All have expanded bases.

(f) The lower portion of a slab 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 5 in., incised with a seven-line cross having a circular centre and semicircular looped ends containing traces of interlaced work.

(g) A slab 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 10½ in., incised with a two-line Latin ringed cross.

(h) A slab 1 ft. 10½ in. by 1 ft. 2 in., incised with a two-line ringed cross.

(i) One half of a slab now 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft., incised with a Greek cross formed of interlacing and surrounded by two circles.—For *a* to *i*, see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 61 to 66 (D.I.).

(j) A slab 3 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., incised with an elaborate design greatly injured but perhaps copied from a metal cumdach. The design is a cross of close interlaced work, surrounded by a rectangular frame, the base of the latter being of square fret and the remainder of triangular fret. The designs in the upper quarters are almost obliterated; the lower dexter quarter contains a knot of irregular and unusual form, and the sinister a crucifix. At the dexter side of the stone is a small plait of four strands. Above the fret border are inscribed the words  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{do}}$  bpaegenuch.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 173 (D.I.).

5. Lemanaghan,	N.W.	In the graveyard beside the road to Clara,
Same,	15	4 m. N.E. of Ferbane.

a) A slab about 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., carved with a rectangular panel containing an interlaced cross in relief. This cross is made up of triquetras joined by their angles and showing the unusual feature of pairs of bands uniting in one. Above is the word petah and below a word not deciphered. (The stone is now missing.)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 60 (D.I.).

(b) A slab about 3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft., incised with a double-line ringed cross and the name conlapac, which reads down the sinister side. (This stone is now missing.)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 18 (D.I.).

(c) A slab of sandstone 2 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 8 in., incised with a Greek cross, having expanded ends and rounded off angles, in a circle of 14 in. diameter, and surrounded by another circle of 16 in. diameter. (This stone lies near the wall W. of the church.)

(d) A slab of sandstone 2 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 8 in., incised with a 16-in. circle containing a ringed Latin cross of two lines, having the sectors of the ring recessed. The centre of the cross is 2½ in. above the centre of the surrounding circle. (This stone lies near the last-mentioned.)

(e) A rough slab of sandstone 1 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., incised with a double-line ringed Latin cross. The lower end of the shaft is pointed, and the upper end furnished with loops. (Leaning against the wall in the N.W. corner of the graveyard.)

(f) A slab of sandstone 1 ft. 3 in. above ground by 1 ft. 6 in wide, carved in relief with a ringed cross potent. (Set upon a grave S.E. of the church, and about half way to the boundary wall.)

(g) An upright sandstone slab, slightly tapering, 2 ft. 3 in. above the ground and 1 ft. 5 in. wide, covered on one side with a continuous diagonal key-pattern, having the centres of the keys modified into spirals. (This stone stands a short distance S. of the west end of the church.)

(h) A thin slab of sandstone, broken and wanting one corner. It is 3 ft. 6 in. long by 2 ft. 4 in. wide, and bears a ringed cross of two lines incised, and having the sectors of the ring recessed. The base of the shaft is stepped and pointed, and the cross is surrounded at the upper end and sides by a rectangular incised line. Above the line and inverted is the inscription  $\text{✠ benedict pro}$   $\alpha[\eta\mu\alpha]\iota\eta\iota\alpha\iota\iota\beta\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\delta$ . (Leaning against the wall N.W. of the church.)—For (a) to (h) see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xli, pp. 151 to 156 (D.I.).

- |                                  |            |  |
|----------------------------------|------------|--|
| 6. Tisaran,<br>Moystown Demesne, | N.W.<br>22 | In the old graveyard in Moystown Demesne,<br>3 m. S.W. of Belmont Station. |
|----------------------------------|------------|--|

A small slab incised with a double-line ringed cross. Immediately below the shaft is a small circle. The inscription  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ do bpan}$  runs across the top and down the sinister side. See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 50 (D.I.).

- |                                |            |  |
|--------------------------------|------------|--|
| 7. Seir Kieran,<br>Churchland, | N.W.<br>39 | In the churchyard, 7 m. N. of Roscrea. |
|--------------------------------|------------|--|

(a) A slab of irregular shape, incised with a six-line cross, having the centre a circle, and the ends three quarter circles. At the sinister side are the traces of an inscription  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ do ch} \dots$

(b) A similar slab, incised with a seven-line cross of similar shape, having in the centre a crosslet with spiral ends.

(c) A third early slab. (Not described.)

(d) A fourth early slab. (Not described.)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, pp. 48–9 (I.).

(To be continued.)

## Miscellanea

**The Dublin Society for the Support of Decayed Musicians.**—Referring to Dr. Grattan Flood's paper (*ante*, p. 144), Mr. P. J. Griffith writes that he holds the account-books not from 1794 to 1850 as there stated, but from 1787, the year of the foundation of the society, down to the present time, and the minute-books from 1798 to the present. Mr. Griffith encloses a copy of the last report of the society (now called the Irish Musical Fund), which shows that it is still actively carrying on its useful work.

Mr. Victor Smyth further writes that three names, viz., James Walsh, Henry Lyster, and Richard Whiteman, have been accidentally omitted from the list on p. 146; they should come between Richard Woodward and Henry Mountain. The names in this bracket should be credited with 11s. 4½*d.* each, not 10s. Also on p. 146 Paul Jacob should be Row<sup>l</sup> Jacob, on p. 147 Samuel Lee should be Samuel Leear, and on p. 148 John Butter should be John Butler. The totals should be carried over across pp. 146–149.

In a further communication referring to the date of the foundation of the Charitable Musical Society, Mr. Smyth writes that it must be earlier than 8 October 1750: for in the Dublin Almanack of 1752 occurs the following:—"In the year 1743 the Charitable Musical Society of Crow Street (now removed to the Philharmonic Rooms in Fishamble Street, where they hold their concert every Wednesday evening) resolved to appropriate their fund towards the supporting of an Hospital for Incurables. And as a House was opened 23 May 1744, for the reception," etc.

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**The Arms of Ireland** (vol. xlii, pp. 172, 340).—With reference to Mr. Nuttall Smith's note under the above heading, I enclose an extract from Boutell's *Heraldry*, p. 434 of the third edition (1864), which perhaps may throw further light on the subject. The paragraph occurs in the chapter on "Augmentations."

"Another most remarkable example of an earlier period is the Augmentation granted by Richard II to his favourite Robert de Vere, K.G., ninth Earl of Oxford, Marquess of Dublin and Duke of Ireland: az. three crowns or, within a bordure arg., being a differenced Coat of St. Edmund to be borne quarterly with Arms of de Vere. This augmentation appears to have been regarded as the Arms of Ireland (see Mr. J. Gough Nichol's paper on the Earldom of Oxford, in vol. ix of the *Archæol. Journal*.)"

The above-mentioned Robert de Vere, 9th earl of Oxford, was created Duke of Ireland in 1385. He was the first "Marquess" created in England. He died without children.—FREDERICK W. SHAW.

**The tall cross at Monasterboice.**—I have not been able to find in any book the interpretation of a small panel at the top of the east face of this cross, immediately above the intersection. It has occurred to me that the sculpture represents the boat with the disciples, and Peter sinking when his faith failed him; a figure, presumably our Lord, is holding out His hand to another who appears to be sinking, beside a boat full of men with oars.—F. E. STEPHENS.

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**Notes on Stones used as a Cure at Killerry, near Dromahair, and on certain Bullauns.**—The ancient graveyard of Killerry is situated on the borders of Sligo and Leitrim, about two miles to the west of Dromahair. In it may be seen a rough horizontal slab, on which are set out seven smooth, rounded stones, ranging from 6 to 10 inches in diameter; at one side of the slab a small peg-shaped stone is fixed upright in the ground. All these can be recognized in the photograph (fig. 1). The caretaker of the place, in pointing out the stones, stated that there was a spring of good water under the slab. As the latter lies on the ground, there is no sign of water, nor from its position is it likely to have much under it. The mention of water, however, is not without interest, as in many cases where collections of round stones occur they are placed in hollows or rock-basins, and these retain water to which useful properties are ascribed. In this instance there are no basins, and the assertion that there is water under the stone may be due to a general idea that water in some form should be associated with monuments of the kind.

The people of the surrounding district frequently resort to these stones for the cure of strained sinews. The procedure is as follows:—A friend of the sufferer goes to Killerry and brings a piece of thread, which should in strictness be of unbleached linen, though this condition is not always adhered to. On arrival at the place, the thread is wrapped round the peg-like stone mentioned above; the round stones are then turned separately while a prayer is said; afterwards a thread left by some former visitor is taken up, brought to the patient, and bound round the affected part; the cure soon follows. This process is called "*Lifting a strain thread*"; it is equally effective for the cure of horses or cattle.

A resident in the neighbourhood informed me that in his case the thread had been entirely successful; it was applied at night, and next morning he was quite well and able to go to work as usual.

The story told locally to account for this custom is that St. Patrick when travelling through the district was refused a passage at the ford of Sligo, and had to proceed round Lough Gill. In the rough ground about Killerry his horse strained a sinew, and the Saint then arranged



these stones so as to cure the animal and avoid delay to his journey. When departing he blessed the stones, and left them ready to cure strains in men and animals for ever.

These stones may be compared with the better-known "*St. Brigid's Stone*," situated about twenty miles further east, near the old church of Killinagh, at Blacklion, in the County Cavan.

Mr. Wakeman published a sketch and description of this monument in the *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> and also in the *Proceedings R.I.A.*<sup>2</sup> In these accounts a certain confusion will be noticed. In the *Journal* the stone is described as a nine-hole bullán, and is stated to have eight basins in a circle with a ninth in the centre; in the *Proceedings R.I.A.* it is called a ten-hole bullán.

The stone containing the basins is roughly circular in plan, about 5 feet in diameter, and having the upper surface flat. On this flat surface are nine basins or hollows, arranged roughly in a circle, and each containing a rounded stone; a tenth stone of larger size than the others is placed in the centre of the circle, but there is no hollow under it. Since Wakeman's time the field has been tilled, and on the removal of the grass round the monument an additional basin and stone were discovered at the north-east side, and at a lower level than the others; they are clearly seen in the photograph (fig. 2).

The monument in its present condition therefore exhibits ten basins and eleven rounded stones. In contrast to that at Killerry, it has not been resorted to or made use of for many years; but Wakeman has recorded the tradition that it was formerly used by persons wishing to bring a curse on someone who had injured them, the condition of its use being that the curse fell if the accusation was just, but otherwise it recoiled on the head of the person who invoked it.

Several other monuments of the same class are on record, but no traditions of any value seem to have survived in connexion with them.

One with five hollows and five round stones at Keimaneigh,<sup>3</sup> near Gougane Barra, in the County Cork, may be mentioned; another with nine basins is at Meelaghans,<sup>4</sup> near Tullamore, in King's County.

Many others are known which have no loose stones connected with them, these having probably disappeared in the course of time; one of these at St. Fechin's, near Cong,<sup>5</sup> in Co. Mayo, has five shallow basins, and in shape closely resembles the Blacklion stone. Another at Gortavoher, in the Glen of Aherlow,<sup>6</sup> near Tipperary, has six basins arranged symmetrically in a circle, and three of these break through the edge of the stone, so that they are incomplete, and of little use except to contain a stone.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xiii (1875), p. 459.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. xvii (1889), p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. xvii (1889), p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xvii (1889), p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, vol. x (1869), p. 349.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, vol. xl (1910), p. 60.



FIG. 1

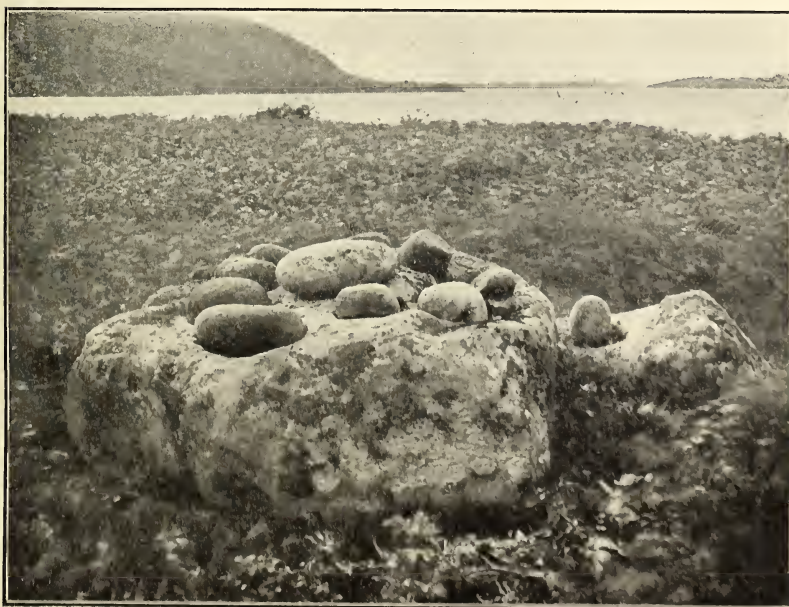


FIG. 2

CURE-STONES AT KILLERRY



Glendalough in the County Wicklow possesses a greater number of bullaun stones than any other locality; most of these are single, but some have two basins side by side, others two on opposite faces of the stone. These are usually considered to have been grain-rubbers, and the different basins accounted for by the supposition that when a hollow became inconveniently deep the stone was turned round, and another started. Two of the larger bullauns preserved in St. Kevin's House retain their rounded stones; these also are pointed out as mortars, but it will be found that the stones are so close a fit that it is difficult to move them much without danger of crushing the fingers; on the whole, it is just as likely that they were used for 'turning' like the stones at Blacklion and Killerry.

As showing how widespread is the idea of obtaining advantage by turning stones, it is interesting to read in Dr. Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya* (vol. ii, p. 200), that one of the stations on the pilgrimage round the sacred mountain Kailas consists of a circular wall, in the centre of which is a small boulder, having in it a hollow containing a round stone like the hoof of a yak.

He continues—"When the faithful pilgrim passes this spot, he takes this stone, strikes it against the bottom of the hollow, and turns it round once like a pestle."

Other stations are described as decorated with rags, streamers, and locks of hair attached to cords supported on poles or fixed to the stones by lumps of butter. In conclusion may be mentioned the *pot-holes*, often formed when stones are kept in constant motion by water, and sometimes liable to be mistaken for the handiwork of man.

HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.A.I., M.R.I.A.

### Further Ossory Letters —

[1]

Dublin de 22 1677.

Dear S<sup>r</sup>

This brings you the ill news of our Bishops Death who it has pleased God to take out of this world last night at nine a'clock God prepare us all for our last end; he was consumed to nothing; hee has don very well by madam Parry; & has left considerably to the Church; Dr. Parry is your Bishop & M<sup>r</sup> Morton is dean of Christ Church & Dean Worth is Dean of S<sup>t</sup> Patricks; the Duke of Cambridg is dead; the Bishope of london is removed to Canterbury; now S<sup>r</sup> I must thank you for yours and my bill; I have received the mony; I am obliged to you



for your advice but being I have begun I think I shall goe on with it & I will give you many reasons when I see you; all the Church men are full of expectations but some must bee disap[oin]ted<sup>1</sup>; pray S<sup>r</sup> will you see my poor boys for I hear they look very ill which I am infinitely trobled at I begg you for God sake to see them & lett mee know the truth how they doe for I long to bee with them my service to M<sup>rs</sup> Hadock I am S<sup>r</sup>

Your afectinate servant

Jane Hill

I am at the Bishops hous which God knows is very sad wee have bin is [*sic*] soe great confusion all this weeck I could not writ to you.

I wish you a merry Cristmas.

[Endorsed: ffor Alderman Hadock at his hous in Kilkeny.]

[2]

Dear S<sup>r</sup> John

I am much troubled at the unexpected blow in your Family, but I hope your own Prudence will moderate my Poor Sister S Dorus, as well as your self. M<sup>r</sup> Schuldham died three days since, by w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> living of Knocktopher a Parliamantary Union worth £270 p an: or thereabouts is now in my disposal; He was allso Prebendary of Blackrath worth about 20<sup>1</sup> p an: w<sup>ch</sup> being at a distance from y<sup>e</sup> liveing, and near y<sup>e</sup> town, I have given to M<sup>r</sup> Lewis y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Ormonds Schole Master. The living is at your Service; I know you will reside on it, and tho' it is at a distance from your Estate, yet if Dorus's living be equivalent you may both in time be easily accomodated. There is no house but 2 or 3 acres of Gleb. I believe you had best make hast to this Country.

I am your affec:

Tho: Ossory.

Abbey-leix Dec: 4

1719

[Endorsed: To the Reverend S<sup>r</sup> John Staples Bart<sup>t</sup> at Tullyhogs near Dungannon. Free Tho: Ossory.]

[3]

M<sup>r</sup> Haydock

I should have wrote to you by my Bro<sup>r</sup> Marten but knew he needed not any recommenda<sup>ns</sup> to so good a friend: M<sup>r</sup> Haydock If you thought

<sup>1</sup> Paper torn.

it feasible or if it could be easily effected; I would willingly have a small contribution motion'd for M<sup>r</sup> Woodroffe who is a little above y<sup>e</sup> ordinary rate of Curates, for reading constant morning Prayers: tho I shall never bee there I am willing to subscribe my Guynea yearly & I am sure M<sup>r</sup> Sweet will as much. I am in hast so have not else to add but respects & services to yo<sup>r</sup> good spouse M<sup>rs</sup> Gostling and all friends am

yours affectionately

Jo<sup>n</sup> Ossory.

[Endorsed: For Alderman Josias Haydock att Kilkenny.]

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

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**Errata.**—P. 170, *ante*, line 9, for *issue* read *volume*; p. 176, line 10 from bottom, for *last* read *east*; p. 177, line below figure, for *stone* read, *store*; p. 180, line 4, omit *no*; p. 192, line 6 from bottom, for *on* read *an*.

## Proceedings

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the 65th Yearly Session of the Society was held in Sligo, on Monday, the 23rd June, 1913, at 8 o'clock, p.m., in the Town Hall, by kind permission of the Mayor and Corporation.

COUNT PLUNKETT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*, in the Chair.

Also present :—

*Fellows* :—E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.* ; Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., LL.D., *Past President* ; Right Hon. M. F. Cox, M.D. ; Henry Courtenay, I.S.O., J.P. ; Anthony Lucy, M.A. ; Seaton F. Milligan, J.P. ; M. J. Nolan, L.R.C.S.I. ; P. J. O'Reilly ; Andrew Ryecroft ; D. Carolan Rushe, B.A.

*Members* :—J. G. Alcorn, J.P. ; Mrs. Allen ; Miss Anna Barton ; Miss Carolan ; Miss M. E. Cunningham ; Miss S. C. Cunningham ; W. J. Dargan, M.D. ; Miss I. Daniel ; Miss Isabel Denning ; Edwin Fayle ; A. T. Gilfoyle, D.L. ; Mrs. E. L. Gould ; Francis Guilbride, J.P. ; Lucas White King, LL.D. ; Mrs. E. Maunsell ; H. C. Montgomery ; William Colles Moore ; John P. M'Knight ; Miss Parkinson ; Miss U. T. E. Powell ; Rev. Patrick Power ; E. C. Quiggin, M.A. ; Miss Redington ; E. Weber Smyth, J.P. ; Mrs. E. W. Smyth ; William Webster.

*Associate Members* :—Mrs. E. Bewley ; Geoffrey Bewley ; Mrs. Dargan ; Mrs. Gilfoyle ; Mrs. Colles Moore ; Edmond M'Knight ; Miss S. H. O'Grady ; Mrs. E. C. Quiggin ; Miss Nora Young.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Associate Members were elected :—

### AS FELLOWS.

Courtenay, Henry, I.S.O., J.P., Hughenden, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.* (*Member*, 1895.)

Curran, Rev. M. J., Archbishop's House, Drumcondra, Dublin : proposed by Right Hon. M. F. Cox, M.D., *Fellow*.

Torney, Henry C. S., 3, Royal-terrace, East, Kingstown : proposed by Herbert Wood, M.R.I.A., *Member*.

### AS ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Bewley, Mrs. E., 89, Merrion-square, Dublin : proposed by Dr. H. T. Bewley, *Member*.

Bewley, Geoffry, 89, Merrion-square, Dublin : proposed by Dr. H. T. Bewley, *Member*.

Craig, Francis B., M.R.I.A.I., Kenmare, Orwell-park, Rathgar, Dublin : proposed by P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

AS ASSOCIATE MEMBERS—*continued.*

- Dargan, Mrs. T., 45, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin: proposed by W. J. Dargan, M.D., *Member.*
- Darley, Arthur Warren, 4, Palmerston-park, Dublin: proposed by P. J. Griffith, *Member.*
- Deane, Miss S. D., Longraigue, Foulksmills, Co. Wexford: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*
- Gilfoyle, Mrs. A. T., Carrowcallen House, Skreen, Co. Sligo: proposed by A. T. Gilfoyle, D.L.
- Healy, James J., 16, Kenilworth-square, Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., F.S.A., Past President.
- Lawrence, Major George Henniker, East Lancashire Regiment, Fullwod Barracks, Preston: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*
- M'Grane, Mrs. M., Grace Park House, Drumcondra, Dublin: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*
- M'Knight, Edmond, Nevara, Temple Gardens, Dublin: proposed by P. J. M'Knight, *Member.*
- Moore, Mrs. Colles, 5, Herbert-road, Sandymount: proposed by W. Colles Moore, *Member.*
- Nicol, Robert, Provincial Bank, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin: proposed by T. G. H. Green, M.R.I.A., *Member.*
- O'Brien, Michael, Mullnaburtlin N. S., Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh: proposed by Joseph Whitton, *Member.*
- O'Grady, Miss S. H., Aghamarta, Cork: proposed by Mrs. E. L. Gould, *Member.*
- Orr, Rev. John, B.D., T.C.D., St. John's Rectory, Sligo: proposed by S. F. Milligan, J.P., *Fellow.*
- Quiggin, Mrs. E. C., 88, Hartington-grove, Cambridge: proposed by E. C. Quiggin, *Member.*
- Walker, Henry John, B.A., Solicitor, Athlone: proposed by W. P. Kelly, *Fellow.*
- Young, Miss Nora, Rathvarna, Chichester-park, Belfast: proposed by Robert Magill Young, *Fellow.*

The following paper was read and referred to the Council for publication:—

"The O'Connor Sligo Monument," by the Right Hon. M. F. Cox, M.D., *Fellow.*

The following papers were taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

"Promontory Ports of Achill, Co. Mayo," by T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow.*

"The Promontory Ports and early remains of the coasts of Co. Mayo, The Mullet (concluded)," by T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow.*

"Notes on Sir John MacCaghan, Kt. of Cloghan, Chief of Delvin-MacCaghan, who died in 1590," by Lord Walter FitzGerald, *Fellow.*



The following Programme of Excursions as arranged was successfully carried out :—

*Monday, 23 June.*—On arrival the Members lunched at their respective Hotels; after which they assembled at Sligo Abbey, and inspected it.

*Tuesday, 24 June.*—The Members drove round the north side of Lough Gill to Dromahair, stopping on the way to examine the remains of a number of Cashels and Stone Alignments, and a large Carn and the Fern Glen. Visited the Abbey, Dromahair, and, returning by the south side of the Lake, ascended the Carn.

*Wednesday, 25 June.*—Members drove to Carrowmore, and examined the various Megalithic Monuments, and returned to Sligo for lunch. After lunch they drove to the Deer Park.

*Thursday, 26 June.*—Drove to Knocknarea and saw Queen Medb's Carn, the Stone Circles, and the Glen. On the return they went by motor boats up the river to Lough Gill, and visited the Holy Well and Altar.

*Friday, 27 June.*—Drove to Glencar Lake and visited the Waterfalls, Swiss Valley, and two Crannogs in the Lake. Thence went to Drumcliff, and saw the Round Tower, High Cross, and Dolmen. They then went to Lissadell for afternoon tea by the kind invitation of Sir Josslyn Gore-Booth, Bart.

*Saturday, 28 June.*—Drove to Ballisodare to see the Rapids, Waterfall, and Ancient Church. Drove to Collooney, passing over the ground where the Battle of Carrignagat was fought with the French in 1798, noted the Monument, and saw the Flour, Woollen, and Carbide Mills at Collooney, and returned to Sligo.

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES  
OF IRELAND  
FOR THE YEAR 1913

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART IV, VOL. XLIII

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Papers

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EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY, OR  
DINGLEY, ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS  
VISIT TO IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

COMMUNICATED BY F. ELRINGTON BALL, *Fellow*

[This paper was submitted by J. RIBTON GARSTIN, *Past-President*, on  
27 APRIL 1909]

FIFTY-SEVEN years ago the late Mr. Evelyn Shirley, the author of the *History of Monaghan*, began to communicate to the Society the journal which Thomas Dingley kept during his visit to Ireland in the years 1680 and 1681, and in a series of twelve papers, which were spread over a period of eleven years, contributed the greater portion of its contents.<sup>1</sup> The completion of its publication has since been desired by

<sup>1</sup>The papers contributed by Mr. Shirley are printed in the following volumes of the *Journal* of the Society, according to the consecutive numbering of the volumes now adopted: vol. iv, pp. 143, 170; vol. v, pp. 22, 55; vol. vii, pp. 38, 103, 320; vol. viii, pp. 40, 268, 425; vol. ix, pp. 73, 176. To his last paper, Mr. Shirley has appended a notice of Dingley, and one will also be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The material for these notices has been chiefly obtained from information given by John Gough Nichols in the introduction to another work by Dingley, which was published in 1867 by the Camden Society. That work, which has been reproduced by a lithographic process in facsimile, is entitled a *History from Marble*, and treats, in a similar manner to the present *Journal*, of antiquities in England. As Mr. Garstin has remarked, though the present manuscript is styled a journal, it has no reference to days or dates, and, as will be seen, consists mainly of inscriptions in churches and on public buildings.

Jour. R.S.A.I. { Vol. III, Sixth Series. }  
                  { Vol. XLIII, Consec. Ser. }

Irish antiquaries, but, owing to a disastrous fire at the seat of its owner, Sir Francis Winnington, in Worcestershire, all hope of the appearance of the remaining portion was for a time laid aside. With the assistance of my friend, the Rev. Horace Monroe, then rector of Great Witley, I discovered, however, some years ago, that the journal had escaped the flames, and by the generous kindness of Sir Francis Winnington the Society is now enabled to print the concluding portion, which is reproduced from photographs of the original manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

[DUBLIN.]



FIG. 1<sup>2</sup>

[Here are drawings of the arms of the University of Dublin and of the City of Dublin.]

[Here are drawings of the arms of the Earl of Essex.<sup>3</sup>]

#### ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH,

the chief of this City, of which hereafter, hath in it a fair monument erected by the eminently Honourable Richard, y<sup>e</sup> first Earle of Cork, who being born a private Gentleman, and younger brother of a younger brother, of Herefordshire, to no other Heritage than is expressed in

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of some emendations of the punctuation, and the additions denoted by the use of brackets, the manuscript is followed exactly.

<sup>2</sup> The primitive vehicle depicted by Dingley was in his time the ordinary mode of conveyance between Dublin and Ringsend. Except when the river Dodder was in flood, the route was then across the strand, which extended to Trinity College, and the distance was traversed in a few minutes by the coaches, which were driven at a gallop.

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Ormond held the sword during Dingley's visit to Ireland, and the prominence given to the arms of his predecessor, the Earl of Essex, cannot be explained.

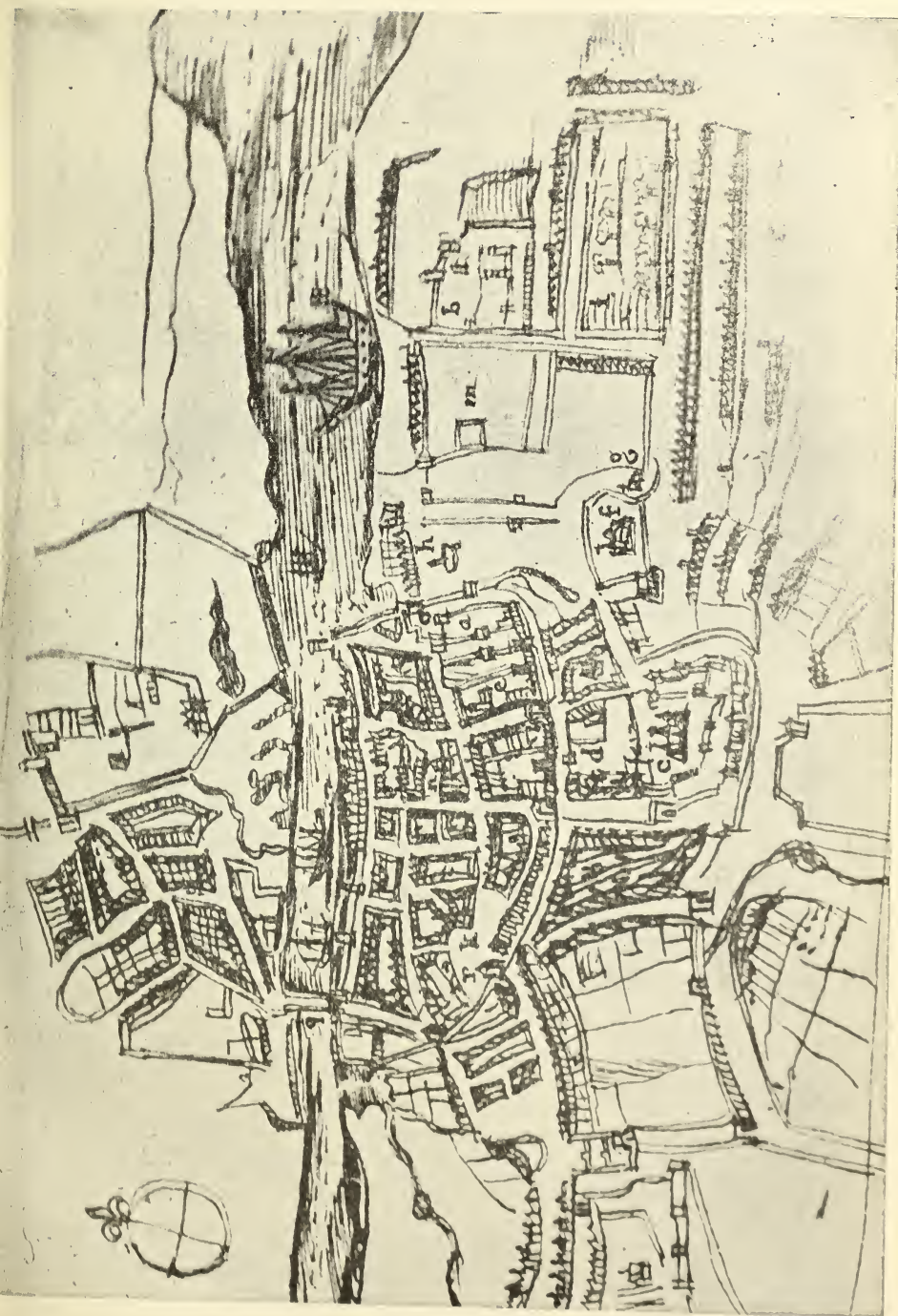


FIG. 2



the Device and motto, which is seen on y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> monumēt and his humble Gratitude hath caused to be inscribed on all the Palaces he built (viz.)

GOD'S PROVIDENCE IS OUR INHERITANCE,

by that Providence and his diligent and wise industry, raised such an honour and estate, and left such a family as never any subject of these 3 Kingdoms did, and that with so unspotted a reputation of Integrity, (as y<sup>e</sup> reverend D<sup>r</sup>. Walker takes notice),<sup>1</sup> that the most invidious scrutiny could find no blott though it winnowed all the methods of his rising most severely.

This noble Lord by his prudent and pious Consort was blest with 5 sons, of which he lived to see 4 Peers of y<sup>e</sup> Kingdom of Ireland, and the fifth an eminent Vertuoso. He left also 8 daughters.

And that you may remark how all things were extraordinary in this great Personage, it will not be much out of the way to add this short Story from the mouth of a Lady of Quality his Relaçon.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Boyle (for then y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Earle was no more) and who was then a widdower, came one morning to wait upon s<sup>r</sup> Geoffrey Fenton, Knight, Principall Secretary of State in Ireland, (whose Statue is made Kneeling in the 3<sup>d</sup> range of y<sup>e</sup> Cork monument in S<sup>t</sup> Patrick's Church), who then being Engaged in some business, and not knowing who waited to speake with him, for a while delay'd him access, which time he spent pleasantly with his yong daughter in the Nurses arms. But when s<sup>r</sup> Geoffrey saw whom he had made stay somewhat long he civilly excused. But Mr. Boyle reply'd he had bin very well entertained, and spent his time much to his satisfaction in courting his daughter, if he might have the honour to be accepted for his son in Law. At which s<sup>r</sup> Geoffrey smiling, (to hear one who had bin formerly married, move for a babe carried in arms, and under 2 years old, for a wife), asked him if he would stay for her; to which he frankly answer'd him he would, and s<sup>r</sup> Geoffrey as generously promised him, he should then have his full consent, and they both kept their words honourably.<sup>3</sup> And by this Virtuous lady he had 13 children, ten of w<sup>ch</sup> he liv'd to see honourably married, and died a Grandfather by the youngest of them.

1. Richard y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>bl</sup> Earle of Burlington and Cork.

2. The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Roger Earl of Orery, that great Statesman, Poet, and souldier.

<sup>1</sup> The identity of Dingley's authority has baffled me.

<sup>2</sup> The wife of Callaghan, 3<sup>d</sup> Earl of Clancarty, who married as her second husband Sir William Davys, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. She was a daughter of George, 16<sup>th</sup> Earl of Kildare, and was through her mother a granddaughter of the great Earl of Cork.

<sup>3</sup> This anecdote will be found more correctly related in a letter from Evelyn (*Diary*, ed. 1879, iv, 39). As the great Earl of Cork married his second wife within eight years of the death of his first one, the circumstances cannot have been as Dingley supposed.

3. Francis Lord Shannon, whose Pocket Pistol as he styles his book, may make as wide breaches in the walls of the Capitol, as many cannons.<sup>1</sup>

4. And that Hon<sup>ble</sup> and well known R. Boyle Esq<sup>r</sup>, that profound Philosopher, accomplished Humanist, and excellent Divine, whose works alone may make a Library.

The Female branches were—

1. The Lady Alice Boyle who was married to y<sup>e</sup> first Earle of Barrimore.

2. The Lady Sarah to s<sup>r</sup> Robert Digby, Lord Digby of this Kingdom of Ireland.

3. The Lady Letitia to y<sup>e</sup> eldest son of the Lord Goreing, who died Earle of Norwich.



FIG. 3<sup>2</sup>

4. The Lady Jone to the Earle of Kildare, not only y<sup>e</sup> first Earle of the Kingdom of Ireland but the ancientest house in Christendome of that degree, the present Earle being s<sup>d</sup> to be by D<sup>r</sup> Walker the 26 or 27 of

<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned by Harris (*Ware's Works*, ii, 186) amongst the writers of Ireland, and appears to have been author of tracts on the papal controversy.

<sup>2</sup> In the forefront to the left a group of soldiers will be noticed. Similar groups are introduced elsewhere, and are said to have been cut out of prints and stuck on the sketches: See Dingley's *History from Marble*, i, 32.

lineal Descent. And according to the Observacon of that great Antiquary the late King of blessed memory, that the three ancientest families of Europe for nobility were y<sup>e</sup> Veers in England Earls of Oxford, the Fitz Gerald's in Ireland Earls of Kildare, and the Montmorancys in France. 'Tis observable also that the now Earl of Kildare is a mixture of the blood of Fitz Gerald's and Veers.

5. The Lady Katherine was married to the Lord Viscount Ranelagh, y<sup>e</sup> son of Roger Viscount Ranelagh, whose monument is also seen in this Church opposite to that of y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Cork,<sup>1</sup> and who was also mother to the present Earle of Ranelagh, of which family there is a very eminent remark in Fullers worthies.<sup>2</sup>

6. The Lady Dorothy was married to s<sup>r</sup> Adam Loftus K<sup>nt</sup>, the heir of s<sup>r</sup> Adam Loftus, Vice Treasurer and Treasurer at Warrs in Ireland.

7. The number of Perfection which shutt up and crown'd this noble train, for the 8<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lady Margaret died unmarried, was y<sup>e</sup> excellent Lady Mary married to Charles Earle of Warwick, whose Coat Armes & matches I have touched off in a fair monument in y<sup>e</sup> Town of Youghall in the county of Cork which see Page—[*Supra*, vol. vii, p. 327].

Near the East end of St. Patrick's Church is seen a monum<sup>t</sup> with this Inscriptiōn—

NEAR UNTO THIS PLACE LYETH THE WORTHY K<sup>nt</sup> HENRY WALLOP OF FARLIE WALLOP IN THE COUNTY OF SOUTHĀPTON, etc.<sup>3</sup>

In the Body of the Quire even with the Pavement of St. Patricks is seen the Monument or Tombstone inlayde with brass of the most Reverend Primate Richard Talbot, Arch Bishop of Dublin, who was appoynted Deputy to his brother John Earle of Shrewsbury who came over Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdome.

[Here is given a passage relating to the Earl of Shrewsbury's place of sepulchre from Borlase's *Reduction of Ireland*, p. 77, which will be also found in Dingley's *History from Marble* (Camden Society), pp. 129 & cccclxxvii.]

<sup>1</sup> Both these monuments, which now stand respectively in the north aisle and nave, were then in the choir.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Jones, the father of the first Viscount Ranelagh, was a native of Lancashire, and in a notice of him Bishop Fuller observes (*Worthies of England*, ed. 1811; i. 544) that while the sons of the clergymen of England never mounted above the degree of knighthood, those of the clergymen of Ireland sometimes attained to the dignity of the peerage. "I say no more," he adds, "but good success have they with their honour in their persons and posterity."

<sup>3</sup> See *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, by W. Monck Mason, App. p. xlix; *Handbook to Monuments of the Cathedral of St. Patrick*, by Rev. Alexander Leeper, ed. 1891, p. 81; *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead, Ireland*, vi, 528.

The Inscription upon the Archbīpps Tombestone remains at his feet thus, upon a square brass plate in the same character as on the other side—

RICHARD TALBOT latet

Archi fuit Praesul huius Sedis Reverendae Parvos Canonicos, qui fundavitque Choristas Anno Milleno C quater quater X quoque nono Quindeno Augusti mensis mundo valedixit. Omnipotens Dominus cui propicietur in aevum.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 1

He was founder of the Petty Cannons and Choristers of this Church, and died Aug : 15. 1449.

<sup>1</sup> The brass has disappeared, but by the aid of Dingley's drawing a stone which had been unearthed in the Cathedral churchyard was identified some years ago as its matrix. The present Bishop of Ossory, Dr. J. H. Bernard, who was then Dean of



In this Church is also interred John de Saunford, Archbipp of this Citty, the seventh Governour of Ireland in the Reigne of Edward I, who died in England Octobr 2<sup>d</sup> 1294, at his returne from an Embassy to his Imperiall Majesty, he govern'd here under the title of Lord Justice, he was buried the ffebruary following his death; Alexander Bicknor, Archbipp of Dublin, who was Lord Justice of Ireland anno 1318, at whose request y<sup>e</sup> University was granted by Pope John to this citty, also granted the use of this Church for the Exercise of the students in their solemne commencements.<sup>1</sup>

Decent Sepulture is not onely naturaly to be desired, but the most Heroick minds made it their great desire to be honourably buried. Mezentius asks it of Aeneas. Virg. Aen. lib 10.<sup>2</sup> This care of burial made the Countess of Cork (Semiramis like) to cause the following monument to be sett up to the Honour and memory of her ancestors and posterity.

[Here follows a passage from the Familiar Epistles of Sir Anthonie of Guevara, edited by Edward Hellowes, ed. 1584, p. 334.]

But to return to this plain Dublin monument, the Earl of Cork's monument, erected at the request of his Lady, that her grandfather & herself might be buried together. This, according to the other side of the leafe, consists of four stories, reaching thirty four foot from the ground, and is placed under an Arch that in times past was a passage into S. Maries Chapel of this Cathedrall of St. Patrick; records say it cost y<sup>e</sup> said Earle above a Thousand pounds sterling.<sup>3</sup>

[Here are given the inscriptions and a drawing of the monument.<sup>4</sup>]

Opposite to this famous monument is seen that of Dr. Thomas Jones, Primate of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of this Kingdom, who with Sir John Denham, Knt., Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, were under King James, Anno 1615, constituted Lord Justices here.

[Here follows a long extract relating to Sir John Denham's monument at Egham, and his part in introducing customs into Ireland, from Borlase's *Reduction of Ireland*, pp. 198, 199, together with a drawing and description of his arms.]

the Cathedral, made an unsuccessful appeal for the renewing of the brass. See his lecture on the "Early History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," *Irish Church Quarterly*, iv, 103. The inscription, which Mr. Garstin points out is in verse, is more correctly given by Ware, *Works*, ii, 339, and will also be found in Borlase's *Reduction of Ireland*, p. 79, and the *Discoverie of Errours*, by Augustine Vincent, p. 465.

<sup>1</sup> According to Cotton (*Fasti Ecc. Hib.*, ii, 12, 14), these archbishops were buried in Christ Church, but the authority of Ware confirms Dingley's statement. For the foundation of the University see Mason *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 119, and App., p. ix; also the *Cathedral of St. Patrick*, by Dr. J. H. Bernard, Bishop of Ossory, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Line 901.

<sup>3</sup> The cost was £400. See *Illustrations of Irish History*, by C. Litton Falkiner, p. 378n.

<sup>4</sup> See for illustrations of the monument and the inscriptions, Mason, *op. cit.*, App., p. liii; Leeper, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Dr. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 46; *Memorials of the Dead*, vi, 69, 545.

CHRISTUS MIHI VIRES

DEO OPT MAX SAC

THOMAS JONES ARCHIEPISCOPUS DUBLIN PRIMAS ET METROPOLITAN HIBERNIAE  
EIVSDUMQUE CANCELLARIUS NECNON BIS E JUSTICIARIIS UNUS ETC

[Here follow the remainder of the inscription on Archbishop Jones's monument and a drawing of the structure,<sup>1</sup> together with an extract relating to the Archbishop from Borlase's *Reduction of Ireland*, p. 196.]

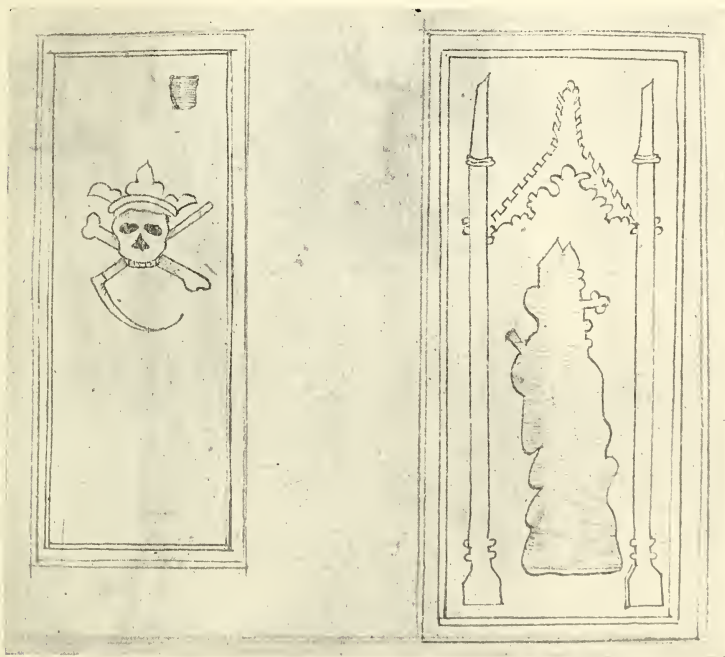


FIG. 5

SIR EDWARD FITTON OF HOUSEWORTH AĽS  
GAUSEWORTH IN THE COUNTY OF CHESTER ETC.

[Here follows the remainder of the inscription on a brass to Sir Edward Fitton.<sup>2</sup>]

The ancient Romans did use their dead after two manners, and their obsequies were of two Sorts, the most ancient was to cover the dead

<sup>1</sup> See for illustrations of the monument and the inscriptions, Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 7, and App., p. xlix; Leeper, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Dr. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 18; *Memorials of the Dead*, vi, 527.

<sup>2</sup> See Mason, *op. cit.*, App., p. lii; Leeper, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Dr. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 59; *Memorials of the Dead*, vi, 527.

with earth, to erect a pillar, Gravestone, Piramyd, or other monument and Inscriptiōn as wee do, and the other to burne the bodies and conserve the ashes in an Urne. This magnificence in burning did much exceed in expence other funerals, for with the bodies of great Personages, as you have it in Sandys Travels they burnt great riches, according as it is sett out by Statius the Theban concerning the body of Archemorus, and translated by Sandys book I, the originall see on ye other leafe.

[Here are given from *Sandy's Travells* (Lond. 1670), p. 66, sixteen lines from the Thebais of Statius (vi, 206-221), together with a translation of equal length.]

The funerall solemnity of Patroclus was performed by Achilles with greater Pomp than that, for with him were burn'd Oxen, Sheep, Hounds, Horses and douzen stout & valliāt sons of noble Trojans. Achilles himself tore the hair off his head, throws it in the fire, and sett on foot several funerall Games to the honour of his slayne friend Patroclus, the Glory of the Grecians. Hom. Iliad lib 23.

[Here is given the argument to the 23rd book of the Iliad in Greek and Latin, together with George Chapman's English translation in verse.]

[CHRIST CHURCH.]

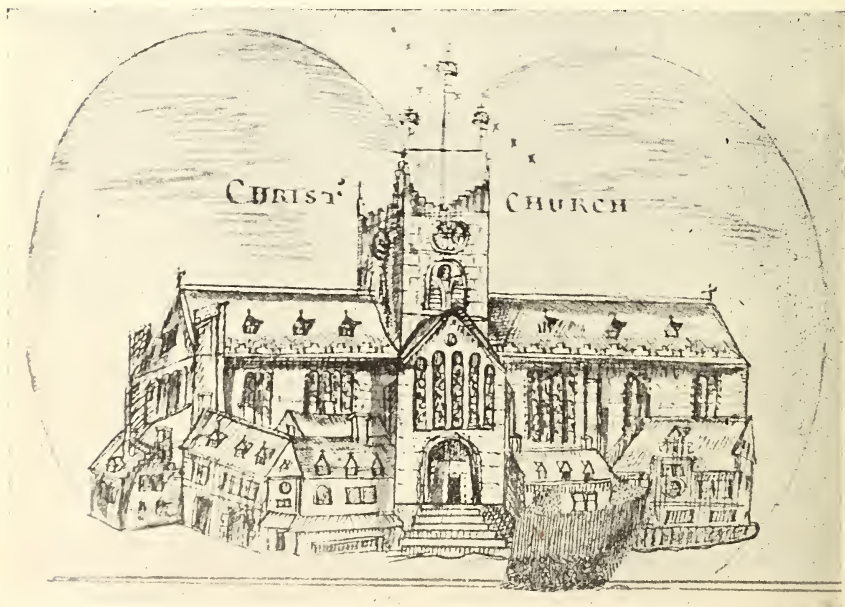


FIG. 6

Over the Quire Door of this Church are read these Inscriptiōns :

The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Oliver S<sup>t</sup> John, Knight, descended of the noble House of the Lord S<sup>t</sup> Johns of Bletso, Deputy Generall of Ireland, who

tooke the sword of State and Government of this Kingdome into his hands august 30 1616.<sup>1</sup>

ANNO DOMINI MDCLXXX  
 REGNANTE CAROLO  
 SECUNDO  
 JACOBO DUCE ORMONDO  
 TERTIO PROREGE

The rising of this last Inscriptiōn, which is in a Compartment of Gold, and the setting up the new staircase over the Quire door leading to the Lord Lientenants seat, hath, with y<sup>e</sup> late beautifying this Church,



FIG. 7

obliterated and obscur'd severall Inscriptiōns and monuments of ancient date, among which are these :

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sr John Denham, K<sup>nt</sup>, Lord Chief Justice of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Chief Place, and one of the Lords Justices in this Kingdom in the year MDCLXVI.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is given in Borlase's *Reduction of Ireland*, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> See also *ibid.*, p. 199.



[Here is given the inscription on a monument to the sons of Lord Grey of Wilton.<sup>1</sup>]

The next monument to be considered is that of Ricardus de Clare, Earle of Pembroke and Strigill, sirnamed Strongbowe, whose name is used in this citty upon the same occasion as was that of Duke Humphrey buried in St. Pauls London, where people in distress used to walk when they were at a loss how to compass a dinner, and were by a by word sd to have din'd with Duke Humphrey: So here whoever misseth of his dinner is sayd to have dined with Strongbowe.<sup>2</sup>

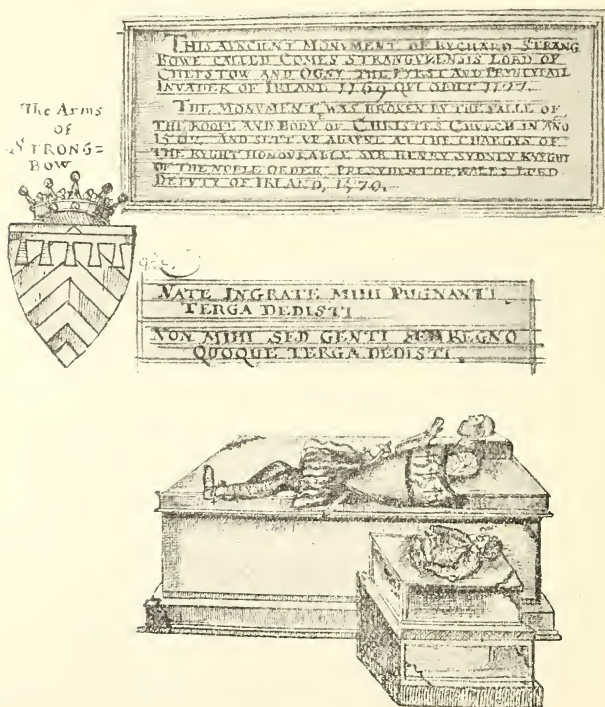


FIG. 8

Strongbowe als Strangbowe was sent over by Henry the second in the yeer MCLXXIII Lord Justice of Ireland, after having bin the first and principall invader thereof, Ann<sup>o</sup> Dñi MCLXIX, as appears by Inscriptō, which is to be seen in Christes Church, whose monument I have sketcht

<sup>1</sup> See *Inscriptions on the Monuments in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, by the Rev. John Finlayson, ed. 1878, p. 14; *Memorials of the Dead*, vii, 303.

<sup>2</sup> "It was usual to make rents of Dublin property payable on Strongbow's head. The monument has given rise to much controversy. See *Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity*, by William Butler, p. 25; and, for an account of the restoration of the monument, Street's sumptuous volume on Christ Church Cathedral."—J.R.G.

off on the other side this leafe with the sayd Inscriptiō. He died An. Dom. MCLXXVI. His sons monument, cut off in the middle, is also seen by it. This execution was sayd to be done upon his son by Strongbowes own hand, because he flinched in the Battaile as appeared by the Inscriptiō of auncienter date than this, in Latine

According to York ye Blacksmith page 240,<sup>1</sup> the coat differs from that on ye shield and are thus, or 3 cheverons Gules, a Label of 5 azure.

It is sayd of him that standing upright he was able with the palms of his hands to cap his knees, which shewed a prodigious long reach and strength with all for drawing of the long bow. He died at Kilkenny A.D. 1177. Mr. Vincent sayth page 412<sup>2</sup> that his son who led some forces ag<sup>st</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Irish, and loosing the feild his Father slew him.

This Strongbowe founded the ancient Priory of Kilmainham about half a mile out of Towne, A<sup>o</sup> Dñi MCLXXIV, whose endowing King Henry y<sup>e</sup> second confirmed.

Strongbowes other Titles were besides Lord of Chepstowe, Count of Oigny in Normandy, Earle of Leicester, Earle Marshall of England, Vicegerent of Normandy, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Prince of the Province of Leinster in the right of Eva his wife, sole daughter and heiresse of Dermot Mac Morogh, King of Leinster, by whom he had a daughter named Isabel.

This last monument of Strongbowe is thought to be onely a Cenotaph or Honorary tomb erected Honoris vel memoriae gratia such as the souldiers made to the memory of Drusus upon the river Rhine, when his body was carried to Rome and interr'd in Campo Martio.

Octavia the sister of Augustus buried her son yong Marcellus with 600 honorary monuments, and gave to Virgil above 5000 French crowns as a reward for writeing these 26 Hexameters in her sons prayse. Virg. *Æn* lib 6.

[Here follow lines 861–887 of the 6th book, together with Ogilby's translation of them.]

Alexander Severus slayn An<sup>o</sup> Dñi 238, an Emperour, sayth s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Eliot (who translated his story out of Greeke<sup>3</sup>), whose death all Rome lamented, all good men bewayl'd, all the world repented, whom the senate deified, noble fame renown'd, all wise men honour'd, noble writers commended, had his Cenotaph erected in France where he was slayne, but his body was carried to Rome; some say he was slayne at Mentz in Germany some in England.

Septimivs Severvs the Roman Emperour died in York city A<sup>o</sup> Dñi 212, where is seen a great mount of Earth raised up for his Cenotaph in a

<sup>1</sup> *The Union of Honour*, by James Yorke, Lond., 1640.

<sup>2</sup> *The Discoverie of Errours*, cited p. 281n.

<sup>3</sup> "The Image of Gouvernance compiled of the actes and sentences notable of the most noble emperour Alexander Severus," by Sir Thomas Elyot, ed. 1556, p. 157.

place beneath the city westward, though his corps was carried forth and comitted to the funeral fire there, and then y<sup>e</sup> ashes put into an Urne of gold, or porphire, were carried to Rome and shrin'd there in y<sup>e</sup> monument of the Antonines.

The Annals of this Kingdom of Ireland will have Richard Strangbowe to be buried in the Quire of the ancient Friars predicants in Kilkenny of whom it is thus written—

**Cujus sub fossa Kilkennia concinet ossa**

Whose bones bestow'd in Grave so deep  
Kilkenny Town doth safely keep.

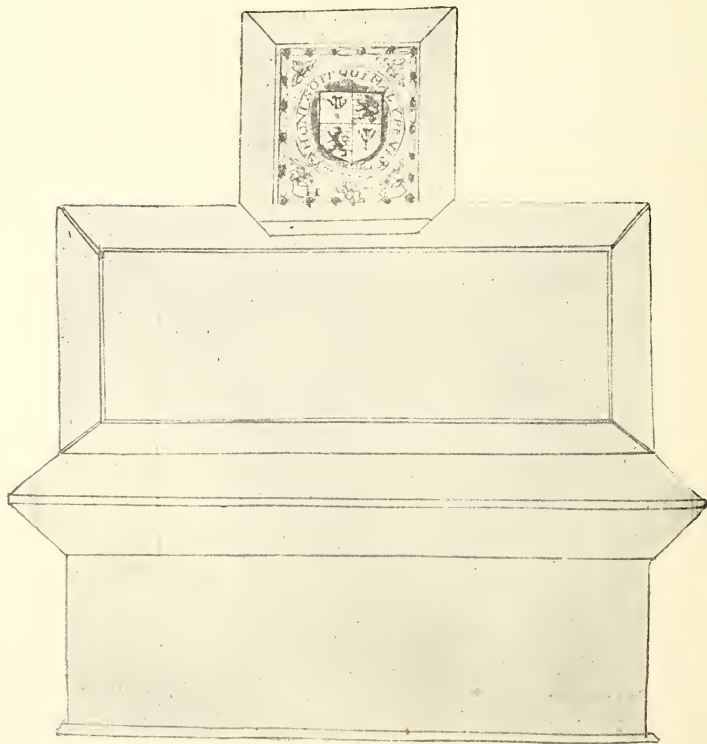


FIG. 9

Were he buried in any other place, a brave martial Earl he was, who with fresh courage attacked Lluellin, Prince of Wales, who invaded his Territories in his absence, whilst he was performing his never to be forgotten conquest of Ireland.

[Here are given the inscription and arms on a monument to Edward Griffith of Penrin.¹]

Here lyeth buried Christopher Wansford Master of the Rolls who was Lord Deputy of this Kingdome under Charles the 1st of Blessed memory AD MDCXL Apr. 3<sup>d</sup> and who died on a sudden Dec<sup>r</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup> 1640. He was also a member of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> House of Comons in England.

In the Organ Gallery of the King's Chappel, or Christ Church Dublin, on the left hand of the organ is seen this monument; in w<sup>ch</sup> Gallery, on



FIG. 10

the right hand of the organ, are seen the escutcheons of the twelve tribes

¹ See Finlayson, *op. cit.*, p. 16; *Memorials of the Dead*, vii, 307.



and by several Escutcheons in painting is also sett forth the descent of the Crown of England upon the King of Scots.

Opposite to this and over the seat of the Archbipp of Dublin in armes is also sett forth the Pedigree of the Earl of Strafford.

Under the Organ Gallery in Christ Church :

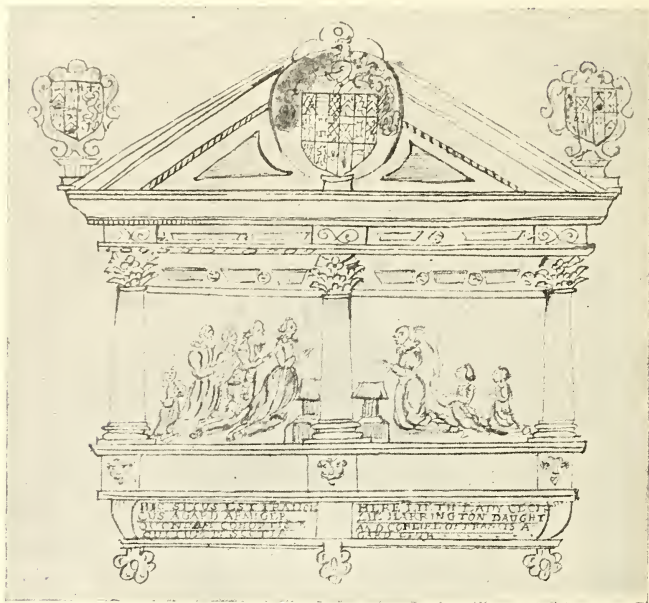


FIG. 11

[Here is given the inscription on this monument which was erected to the memory of Francis Agard and his wife Lady Cecilia Harrington.]<sup>1</sup>

On the south side y<sup>e</sup> Chore hangeth this Table with y<sup>e</sup> Arms and Inscriptō following [*infra*, p. 292, fig. 13]; though the body lieth at Westminster England which see in my English itinerary, page —<sup>2</sup>.

St. Mary's Chappell, Christchurch, hath a fair Tombstone of Richard Brown sheriff of Dublin,<sup>3</sup> and another of Colonell Robert Hill, upon which a sad accident happened 6 years ago, viz., one Quin,

<sup>1</sup> See Finlayson, *op. cit.*, p. 16; *Memorials of the Dead*, vii, 302.

<sup>2</sup> See Dingley's *History from Marble*, p. ccccl.

<sup>3</sup> The monument still remains, and the inscription is given by Finlayson, *op. cit.* p. 16, and in the *Memorials of the Dead*, vii, 307. "Dingley probably did not intend to give all the inscriptions," adds Mr. Garstin, "and it seems worth observing that he takes no notice of the polyglot JON LUMBARD inscription in Lombardic lettering—the oldest and most interesting of them all."

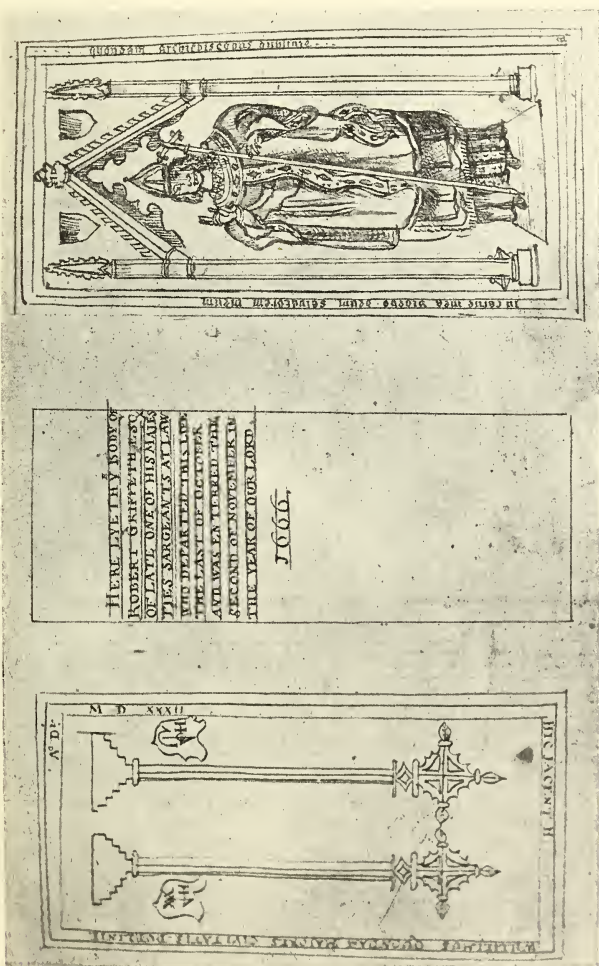


FIG. 12<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Griffith, who appears to have been a native of England, was appointed in 1661 second sergeant-at-law. He acted frequently as a judge of assize, and aspired to a permanent seat on the judicial bench.



IN MEMORY OF **RICHARD**  
**BINGHAM** Knight of the ancient  
 family of the **Binghams** of **Bing-**  
**hams Melcombe** in **Southern**  
**DORSET.** Who from his Youth

trained up in military affairs served in the time of **Queen**  
**MARY** at **Saint Quintins**, in the **Western** **Isles** of **Scot-**  
**land** and **Conquer** in **Britanny**. In the time of **Queen**  
**ELIZABETH** at **LEITH** in **SCOTLAND** in the  
 Siege of **CANDY** at the **Burning** of **Cabo Chrio** in **Turkey**  
 for the **Good Wars** of **France** in the **Netherlands** & at  
**Spierwicke** in **IRELAND**. After he made **Governor**  
 of **Connagh** where he overthrew the **Irish** **Sects**, expelled  
 the traitorous **Orouks**, suppressed **Irish** **Rebellions** and that  
 with very small charge to her **Majesty** maintaining that **Pro-**  
**vince** in flourishing Estate by the space of **thirteen** years.  
 Finally for his good services he was made **Marshall** of **IRE-**  
**LAND** and **General** of **Ireland** where at **DUBLIN** in an  
 assured faith in Christ he ended this transitory Life the **thir-**  
**teenth** of **January** **Ann: DN: M D XCVIII 1598.**



FIG. 13

an alderman of this Citty, cut his own throat, since which time this chappel is neglected and goes to decay.<sup>1</sup>

#### ST. JAMES CHURCH.

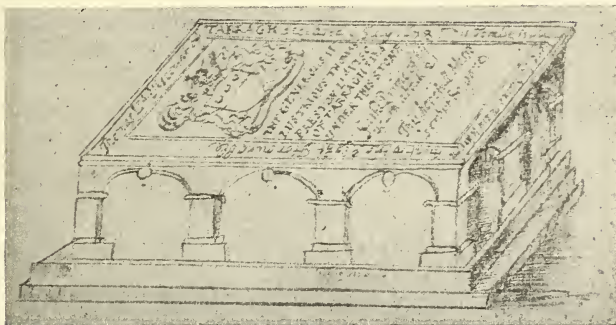


FIG. 14

He was killed by Sr Francis Blondell and his 2 brothers.

St. James hath besides the above monument of my Lord of Tarrah, the following, with these arms and Inscriptiō: [Arms] Here under lyeth interr'd the body of Thomas Waterhouse, late Alderman of the city of Dublin, also the bodies of his beloved wives Rose and Anne; the sayd Aldermā departed this life the 17 day of february Anno Domini MDCLXIV.

Virtus Post Funera Vivit.

In the same Church is also this monument and Inscription :

Here lyeth the body of [Anthony] Stoughton of the city of Dublin, Esq<sup>r</sup>, sometimes clerk of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> High court of Chancery Starr-Chamber in this Kingdome, who having bin officer thereof for the space of [forty] yeers together ended this life the 5<sup>th</sup> of September Anno Domini MDCXXVI, being the 82 year of his age; as also the body of his dear and loving wife Margaret Stoughton who deceased the 17 day of May in the year of our Lord God MDCXXXIII, being the 67 yeer of her age, for whose memory this monument was erected.

#### ST. KATHERINE'S CHURCH.

[Here is given the inscription on a monument erected by Sir Edward Brabazon, who was created by James I Baron of Ardee, to his father.<sup>3</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> This occurrence is alluded to by Swift in his lampoons upon Chief Justice Whitshed, who was Quin's grandson. Quin, whose Christian name was Mark, was an apothecary, and had filled the mayoral chair.

<sup>2</sup> According to Cokayne (*Complete Peerage*, vii, 368) Lord Tara was killed by the Blundells in 1674.

<sup>3</sup> See *Memorials of the Dead*, iv, 238.



In the same Church also is another monument erected by s<sup>r</sup> Edward Brabazon to the memory of his freind Roger Pope w<sup>th</sup> this Inscriptōn :

SUB HOC TUMULO REQUIESCIT ROGER POPE, GENEROSUS VIR EA VITAE AEQUABILITATE ET MORUM FACILITATE UT SINGULIS QUI ILLUM NOVERINT LONGE CHARISSIMUS FUERIT, IN HIBERNIAE REGNO XL ANNOS VIXIT, QUO TEMPORE NEMINI OBFUIT MULTIS AUTEM PROFUIT; OBIT XVI FEBR ANNO CHRISTI MDLXXX.

Edwardus Brabazon miles a consiliis privatis hujus Regni Hiberniae in benevolentiae testimonium

H. M. P.<sup>1</sup>

ST. WARBUS<sup>2</sup> CHURCHYARD.

In it is seen a very fair monument w<sup>ch</sup> was removed out of the Church, having bin first translated thither from Cork House, which was heretofore a nunnery, and is now made into an Exchange.<sup>3</sup>

It is thought to represent The Founder and Foundress of the sayd nunnery, in the shape of A Knight in Armour mayle with a shield with 3 crosses not much unlike those on the sheild of Strongbow in Christ Church; his Lady also layd down at his left side on a Cushion guarded with Angells. This monument is supported round about, with severall figures of s<sup>ts</sup>, Apostles, and scripture History.

ST. OWENS.<sup>4</sup>

Amongst other monuments here are that beginning

P. M. S.

EDOARDVS PARREY CAMEROBRITANNUS S S T D EPISCOP LAONENSIS.<sup>5</sup>

That of Moloney family and his wife Penteny with these devices at each end the Tombestone, ECCE TALIS DOMO CLAUDITUR OMNIS HOMO AND VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From references to him in the State Papers, Roger Pope would appear to have been in his time a leading merchant in Dublin. His will is on record, and indicates that he was unmarried. The only one of his name mentioned by him is his nephew, William Pope, who is described as the son of his eldest brother, and as resident in England. He desires to be buried in the chancel of St. Catherine's Church, and leaves legacies to the Poor House of St. James, the Poor Houses in St. Kevin's, and the prisoners of Newgate, as well as to numerous friends.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Werburgh's.

<sup>3</sup> This monument is now identified as erected to the memory of one of the Earls of Kildare. See *Memorials of the Dead*, i, 347, iii, 70.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Audoen's.

<sup>5</sup> This monument is still in existence, but the inscription is said to be illegible. See *Memorials of the Dead*, v, 200.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 62.

And that of the Terrels with this inscrip<sup>ti</sup>on :

Here underlieth the Bodyes of Richard Terrell alderman mayor of this city of Dublin Anno MDII the [1]8 of Hen. 7. and also Walter Terrell alderman son to the sayd Terrell mayor MDXL 32 H. 8. and of their posterity John Terrell alderman son to the sayd Walter Terrell who caused this monument to be made 20 Dec 1600 in the 43 yeer of Queen Elizabeth her reigne

[Arms]

Super est quod supra est Via Veritas Vita

Here also lyeth the body of Matthew Terrell the eldest son of S<sup>r</sup> John Terrell K<sup>nt</sup> late mayor of this city who caused this monument to be finished Anno MDCXIX obiit

Upon a Tombstone also is read this Inscrip<sup>ti</sup>on :

THIS MONVMENT WAS BUILT BY WILLIAM USHER

FOR HIM AND HIS POSTERITY MDCLV.<sup>1</sup>

In another place a fair Tombstone even with the pavement with this Inscrip<sup>ti</sup>on :

PAULUS DAVIS EQUES AURATUS SIBI

SUISQUE

H. M. P.

AMEN VENI DOMINE JESU. APOCOLYPS XXII, XX.

ANNO DNI MDCXXXVIII<sup>2</sup>

Here is also an ancient monument sett up in the time of Ed. 4., in memory of S<sup>r</sup> Rowland Fits Eustace, Lord Lieu<sup>t</sup> anno 1462, founder of the Co<sup>ve</sup>nt of minor Friars at Kilkullen (where he was buried at New Abbey so called); he had the title of Baron given him by Edw<sup>rd</sup> 4, and that [of] Viscount Baltinglass by H. 8. This monument takes notice also of his lady.<sup>3</sup>

S<sup>t</sup> JOHNS CHURCH

THE R<sup>t</sup> HON<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> THOMAS ROPER, K<sup>nt</sup>, LORD ROPER, VISCOUNT BALTINGLASS, BARON OF BANTREE, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES PRIVY COUNCIL OF IRELAND, ERECTED THIS MONUMENT FOR THE MEMORY OF HIM AND HIS R<sup>t</sup> HON<sup>ble</sup> VISCOUNTESS AND THEIR POSTERITY, ANNO DOM

MDCXXXIV

THE RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup> ANNE, VISCOUNTESS BALTINGLASS, DAUGHTER OF THE RIGHT WORTHY S<sup>t</sup> HENRY HARRINGTON K<sup>nt</sup> WHO IN THE REIGN OF FAMOUS

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 67, where it is said these inscriptions are now illegible.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 202; and also, for this and the preceding inscriptions, the *Irish Builder*, xxviii, 308, 309.

QUEEN ELIZABETH WAS A FAITHFULL, VALOUROUS UPHOULDER OF THE RUINOUS STATE OF THIS REALME OF IRELAND AGAINST Y<sup>e</sup> REBELLIOUS, BY WHOSE DAUGHTER THE AFORESAID VISCOUNT BALTINGLASS HAD ISSUE IX SONES & VIII DAUGHTERS (who are all dead)

Another monument hath this Inscriptiōn :

Here lieth the Lady Elizabeth Mac Donnell Daughter to the R<sup>t</sup> Hoñble Henry Earle of Anglesey and wife to Alexander Mac Donnell Esq<sup>r</sup> son to the R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Randall M<sup>c</sup>Donnell K<sup>nt</sup> Earle of Antrim who departed this life the fourth day of September MDCLXXII

with this motto under the armes :

In Domino Confido

St MICHAELS CHURCH

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF CAPTAIN THOMAS HEWETSON CAPTAIN OF A TROOP OF HORSE WHO WAS SLAYNE BY THE ENEMY IN THE PARLIAMENT SERVICE VI MAY MDCLI

Died Abner as a fool dieth? Thy hands were not bound nor thy feet put into fetters, as a man falleth before wicked men so fellest. Sam 2. 3. 33. 34.

JUSTUS CADERE POTEST PERIRE NON

POTEST

[Arms]

In St NICHOLAS CHURCH, near y<sup>e</sup> Communion Table, is a fair Monument with 3 Inscriptiōns not one worth note.

THE SEVEN SONS OF S<sup>r</sup> WILLIAM BUSHOPPE, KNIGHT,  
AND MARGERY USHER HIS LADY BRIGHT, 1625.

THIS VII CARVED FIGURES ON THIS STONE

DO REPRESENT VII BRETHEREN, III ARE GONE

TO THEIR LAST HOME ALREADY, THEY WHO SEE

SURVIVEING MUST AT LAST BE LIKE THOSE THREE.

Into the World they all came from one Wombe,

And when they all go out they have one Tombe.

This life is to each man a Pilgrimage,

Or as a scene soon acted on the stage.

St. THOMAS COURT was anciently a Religious House built by the Order of King Hen. II<sup>d</sup> anno 1178, in expiation (as it was thought) of the murther of Thomas A Becket, In the Government of Fitz Audelm Senescallus Hiberniae 4<sup>th</sup> Governor of Ireland. Whose Charter ran thus:

Henricus D. G. Rex Angliae Dnūs Hiberniae Dux Normanniae Aquitaniae et comes Andegaviae Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Regibus, Comitibus,

Baronibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis Hiberniae salutem Sciatis me D. Gra. sanum esse et incolumen, & negotia mea bene et honorifice procedere, Ego vero quam cito potero, vacabo magnis meis negotiis Hißniae nunc autem ad vos mitto Willielmum filium Audelm Dapiferum meum, cui commisi negotia mea tractanda et agenda mei loco & vice. Quare vobis mando & firmiter praecipio, quod ei sicut mihimet intendatis de agendis meis & faciatis quicquid ipse vobis dixerit ex parte mea, sicut amorem meum desideratis & per fidem quae mihi debetur.

Ego quoque ratum habeo & firmum quicquid ipse fecerit tanquam egomet fecissem, & quicquid vos feceritis erga eam stabile habeo

Teste Galfrido Archidiacono Cantuariensi &  
Richardo Archidiacono Pictaviae & Richardo  
Constabulario apud Valon.

Hugh Lacy having been y<sup>e</sup> first and 3 times Governor of Ireland Anno 1184 was murdered with a Pickax, his body was translated to the Monastery of Beckley, and his Head was enterr'd in this St Thomas Abbey of Dublin.

#### THE FRENCH CHURCH<sup>1</sup>

In Tables hanging against the wall are read these Inscriptiōns of some Archbishops of Dublin in Roman Capitols :

Adamus Loftusius ab archiepiscopali sede Armachnae Dublin translatus Anno 1567 postea dominus cancellarius factus terque unus e dominis Justiciariis Hiberniae obiit An<sup>o</sup> Domini 1605

[Arms]

Another hath

Hugo Corren archidiaconus Oxoniae & Decanus Herefordiensis a Maria Regina ad Archiepiscopatum Dublin eveetus 1555 cui cum annos duodecim praefuisset Oxon translatus obiit Anno 1568.

Another

Thomas Jones in Episcopum Midens consecratus anno 1584 huc translatus 1605 eodem tempore a Rege Jacobo Dominus Cancellarius factus & postea bis unus e Dominis Justiciariis Hiberniae obiit Anno 1619.

[Arms]

Lancelotus Bulkley ex Archidiacono Dublin fit Dublin Archiepiscopus Anno 1619 a Jacobo Rege paulo post consiliariis suis in Hibernia enumeratus est obiit Anno Dni 1650.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the Lady Chapel of St. Patrick's Cathedral.



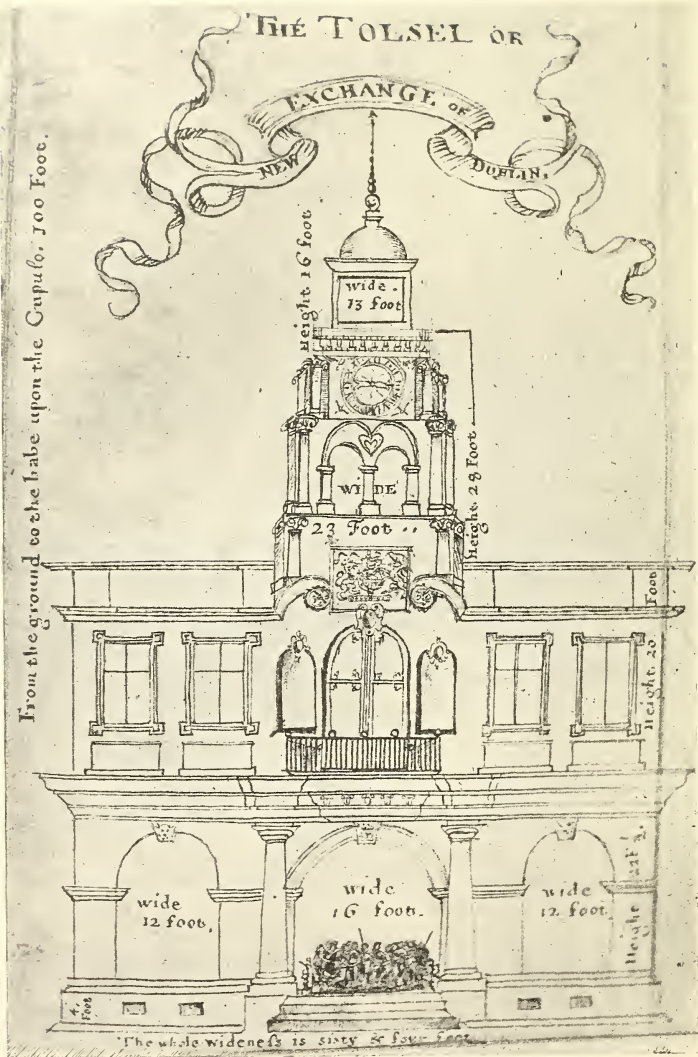


FIG. 15<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the groups of soldiers already noticed (*supra*, p. 279, n. 2) is introduced on the steps of the Tholsel.

Another

Jacobus Margetsonus Decanus Ecclesiae SS. Trin Dublin posquam vacaverat sedes Dublin An. 10 consecratus est Archiepiscop<sup>us</sup> Dublin 1660. Ann 1663 translatus est ad Archiep sedem Armagh ubi adhuc prae<sup>u</sup>lget vehementer.

Another of the Present Primat of Ireland and Lord Chancellour

Michael Boyle consecratus est Corcagien Clonen & Rossen Episcopus Anno 1660 ad Archiepiscopatū Dublin translatus 1663 cui hodie presidet factus etiam Dominus Hiberniae Cancellarius Anno 1665.<sup>1</sup>

In the CORNE MARKET is seen a Conduit of marble, with a globick Dyall for y<sup>e</sup> sun, with the Armes of Dublin and this Inscription thereon in an escutcheon with Letters of Gold,



FIG. 16

The Armes

JOHN SMITH

LORD

MAYOR MDCLXXVIII.

DUBLIN CASTLE was first founded by John Comyn Archbishop of Dublin and since beautified by s<sup>r</sup> Henry Sydney then Lord Lieutenant Anno 1575 under Queen Eliz. as appears by Inscript<sup>ion</sup>.

#### CONCERNING MAYORS OF DUBLIN.

Thomas Butler, Anno 1408, being left Deputy Lieut<sup>ant</sup> of this Kingdome, by Thomas Duke of Lancaster, son to Hen. IV, during his Gouvernment who was also Prior of Kilmainam, King Henry 4<sup>th</sup> gave the sword to this City, which was formerly gouvern'd by One under the Title of a Provost, as appears by the ancient Seale called *Sigillum Praepositurae*, which in the 14 Henry III. was under a Mayor and two Bailiffs, which were changed into Sheriffs by Charter of Edward VI, 1547. But since in the seventeenth year of the Raigne of our Lord

<sup>1</sup> "These commemorate six successive Archbishops of Dublin from the Reformation, the two first being transposed, and the contemporary, Parker, not included. Paintings of the arms of Archbishops of Dublin, with inscriptions such as are here described, now hang in the robing-room near the south-west porch of St. Patrick's Cathedral."—J. R. G.

King, the Gouvernement was changed into a Lord Mayor by y<sup>e</sup> Letters Patents dated July 29 at Westminster.

The first who took upon him this Hon<sup>ble</sup> Title of Lord Mayor was S Daniel Bellingham Anno Dñi, MDCLXV. Who hath bin succeeded by these following:

John Desmynieres	MDCLXVI
Mark Quinne	MDCLXVII
John Forrest	MDCLXVIII
Lewis Desmynieres	MDCLXIX
Enoch Reader	MDCLXX
John Touie	MDCLXXI
Robert Doe	MDCLXXII
Josuah Allen	MDCLXXIII
This last is since Knighted	
John Smith, call'd ye Beardless	MDCLXXVIII
He is sayd to have bin Lord Mayor	
3 years, and Mayor for 7 years	
before, though now poor and fool	
with age in Dublin Hospital <sup>1</sup>	
Captn [John] Eastwood	MDCLXXX
Luke Lowther	MDCLXXXI

The flourishing UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN<sup>2</sup> was first granted to this city by Pope John 22, anno Dñi mcccxx, at the request of Alexander Bicknor ats Bignor Archbipp of Dublin. But put into the state it is, by Her Highness Queen Elizabeth of ever blessed memory, in the year MDLXXXI, who then founded a Colledge in the time that s<sup>r</sup> William Fitz William was Lord Deputy of this Kingdome, upon a Place which was heretofore called the Monastery of All Saints. The Colledge is now dedicated to the Holy and individuall Trinity, under this Title, Collegium Sanctae ac individuae Trinitatis ex Fundatione Reginae Elizabethae juxta Dublin, who enriched and bestowed upon it all the Priviledges of an University, since which time S<sup>r</sup> Williā Fitz Williams Arms are not onely seen over y<sup>e</sup> colledge gate, but its chappel gate also.

Its Chancellours were

I<sup>s</sup>. S<sup>r</sup> William Cecill, K<sup>nt</sup>, Baron Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer of England one of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Privy Council and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter.

<sup>1</sup> This civic patriarch has been called by Sir Frederick Falkiner (*Hospital of King Charles II*, p. 76) the Whittington of Dublin. It was in the King's Hospital that he ended his days on the pretext that he was governing the house; and, as a brass to his memory records, it was in its chapel that he was buried.

<sup>2</sup> Dingley's account of the University of Dublin is drawn in a large degree from Borlase's *Reduction of Ireland*, pp. 142-170; but as there are additions and alterations, it has been thought desirable to print it in full.

II<sup>nd</sup> Robert Devereux, Earle of Essex, Earle Marshall of England, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdome of Irelañ, and Chancellour not only of this but of the famous University of Cambridge in England; he came over with full power to make warr or peace, to pardon any offence of Treason or anything against Q. Elizabeth even Tir-Oen himself, so that being furnished with 16,000 foot and 1,300 Horse accompanied with y<sup>e</sup> Prime youth of the nobles and Gentry of England, he came into this Kingdome, but did little and return'd in her Maties displeasure and Anno 1601 feb. 25 was beheaded within y<sup>e</sup> Tower.

In the Reigne of King Charles the Martyr Doctor Williã Laud Arch Bishop of Canterbury was Chancellour both of the most famous University of Oxford and of Dublin.

Then succeeded him His Excellency James Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, since made Duke and Chancellour of the University of Dublin now likewise of the most Famous University of Oxford.

This University hath a Colledg of Physitians who enjoy many and considerable Priviledges from his most sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup> Charles the second.

The Glory of the University Library was eclipsed much after that inhumane and most horrid Rebellion, w<sup>ch</sup> happened A<sup>o</sup> Dni MDLXXXVIII<sup>1</sup> when S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Bodeley is sayd to have purchased some of the books and translated them from that of Dublin to his incomparable Library of Oxford, which is thought by Travellers not to give place to that in the Vatican.

Benefactors to the Library of Dublin were the officers of the Army who gave money to be layd out in Books in England by M<sup>r</sup>. Challoner and M<sup>r</sup>. Usher his son-in-law afterwards Lord Primate (since which time any officers son is admitted gratis provided he be not worth £20 per annũ), Henry Cromwell and S<sup>r</sup> Jerome Alexander, a justice in y<sup>e</sup> cōön Pleas here, who bequeathed his own Library, as well of Law books as others, with an hundred pounds to sett it up. Also 500<sup>l</sup> to be layd out in additionall Building to the Colledge, and 24<sup>l</sup> per ann ffee simple, to be disposed of as see Page — [*infra*, p. 302].<sup>2</sup>

Belonging to this university to be considered by the Travell<sup>r</sup> is a fair Library wherein amongst other choice manuscripts, rarities and Antiquities, as medalls, coines, Roman Urnes, &c., is seen the Library of the late R<sup>t</sup> Reverend Bishop Usher consisting of the best and choicest

<sup>1</sup> During Tyrone's rebellion Trinity College was in great financial difficulties. See Dr. Mahaffy's *Epoch in Irish History*, pp. 93-99. The present library had its beginning in 1601, and a list of forty books made in the previous year has hitherto been supposed to include all that the College owned before that time.—*The Book of Trinity College*, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> In some notes on the judges of Charles II's reign [(*Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, II, vii, 222)], I have collected particulars of this extraordinary man, who at the commencement of his career was convicted of forgery, and gratified the wishes of his enemies by writing a book in which his misdoings have been preserved for the information of posterity.



books extant. This gift was by Henry Cromwell, made by his father the late usurper in the year 1655 Lord Lieut<sup>t</sup> of Ireland, a person who openly shew'd himself against the anabaptists then raging, and countenancing this university then in a low ebb, bestowing the s<sup>d</sup> admirable Library of Bipp Usher thereon carrying himself so as some of the rigour of his father was thereby taken off.

The Government of this university is by a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Provost, Vice-Provost, Proctor Senior, Proproctor, &c. The present Chancellor is his Grace the Duke of Ormond.

The present Vice-Chancellor is Michael Boyle, L<sup>rd</sup> Chancellor and Primate of all Ireland.

The present Provost is D<sup>r</sup> Marsh of Oxford.

The Vice-Provost is —

The Vice-Provost, Senior Proctor, Proproctor, Senior Deane, Senior Lecturer, Burser, Divinity Professor, who also have a share in the Government of this university, are elected yearly out of the seven senior fellows, the 9 junior fellows are not left out of the Government.

The Scholars are in number seventy which with students at this time make up in all above two hundred and fifty. In conferring Degrees respect is had to standing, Batchelours at four years, Masters at seven years, Batchelours of Divinity at 15 years, Doctor at twenty years. They cap to all university officers, Fellows juniors & seni<sup>r</sup>; Fellow commoners cap to none but the Provost and upwards.

The first Scholler was the late most R<sup>t</sup> Reverend father in God Archb<sup>pp</sup> Usher, who prophesied the Rebellion which happened in Ireland in the reign of the late King of blessed memory the 23 October 1641, 40 years before it happened: Archbishop Usher preaching soon after the overthrow of the Spanyards at Kinsale 1601, on the vision of Ezek chap 4. vers 6, he drew a fitt applicacon. This bloody Rebellion brake out 23 Octob. 1641, S<sup>t</sup> Ignatius Loiola's birth day, that less than such a Patron might not be intituled to so close and bloody a designe. In this the Rebels pretend a Commission under the Kings broad seale, occasioned by one Plunkets having taken an old Broad seale from an obsolete out of date Pattent out of Farnham Abby and fixed it to a forged Commission, which served to seduce the vulgar and Irish rabble into an opinion of their Loyaltie.

The afore mentioned Judge of the co<sup>m</sup>mon Pleas, S<sup>r</sup> Jerome Alexander, besides his own Library, 100<sup>l</sup> in money, 500<sup>l</sup> more in decoration of the College, gave the ffee simple of 24<sup>s</sup> p an to these uses, 7<sup>l</sup> per annu addition to the Library Keeper, 20 p annu for a yeerly sermon on Christmass day to be preached in the Colledge and the remainder to be disposed of monthly to such poor persons as the Provost and Senior Fellows shall think fit.

The Remainder of his Estate he left to his daughter Elizabeth, provided she married no Irish man, or any related to that Interest; if

she did or died without Issue, the whole Estate be settled on the Colledge of Dublin.

The Provosts or Presidents of Dublin Colledg.

The first was Adam Archbiſſp of Dublin.

2. M<sup>r</sup> Walter Travers a Cantabrigian of Trinity A<sup>o</sup> 1594.

3. M<sup>r</sup> Henry Alvey of the same university and S<sup>t</sup> Johns.

4. M<sup>r</sup> William Temple, afterwards knighted and made one of the masters of the Chancery in Ireland, of Cambridge Kings Colledge, thence he was made choice of by S<sup>t</sup> Philip Sidney, K<sup>nt</sup>, to attend him in the united netherlands during his Gouvernement there, and at the instance of D<sup>r</sup> Usher, Lord Primate, came to his Provostship A<sup>o</sup> MDLXXX [*recte* 1609], in which he lived 17 years, and in the 72 yeer of his age died, and is enterr'd under a fair Tombstone in the Colledge Chappell just before the Provosts Seate without Inscriptiōn.<sup>1</sup>

5. M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Bedel of the same university & Emanuel Coll presented to King Charles y<sup>e</sup> martyr by the famous S Henry Wotton as a fitt man for to be his Maties Provost of Dublin Colledge.

6. Doctor Robert Usher, who dying in England his monument and Inscriptiōn are seen at Pantabirsley in the county of Salop, which read page —.<sup>2</sup>

7. M<sup>r</sup> William Chappell, Batchelour of Divinity, of Christs Colledge Cambridge, afterwards Dean of Cassels; he lieth buried in Bilthorp in Notinghamshire, whose Inscriptiōn read page —.<sup>3</sup>

8. M<sup>r</sup> Richard Washington of University Colledge in Oxford sworne August 1640.

9. D<sup>r</sup> Teate borne in Ireland brought up in the Colledge the author of a choice book called Right Thoughts the righteous mans Evidence.<sup>4</sup>

10. Doctor Anthony Martin a Cantabrigian of Emanuel Colledge Bishop of Meathe; he died of the Pestilence then rageing June 1650 and was then buried in Chappel of the Colledge but without Inscriptiōn.

11. M<sup>r</sup> Samuell Winter came in in the y 1649 by Act of Parliament. and continued untill his Maties most happy Restauraçon.

12. Doctor Thomas Seele, born in Dublin city and educated in the Colledge, a happy Restorer thereof, Dean of S<sup>t</sup> Patricks, and the first

<sup>1</sup> The original chapel, which was superseded towards the close of the eighteenth century by the present one, stood on the northern side of what was in Dingley's time the principal quadrangle, and lay to the east of a steeple or spire which is a prominent object in a birds-eye view of the college taken by him (*infra*, p. 305). Its site is now occupied by the campanile.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription which is given by Dingley has evidently been copied from Borlase's *Reduction of Ireland*, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> It has also been copied by Dingley from Borlase's *Reduction of Ireland*, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> In the administration of the affairs of the College Teate was joined with Dr. Dudley Loftus, and in their appointment they are styled *temporarii subrectores*. They were soon superseded. See Dr. Mahaffy's *Epoch in Irish History*, p. 277. Teate is mentioned by Harris (*Ware's Works*, ii, 161) amongst the writers of Ireland.

Provost after the Kings most happy returne, whose monument in black marble and Letters of Gold against the wall is seen in the Colledge Chappell, and whose inscripcō I have wrote off page — [*infra*, p. 308].

13. Doctor Marsh of — in the University of Oxford.

A late President of the Colledge of Physicians, was Doctor John Stearne whose monuments Inscription I transcribed page — [*infra*, p. 306].

A Famous learned Vice-Provost Deane of Lismore and Chaplaine to his Grace the Duke of Ormond was y<sup>e</sup> late D<sup>r</sup> Richard Lingard<sup>1</sup> whose most elegant inscripc<sup>n</sup> upon his Tombstone I wrote out of the University Chappell page — [*infra*, p. 307].

R. D. D. HENRICUS JONES. S. T. D.,<sup>2</sup> HUIUS ACADEMIAE VICE CANCELLARIUS, QUI PROPRIIS SUMPTIBUS HANC BIBLIOTHECAM PULCHERRIMO GRADUUM APPARATU FENESTRIS CLASSIBUS SUBSELLUS CAETERISQUE ORNAMENTIS INSTRUXIT AUXIT COLLOCUPLETAVIT ANNO AERE CHRISTIANAE.

MDCLI

[Arms]

This last Inscriptō is engraven on a brass plate over a door in the Old Quadrangle under marked with y<sup>e</sup> letter C.<sup>3</sup>

[Arms]

S<sup>r</sup> GEORGE CAREY OF COCKINGTON, DEVON, KNIGHT, VICE TREASURER AND TREASURER AT WARRES AND SOMETIMES LORD JUSTICE OF THE REALME OF IRELAND.

The last Inscriptō and armes are seen over the doors in the walls of the first courte marked with the letters S. S.<sup>4</sup>

MDCXXXIX.

D M S.

GEORGIUS BAKERIUS CANTABRIGIAE INCOLA DUBLINII VIXIT HOSPES QUOQUE DIU MORITURUS UBI PRAETULIT ACADEMIA UBI VIVET HOSPES EMINENS ET EXCIPIET TUOS APOLLO FILIOS CHARA CAPITA AEDIBUS QUAS SUMPTU SUO PARAVIT SPLENDIDAS VIVET ET AMPLO FRUETUR LAUDIS PRAEMIO ALII DUM SUA PERIERUNT PECUNIA QUA SATIS MAGNUM HAUD PUTAT BAKERIUM MAJORE, MAGNUS ESTO BENEFICENTIA. GUL. CHAPEL CORC ET ROSS EPISCOPUS HUIUS COLLEGII PRAEPOSITUS.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See for an account of Lingard the late Professor Stokes's *Worthies of the Irish Church*, edited by Professor Lawlor.

<sup>2</sup> Then Bishop of Clogher, and afterwards Bishop of Meath.

<sup>3</sup> See birdseye view of the College on the opposite page.

<sup>4</sup> See *idem*.

<sup>5</sup> The will of George Baker, who died in 1638, is on record, and shows that he was a kinsman of the Stearne family. His bequest to the College is in the following terms:—"I give and bequeath unto the College near by City of Dublin the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, to be disbursed in building of a new quadrangle in or to the said building, to begin within two years next after my decease; provided that if it shall happen any of my name of the Bakers shall come to be of that College, that they

This Inscriptiōn is in the new Buildings under the door undermarked thus—. These Buildings are called S<sup>r</sup> Jerome Alexanders Buildings.

The Chappel door in the Old Quadrangle of curious artifice representing a Moses an Aaron the Armes of the twelve tribes, and at the

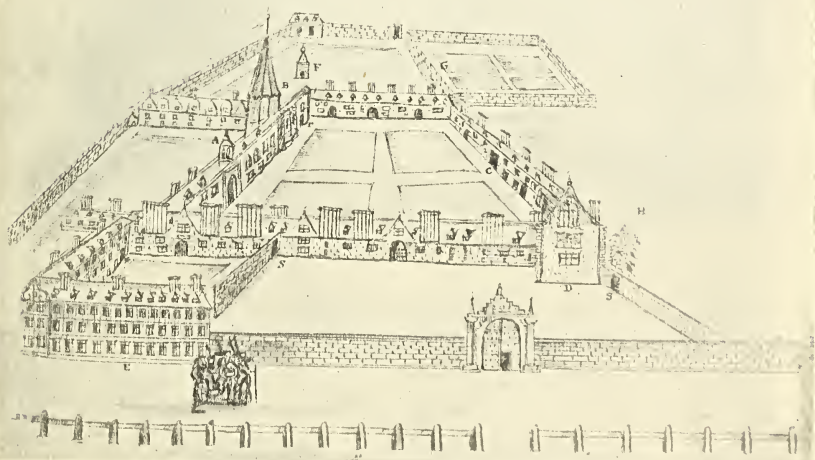
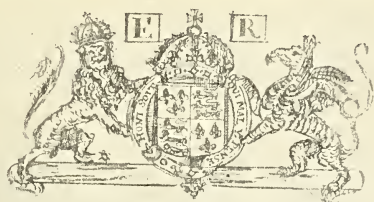


FIG. 17<sup>1</sup>

Bottom a Pharo and his host drown'd, marked with y<sup>e</sup> letter T<sup>1</sup> hath this Inscriptiōn over it :

S<sup>r</sup> WILLIAM FITZ WILLIAM, KNIGHT, SERVED HER MAJESTIE QUEEN ELIZABETH IN THIS REALME OF IRELAND 14 YEARS SINCE, YIZ TREASURER AND TREASURER AT WARRES AND FIVE TIMES LORD JUSTICE OF IRELAND.

be first provided and preferred to the chambers in that new building to be erected, before any other ; wherein I hope that the Provost and Fellows for the time being will not defraud this my trust reposed in them." Baker lived in the parish of St. Nicholas Without, in St. Patrick's Street, and left provision for the distribution of bread to the poor of that parish on Christmas Day and Good Friday, as well as for a gratuity to the preacher on those festivals.

<sup>1</sup> The key to the letters is not forthcoming. The "T" to which Dingley refers as



With his Armes this motto Prohibere nefas and this date MDLXXXVIII; he descended from the Fitz Williams of Sprots Bury K<sup>nts</sup> in Yorkshire.

Adjoining to the Library are seen the Armes of the Foundresse Q. Elizabeth after ye manners, on ye right hand with this device at bottom SEMPER EADEM.<sup>1</sup>

Entering into the University Chappell on the left hand is seen a fair monument in white marble of one Chaloner who was founder of the s<sup>d</sup> Chappell as appears by Inscriptiōn thereon :



FIG. 18

In the Chappell on the right hand the altar in black marble in the wall in Letters Roman Capital of gold is read this Inscriptiōn.

[Here is given the inscription on the monument to Dr. John Stearne.<sup>2</sup>]

Upon a fair Tombstone even with the pavement in y<sup>e</sup> body of the Chappell Read this excellent Encomion on Dr. Richard Lingard Vice Provost :

denoting the chapel-door is on the ground near the spire and looks more like an "F." It will be noticed that, as in the view of St. Patrick's Cathedral and the Tholsel, a group of soldiers is introduced. The following tentative key is suggested by Mr. Garstin and myself. It is based on the information given by Dingley, and on a similar view of the College which was sent to Lord Burghley at the time of its foundation, and which has been reproduced by Dr. Mahaffy in the second edition of his *Epoch in Irish History*. The gate in the front of Dingley's view faces the west, where College Green lies. (A) The hall, surmounted by a turret, to the west of which was the kitchen. (B) The chapel, adjoining a steeple, which formed part of the monastery of All Hallows. (C) The Library. (D) The Provost's lodging. (E) Sir Jerome Alexander's buildings. (F) The pump. (G) The garden. (H) The Provost's garden and orchard. (SS) The first court. (T) The chapel door.

<sup>1</sup> The stone still survives, and is to be seen in the Library of Trinity College.

<sup>2</sup> See for these inscriptions, *The Book of Trinity College*, pp. 208, 209, and *Memorials of the Dead*, vii, 26, 27.

M. S.

RICHARD LINGARD S.T.D ET P P<sup>1</sup>

Hujus Collegii vice prepositi Decani Lismorensis  
 Quodque summum ducebat Ormoniae Duci a sacris &c.

At neque Lingardo vel mortuo, quod viventibus  
 quibusdam contigit

Ut soli in illo dormirent tituli  
 In uno quippe hoc viri miraculo  
 Gloriam quicquid, meritorum quicquid est  
 scholasticorum.

Per compendium aeternitati consecrantur  
 In uno Ecclesia Academiae imo et Doctrinae  
 Universitas

Si non emori at languere saltem videbantur  
 Tantus erat in rostris in cathedra tantus  
 Quasi antiquam in se cum nova Romam generose  
 conjugens

Utramque mundo triumphantem exhiberet  
 Dum in illo Tullius Papatum consecutus est  
 Nam quia vel Ethnicus erat vel papista sed  
 Oratorum Alpha.

Quamque alter frustra loci judicii ille autoritate  
 Humanam (si qua sit) infallibilitatem vindicavit  
 Defendas si quis in eo artes rogitet, silebit  
 marmor.

Nec alia nisi musarum fata ingemiscenda  
 suggeret

Si votivos ex ejus scientiis dolores metiremur  
 Infiniti audient dum in circulo lugeamus  
 Amissam in eo Eucelopoediam

Quas enim Babel sparserat Universas prope  
 linguas recolligens

Rebus tam facieiter accomodavit  
 Ut eum non tam verba quam res ipsas produxisse  
 crederes

Summumque aliquatenus in dicendo opificis  
 ad instar cum loqueretur ageret  
 Quod mores spectat, quae omnium ornamentorum  
 ornamenta sunt.

Tam supra Plebem vixit Lingardus  
 quam sapuit.

<sup>1</sup> These letters may represent Pro-Prepositus.—J. R. G.

Vitamque docte adeo et honorifice piam  
instituit

Ut inde vel absque Academiae gratia ad The-  
ologiae doctoratum eveetus sit.

Nec titulo contentus jam repetitur  
Vale et imitare

Denatus 10 Novembris Anno MDCLXX

[Arms]

On the left hand entring into the Chappel is a fair monument of him that was first Provost after the Kings Restauraçon, on black marble in y<sup>e</sup> wall and roman capitall Letters of gold

[Here is given the inscription on the monument to Dr. Thomas Seale<sup>1</sup>]

From this University there hath shott forth many usefull Lights in the comon Firmament besides Dr. James Usher, Primate of Armagh, one of the greatest magnitude for generall Learning and Piety the last ages can truely boast of; he was the first of the Schollars admitted into the Foundaçon of Queen Elizabeth of ever blessed memory, so gradually proceeding according to his yeers.

Not farr from the Colledge worthy the sight of the curious is the SPRING GARDEN Belonging to the R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Colonel Carey Dillon Privy Counsellour.<sup>2</sup>

Less than a mile out of Town at KILMAINEHAM which was anciently a Priory is a very fair Hospitall lately built for the reception of his Mat<sup>ies</sup> maimed souldiers; this was founded by his Grace y<sup>e</sup> D. of Ormond out of deduções of the Pay of the present standing Army. One of the Priors named Rawson gave the following Coat lately seen in y<sup>e</sup> Ruines of the Old Priory.

[Arms.]

He gave for Coat armor, two Coats quarterly, the first is parted per fesse under sable and azure, a Castle with four Towers Argent, the

<sup>1</sup> See *The Book of Trinity College*, p. 209, and *Memorials*, vii. 27. In 1798 this monument and those to Challoner and Stearne were removed to an enclosed space at the north-east corner of the present chapel, and are still there. The monument to Lingard has disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> He succeeded a few years later to the earldom of Roscommon as fifth of the line, and died in the winter of 1689 at Chester. The Spring Garden was near Lazy Hill, where Townsend Street lies. See MSS. of S. Philip Unwin (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), p. 570.

second is Or on a Cheveron Vert, three Ravens heads erased, argent, the third as the second, the fourth as the first, ensigned all over with a chief Gules and thereon a Cross of the third, the said Rawson was Knight of this order, and Lord Prior of that late dissolved Priory of Kilmainham.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sir John Rawson, Prior of Kilmainham, was in high favour with the English Government, and was recommended by Lord Deputy St. Leger as having kept the best house next to his own, and feasted and entertained strangers to the king's honour. He was given a pension by Henry VIII. He surrendered, with the consent of the convent, the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in November, 1541, and was then created for life Viscount of Clontarf, which he made his abode. He died in 1560, when the title of course became extinct. His arms are not among those engraved in Burke's Extinct Peerage, but they appear in Burke's General Armory.—J. R. G.



## THE NORTHERN ROAD FROM TARA

By GUSTAVUS E. HAMILTON

[Read 25 FEBRUARY 1913]

As is well known, there were in ancient Ireland five principal roads which led from Tara in Meath to the political centres of gravity of the other four provinces. Each of these roads was called a *slighe*, with reference to which Cormac's Glossary says "it was made for the passing of chariots by each other, for the meeting of two chariots, i.e. a King's chariot and a Bishop's chariot, so that each of them may go by the other." (1) The Four Masters state at A.D. 123 that on the night of the birth of Conn Céadcathach "were discovered the five principal roads to Tara, which were never observed till then." This entry probably means that these roads were built by Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, King of Ireland, Conn's father. These roads long survived the abandonment of Tara; and if Dublin is put in the place of Tara, their general direction is followed by the main roads of the present day. It is, however, with the northern road from Tara, or *Slighe Míodhluachra*, that I intend to deal in this paper.

I hope to show that evidence exists which would support the view that the course of this road was as follows:—It started from Tara and proceeded almost due north, crossed the Boyne in the neighbourhood of Drogheda, then passed near to Dundalk, and, within a mile or so north of Dundalk, divided into two branches, one of which, called *Bealach Mór an Fheadha* (2), traversed the barony of Upper Fews along the line of the present road which passes near *Béal Atha an Airgid* (Silverbridge) and through Newtown Hamilton, and ended at *Eamhain Macha* (the "Navan Fort"), near Armagh.

The other branch traversed the Moyry Pass, passed close to Newry, crossed the River Flanrye at the ford where "Crown Bridge" now is, passed through the baronies of Upper and Lower Iveagh, Co. Down, and finally reached Dunseverick, near the Giants' Causeway.

The following are some of the principal references to *Slighe Míodhluachra*:—In *Caithréim Conghail Cláiringhnigh* (3), Conghal, marching northwards from Tara, reached "*Benna Anann*, which is called *Benna Breag*" (4), and thence saw the host of the King of Ireland's son whom he met at *Ath fuar* (cold ford), alias *Ath in Oighe* (deer ford), on the Boyne, which, as the text explains, gets its name of "cold ford" because

"it is there the fresh water and the salt water rush together, and it is the colder thereby." From that place "Conghal marched then to *Crioch Rois* (5) and to *Magh Temil Mhara*, which is called *Fochaird Mhór Muirthemhne* (6), and by the Rough Way called *Slighe Mhór Mhiodhluachra*, to *Iubhar Chinnchoidhee mic Neachtain*, called *Iubhar Chinn Trachta* (7) now, and to *Áth Mór*, called *Ath Cruithne* (8), and to *Magh Cobha Cennmhór* (9) east, and from *Cnoc Diamhrach* (10) till he reached *Carn Macu Buachalla* in the centre of Ulster, which is called to-day *Baile o nDongaile* (11)." From *Carn Macu Buachalla* Conghal went a day's march to *Blena Corra Crioncosaigh* (12), then called *Lena an Gharbhaidh* (13), and from thence to *Aonach Inbhir Tuaighe* (14), which was on the seashore (15).

The following references to *Slighe Miodhluachra* appear in the *Táin Bo Cuailgne*:—"It is then that Medb went with a third of the host with her to *Cuib* (16) to seek the Bull; and Cuchulain went after her. Now on the road of *Midluachair* she had gone to harry *Ulaid* (17) and *Cruthne* (18) as far as *Dún Sobairche* (19) . . . Cuchulain turned back (from *Cuib*) to *Mag Murthemne* (20)" (21). "Medb said after every one had come with their booty, so that they were all in *Findabair Cualngi* (22): 'Let the host be divided,' said Medb; 'it will be impossible to bring this expedition by one way. Let Ailill go with half the expedition by *Midluachair*; Fergus and I will go by *Bernas nUlad*'" (23) (24) . . . "(The Bull) went on the road of *Midluachair* in *Cuip* . . . he made a trench there. Hence is *Gort Buraig* (25). Then he went until he died between *Ulaid* and *Hui Eachach* at *Druim Tairb* (25)" (26).

It is clear that *Slighe Miodhluachra* traversed the *Moiry Pass* (*Bealach an Mhaighre*) (27), because *Cill na Sagart*, which is at the entrance of the pass, is mentioned (28) as in *Miodhluachair*.

In the map of the "Southern Part of Ulster" in the Irish Historical Atlas of 1609 a road is marked which runs from Dundalk past "Faghart" and the "Fort of the Moierie Pace" to a bridge which crosses the "Owen Glin Ree Fl.," opposite to the gate of Newry; this road is called on the map the "Moierie Causie."

The evidence relating to the branch of *Slighe Miodhluachra* which ran from near Dundalk to *Eamhain Macha* is scanty. Cuchulain going from *Eamhain Macha* to his death on *Magh Muirtheimhne*, "started southwards along the road of *Midluachair* . . . then he drove along the road of *Midluachair* around *Sliab Fuad*." (29) & (30).

The latest notice of the *Slighe Miodhluachra* which I have discovered is the statement in the *Annals of the Four Masters* at A.D. 1101. Muirheartach Ua Briain, King of Munster, after plundering Ulster and demolishing *Grianán Ailigh* (31), went over *Feartas Camus* (32) in *Ulaidh*, and carried off hostages of *Ulaidh* . . . and went by *Slighe Miodhluachra* to his house." From this it would seem that Muirheartach marched

directly east from Grianán Ailigh, crossed the Bann, and then proceeded southwards through the present counties of Antrim and Down.

(1) Joyce, *Soc. Hist.*, ii, 394.

(2) i.e. "Great road of the wood." The baronies of Upper and Lower Fews, Co. Armagh, derive their name from the forest called *Fíodh Mór* or *Fíodh Conaille*, v. *Onom. Goedel. sub voc.*, which, formerly covered the greater part of the barony of Upper Fews. For *Béal Átha an Airgid* (Silverbridge), v. *Onom. Goedel. sub voc. Sliab Fúait*.

(3) *Ir. Texts Soc.*, v, 28.

(4) *Benna Breag* would seem to be *Sliabh Breagh* (Slieve Breagh), between the baronies of Upper and Lower Slane in Meath, but for the fact that Conghal would have to cross the Boyne *before* he could reach this range of hills.

(5) Part of the barony of Fearney, Co. Monaghan, and of the barony of Ardee, Co. Louth. Carrickmacross is in it.

(6) Faughart, Co. Louth, two miles north of Dundalk.

(7) i.e. Newry.

(8) O'Don., *A.F.M.*, ii, 614, says that *Áth Cruithne* is in Sheeptown t.l. in the Lordship of Newry. Aodh Ua Duibhgeanain in *Journal Co. Louth Arch. Soc.*, i, 96, states that "Crown Mound, which is in Sheeptown, probably means 'the Mound of the Picts,' and Crown Bridge, which spans the River Flanrye, where it divides Sheeptown from Crobane, I believe to be on the site of the *Áth Cruithne*."

(9) Of which later.

(10) Unknown to me; there is no reference to this place in *Onom. Goedel*.

(11) *Baile o nDongaile* is Castlecaulfield, Co. Tyrone. If the identification of *Carn Macu Buachalla* with *Baile o nDongaile* is correct, this route from Tara to Dunseverick must have gone *west* of Loch Neagh. The other references to *Carn Macu Buachalla* seem to place it in Iveagh. See *Onom. Goedel. sub voc.*

(12) *Ir. Texts Soc.*, v, 48.

(13) *Ib.* 46. From the only reference to this place in *Onom. Goedel.* it would appear to be near the Bann.

(14) *Ib.* 60. This seems to be the mouth of the Bann, *alias* "*Aonuch Tuaidhe*," *ib.* 44. It was one of the "three estuaries of Eire," *Book of Ballymote*, 42a.

(15) *Ir. Texts Soc.*, v, 66.

(16) *Cuib* or *Cuip*. This name appears to be another form of the *Cóbha* of *Mágh Cóbha* or *Ui Eachach Cóbha*. Compare the entry, Colman of "*Druim mór hi Cuib*," in the *Book of Lecan*, 272, with "*Druim mór Mocholmóc i nUibh Eachach Uladh*" in the *Féilire of Gorman*, 112. *Mágh Cóbha* *alias* *Ui Eachach Cóbha* *alias* *Ui Eachach Uladh* was coextensive with the baronies of Iveagh, Co. Down. Several other places are mentioned in the *Táin* as being in *Cuib*, but *Áth Cruithen* (*L.B.L.* 599) and *Carn Maccu Buachalla* (*L.B.L.* 599) are the only ones which I can identify.

(17) It is difficult to say why the phrases "*Ulaid and Cruithne*" and "*Ulaid and Hui Eachach*" (*infra*) are used, as even in its narrower connotation *Ulaid* always contained all *Dál Riada* and *Dál nÁraidhe*, i.e. the present counties of Down and Antrim: see *Onom. Goedel. sub voc.*

(18) *Cruithne* seems to have been the same as *Dál nÁraidhe*, i.e. Co. Down and the south half of Co. Antrim: see *Onom. Goedel. sub vocibus Cruithne and Dal nÁraide*.

(19) Dunseverick, Co. Antrim.

(20) The plains of Co. Louth.

(21) Miss Faraday's *Translation*, 59; *L.U.* 70.

(22) Clogher townland and parish at Clogher Head, about four miles north-east of Drogheda: see *Onom. Goedel. sub voc. Finnabair Chúalngi and Cell Clochair*.



(23) "*Bernas nUlad*," or "*Bernas Bo nUlad*," "the cow-gap of the Ultonians," *L.U.* 65; *L.B.L.* 589. Probably Forkhill Pass under Slieve Gullion from Forkhill to Meigh, on the west side of the Great Northern Railway.

(24) Faraday, p. 44; *L.U.* 65; *L.B.L.* 588.

(25) Unidentified.

(26) Faraday, p. 140; *L.B.L.* 644.

(27) The Moiry Pass runs from the ruins of Moiry Castle, which is just on the west of the Great Northern Railway, in the townland of Carrickbroad (O.S. 32), parish of Killeavy, barony of Orior Upper, Co. Armagh, by Jonesborough to Killeen House, in the same parish and barony. The railway keeps to the west of the pass.

(28) v. *Onom. Goedel*. *Cill na Sagart* is on the other side of the railway, just opposite to the Moiry Castle; it is in the townland of Edenappa and parish of Jonesborough.

(29) Father Hogan in *Onom. Goedel*. (*sub voc. Sliabh Fúait*) wishes to identify *Sliabh Fúaid* with the mountain the western summit of which is *Carraig an tSeabhaic* (Catrigatuke), 1200 feet, in the townland of Armaghbrague, parish of Lisnadill, and the eastern Deadman's Hill, 1178 feet, in the townland of Clady Beg and parish of Kilclooney, on the boundary of the baronies of Upper and Lower Fews. The road from Dundalk to Armagh crosses the mountain between these summits. But all the evidence with reference to *Sliabh Fúaid* points to the conclusion that the name was never applied to a single mountain, but rather to the *range* of mountains which runs in a north-east direction from Castleblayney in Co. Monaghan into Co. Armagh, and of which *Mullach Aisse* (Mullyash), 1034 feet, in parish of Muckno, barony of Cremorne, Co. Monaghan, Shank's Hill, 832 feet, *Carraig an tSeabhaic* and Deadman's Hill are the principal summits; cf. *Sliabh Bladhma*, *Sliabh Luachra*, *Sliabh Damh*, each of which is the name of a range of mountains. In the map of the "Baronie of Fues," in the 1609 Atlas the name "Slew Fode" is given to a mass of summits at the point where the baronies of Armagh and Fews and the County of Monaghan meet. The denominations immediately on the northern side of this mass are "*Touregie*" (Tanderagee), "*Tulbrone*" (Tullybrone), and "*Armaghonaga*" (Armaghbrague), all in the parish of Lisnadill; and on the southern side "*Teemurifree*" (Drumlougher, Teer and Teer Island) in Creggan parish, "*Ballmerrie*" (Ballynarea), and "*Tullivulan*" (Tullyvalan) in Newtown Hamilton parish. If, therefore, "Slew Fode" is intended to be any particular summit, it must be one of those a little to the west of Armaghbrague House. Since writing the foregoing I have discovered the following additional notice of *Sliabh Fúaid*, which confirms the view that the name is that of a *range* of mountains, "*Daire Nuis i Sleib Fhuait*," Féilire of Aongus, 134; this is the parish of Derrynoose, Co. Armagh, which covers the southern part of the Barony of Tiranny and the western part of the Barony of Armagh about the church of Maddau. There is no townland called Derrynoose, and I do not know where the ancient parish church was, but possibly it is the "old church" marked by the Ordnance Survey in the townland Listarkelt (O. S. 19). In the 1609 map of the "Baronie of Toghtrany" a building which seems to be a ruined castle is marked in Listarkelt, which is there called "Lisroeaty."

(30) Cuchullin Saga, Hull, p. 254.

(31) The ancient residence of the kings of Ulster, on Greenan Hill, 4 miles N.W. of Derry.

(32) The ford over the Bann near the ancient church of *Camus Comhghail* alias *Camus Muighe Coscain*, 3 miles south of Coleraine.



## HOUSE AT OLDBAWN, CO. DUBLIN

By H. G. LEASK (*Member*)

[Read 28 JANUARY 1913]

THE Caroline House at Oldbawn, near Tallaght, in the county of Dublin, has been noticed in the *Irish Builder*, in Hancock's *History and Antiquities of Tallaght*, and in *The History of County Dublin*, by Dr. F. Elrington Ball, in which the history and associations of the house have been very fully treated. The house itself and its surroundings, however, do not seem to have received so much attention in these valuable records as they deserve, and it is the principal purpose of the present paper to treat the subject rather from the architectural point of view—a labour the more necessary seeing that the building is fast falling into ruin, and the surroundings undergoing very considerable changes.

It is desirable to recapitulate briefly the known history of the place and its inhabitants, and I have to acknowledge great indebtedness to the authorities already named, particularly to Dr. Ball's *History*, and to Mr. Hancock's book, in both of which will be found very full accounts, upon which the following is based. I have taken the liberty of quoting passages from both, but principally from the former.

Oldbawn was erected by William Bulkeley, Archdeacon of Dublin, a son of the archbishop of that name. He "had a grant from Charles I, dated 5 March 1627, of many towns and lands,"<sup>1</sup> including those of Oldbawn. Besides these, the archbishop bought and presented to his son another estate at Dunlavin, Co. Wicklow. The father, Launcelot Bulkeley, was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin in 1619, died at Tallaght in 1650, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral under the Communion Table.<sup>3</sup>

The family came from Wales, the prelate being the youngest son of Sir Richard Bulkeley, of Beaumaris,<sup>2</sup> who was a descendant of Richard Bulclogh, or Bulkeley, of Eaton in Cheshire, and sheriff of that shire in 1341.<sup>4</sup>

The house was erected about the year 1635, in what is described as a "desolate and wild" spot, and we are told that the archdeacon, a man who found his greatest diversion in the improvement of his estate,

<sup>1</sup> Hancock's *History of Tallaght*.<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*<sup>3</sup> Harris's *Ware*.<sup>4</sup> Burke's *Commoners*, vol. iii.

made many plantations, turning the place "into a most delightful patrimony."<sup>1</sup> In the troubled times of 1641 Oldbawn was burned, and much property and live-stock destroyed. After this a claim was put in for the whole cost of the house, £3000, and a further claim of a remarkable and amusing nature, in that the archdeacon's mother-in-law was compelled to marry again during the disturbance, and "he firmly believed in his conscience" that his wife had "thereby lost a legacy" expected from that source.<sup>2</sup>

"When a survey of the parish was made after the establishment of the Commonwealth," the house was in good condition, and was described as being "the only one" in the parish "occupied by a family of position."<sup>3</sup> The household then numbered thirty, and included a large retinue of servants of varying degree—enumerated in Mr. Ball's *History*—"cookmaid, dairymaid, porter, brewers, cook-boy, scullion boy, ploughman, stable or 'garron' keeper, horse boy, footman, and boys for cattle, sheep, and swine."

The members of the family are also described in some detail—the archdeacon's mother, an old lady of eighty-three, taking first place. "On account of her great age she had been granted leave to eat lamb,"<sup>4</sup> the killing of lambs at that time being prohibited under penalty. Burke's *Commoners* in a note to vol. iii states that "Mrs. Bulkeley petitioned for licence to eat lamb, by reason of her great age, and weakness of body: in consideration whereof her petition was granted, and she had a licence, 17 March 1652, to kill and dress so much as would be necessary for her own use and eating, not to exceed, however, three lambs in the whole of that year." The rest of the family are naïvely identified; the Archdeacon, "a man of middle height and slender build, with brown hair and grey beard"; his wife, "tall and slender, with a long visage and brown hair"<sup>5</sup>; and her sister, Miss Mainwaring. Besides these were the Archdeacon's son and daughter, the former a Trinity student, aged seventeen, the future Sir Richard Bulkeley; and the cleric's "cousin-german," Rowland Bulkeley.

At this time the village of Oldbawn contained about 100 inhabitants, all probably dependent in some degree upon the estate, including a steward, gardener, and foreman; and amongst various tradespeople, a tailor, a brogue-maker, smith, carpenter, and fowler.<sup>6</sup> It is probable that most of these were Welsh people brought over by the Bulkeleys.

In the days of the chimney-tax "Oldbawn was rated as containing 12 hearths,"<sup>7</sup> which seems to point to something like an evasion of the law, since there must have been at least fifteen in the house alone.

<sup>1</sup> Ball's *History of Co. Dublin*, vol. iii, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 34.

At the death of the founder in 1671, the estate passed to his son, Sir Richard, who had been created a baronet, "and represented Baltinglass in the Irish Parliament."<sup>1</sup> He settled down in middle age at Oldbawn, after a youth spent in travel, giving a great deal of attention to horse-breeding. "He was twice married, in the first instance to a daughter of the Right Hon. John Bysshe, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and secondly to a daughter of Mr. H. Whitfield."<sup>2</sup> On his death in 1685 he was succeeded by his son, the second Sir Richard Bulkeley, a man deformed in body, given to study, and of great learning, and a graduate of Dublin University, and B.A. of Oxford. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society at the same time as John Evelyn, with whom he was intimate; and in the archives of that body are preserved some papers read by him before the Society. Amongst these is one dealing with a self-propelling vehicle invented by him, entitled, "On a new sort of Calesh,"<sup>3</sup> which effusion seems to have caused some merriment, since serious Evelyn was constrained to make the following entry in his "Diary" under date 28th October, 1685:—"Sir Richard Bulkeley described to us a model of a chariot he had invented, which it was not possible to overthrow in whatever uneven way it was drawn, giving us a wonderful relation of what it had performed in that kind, for ease, expedition, and safety; there were some inconveniences yet to be remedied—it would not contain more than one person; and was ready to take fire every ten miles; and being placed and playing on no fewer than ten rollers, it made a most prodigious noise, almost intolerable. A remedy was to be sought for these inconveniences."

Sir Richard was evidently somewhat of the leisured crank, and in his later years got into the hands of some prophetic enthusiasts called "French Prophets." So much was he under their influence that he wrote and published several pamphlets in their defence, and intended to sell his estates, and divide the proceeds amongst them, had not death frustrated him. He it was who, according to Lynch's *Life of St. Patrick*, destroyed the wall-paintings and decorations in the little building at St. Doulogh's Well while returning with his troopers from the Battle of the Boyne.

He married a daughter of Sir G. Downing, represented Fethard in Parliament, and died, leaving no issue, in 1710, when Oldbawn became the residence of the "much-married judge, the Hon. William Worth,"<sup>4</sup> who espoused as his third wife the widow of the first Sir Richard Bulkeley, and, as his fourth essay in matrimonial seas, married the relict of the second Baronet of the name. We may suppose that he found Oldham a comfortable and pleasant abode, since that "delightful

<sup>1</sup> Ball, vol. iii, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary Nat. Biog.*

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionary Nat. Biog.*

<sup>5</sup> Ball, vol. iii, p. 35.

patrimony " must then have been at its best, the plantations grown into fine trees in their eighty years of life.

A son by his second wife, a daughter of Sir Henry Tynte of Co. Cork, succeeded him on his death in 1721. This son took the name of Tynte,<sup>1</sup> and married a grand-daughter of the first Sir Richard Bulkeley, thus doubly connecting himself with the place and family. He took a prominent place in politics as the Right Hon. James Worth Tynte, and was succeeded, in 1758, by his son, Robert Tynte, who survived him by only two years, Oldbawn being then occupied by his widow, a daughter of the first Earl of Aldborough, and passing to her son, who was created a Baronet, as Sir James Stratford Tynte. He took a prominent part in the Volunteer movement, being made a General of Volunteers; and when he died in 1785 was accorded a military funeral to Donnybrook, where is the family burial-place.<sup>2</sup>

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, Oldbawn was occupied by Mr. Joseph McDonnell, whose family had for years worked the adjoining paper-mills, which now lie in an even more derelict state than the house. The house suffered from the proximity of the factory, and was in part given over to mill purposes.

In the autumn of 1907 I first visited Oldbawn, in company with Mr. Joseph A. Geoghegan, to whom I am indebted for my introduction to the place, and whose idea it was to make a careful survey and conjectural restoration of the house and surroundings. It is through his help and knowledge that I am able to place this paper, the result of our joint labours, before the Society. We found ample evidences to form the basis of a restoration of the house in its original state, which evidences will be referred to in detail later.

Oldbawn lies in the townland of the same name, and in the parish of Tallaght, about three-quarters of a mile to the south of that village, and about 500 yards to the west of the road from Tallaght to Oldbawn Bridge on the Dodder.

The remains in 1907 comprised the still roofed shell of the original house, with various later additions; and a fine yard building or barn, having a curved gable in the centre crowned by a light cupola, with a clock beneath, which bore the dates 1721 and 1747 entwined (apparently those of its construction and repair), and the words "Math Cr."<sup>3</sup> Beside the house stood the ruins of the paper-mill, with its ponds and races, and a fine brick chimney of the circular type raised on a square base. There were also yards and gardens, and a farm-house of Victorian date not connected with the house.

The appearance of the house, closely surrounded by trees and overgrown shrubberies, and covered with luxuriant ivy, was very neglected,

<sup>1</sup> Ball, vol. iii, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ball and Handcock, note.

<sup>3</sup> Handcock, p. 59.



and, towards the gathering of dusk, sinister in the extreme. The formally laid out, but overgrown, pleasure ground, given over to pasture, was still a pleasant place, and perhaps more pleasing in its wildness than it may have been when in its stiff glory. In the description which follows, the present tense is used of the place as it stood in 1907, except where reference is made to the conjectural restoration of its original state. The present condition of the house will be referred to in conclusion.

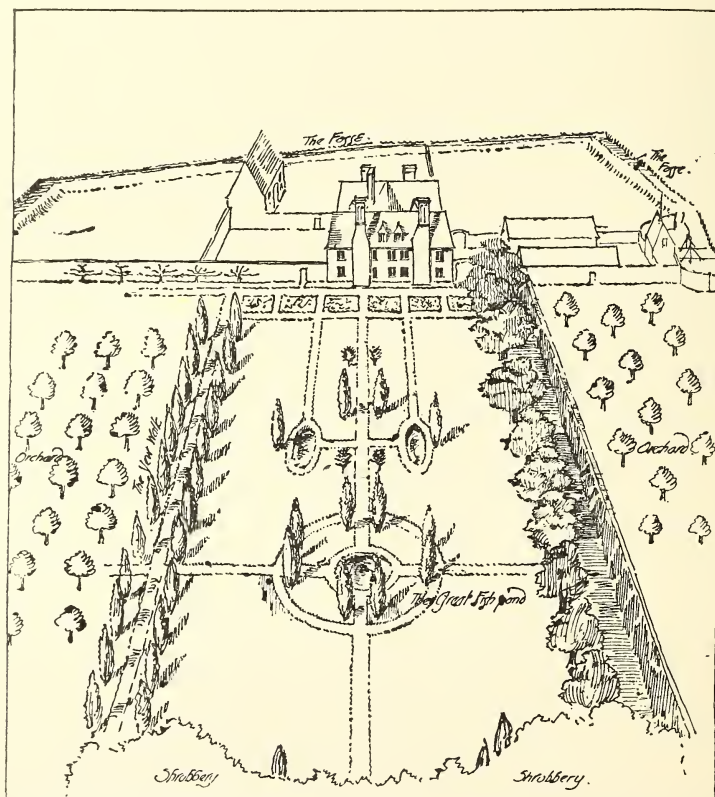


FIG. 1.—RESTORATION OF PLEASURE-GROUND

(Birdseye view)

The first feature to claim attention is the long avenue leading from the road axially to the front door. This, though no longer used as such, is quite plainly defined by two parallel fences about 200 feet apart, running unbroken to the public road. Such an avenue would be quite characteristic of the period, there being examples in England, notably in Northamptonshire, belonging to the period immediately anterior to the time when Oldbawn was built. Portions of curved

walls remain at the end of the avenue, and these are probably of comparatively recent date, marking the site of a later entrance gate. It seems probable that the house was built upon the site of some older dwelling, since the name Oldbawn, referred to in the original grant, suggests the existence of at least an enclosure, "bawn," or garth. The term is sometimes applied to the cattle enclosures common to castles in this country, and is a form of "bodhun," or cattle fortress.

This enclosure was perhaps of the irregular shape shown within the fosse or moat, which does not appear to have been noticed in any previous description of the place. It is to be seen in what must be almost its original state, a cutting about 25 feet wide across the south end of the garden and pleasure-ground; and a regular depression in continuation of this extends right across the east side of the plot, but is obliterated at the head of the avenue. On the other two sides, where are the modern mill-ponds, races, and mill-buildings, the signs are not so clear; but the existing indications seem to warrant the assumption of its existence on all sides. When the date of the house, so little removed from the castle-building era, and its proximity to the hills, from whence in the seventeenth century the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles still issued, are considered, it seems more than probable that a moat existed.

The base or fore court would be a feature of a house of the period, and the ground within this space is sunk somewhat below that adjoining. Buildings or offices on each side of this court are probable, and the wall to the south appears to show traces of their existence. Probably there were also a gate-house and drawbridge, of which, however, there is no trace.

The yards to the right, and the small garden at the back of the house are arbitrary, but probable, divisions. The yard at the back of the barn (which I think is of eighteenth-century date) occupies the likely position for the farm-yard. It is approached through the archway in the centre of the barn building.

The pleasure-ground, 300 feet long by 130 feet wide, to the south of the house, is probably original, judging from its position and the traces of formal laying out, with fish-ponds, circling walks, and a walk or alley bordered with yew trees, separating it from the orchard. Along the east side stood, until May, 1909, a fine row of beech trees sheltering it from the east winds.

The house, however, is the centre of interest; it is built upon the typical late Tudor H-plan, a fashion on the wane in England at the time of its erection; but, since tradition dies hard in remote places, it is natural that it should have been adhered to by the craftsmen (probably Welsh) who were employed in the building.

A ground-floor plan is shown of the house as it stood in 1907, before the removal of the staircase and mantelpiece (happily now housed in the Museum of Science and Art, and to be referred to later); a restoration

plan from the indications available is also shown. The centre portion is occupied by the hall, about 20 feet by 35 feet, and the wing to the left by the parlour and another room, probably also a sitting-room, the staircase being between. The position assumed for the latter in the "restored" plan is the typical one, and is based upon the obvious evidence of the shape and lighting of the room to the rear in "existing"

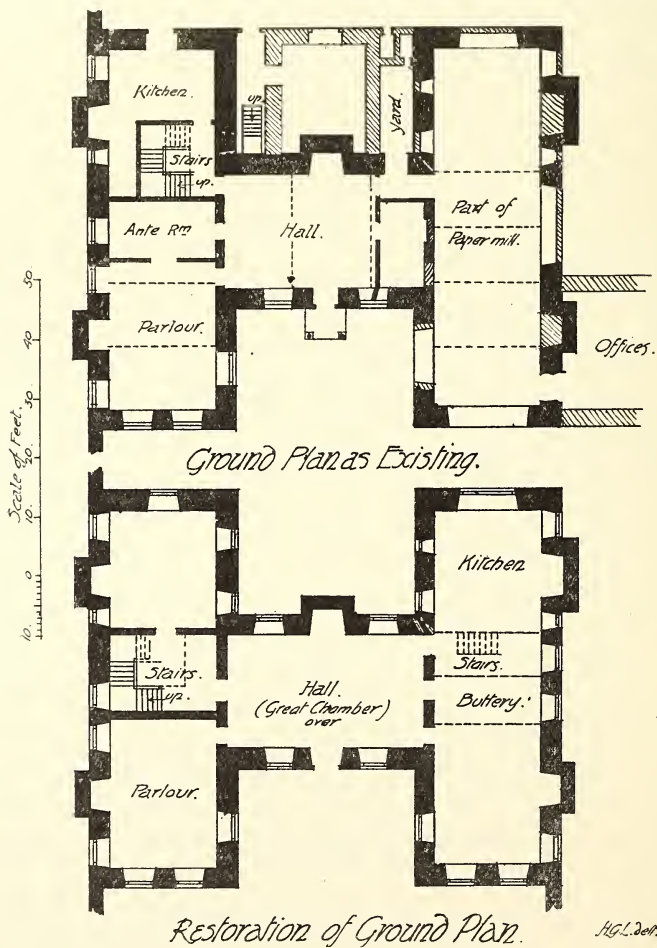


FIG. 2

plan, which, it is safe to assume, would never have been planned originally in this awkward way, with one window and half the fireplace obstructed by the staircase enclosure. When the staircase was moved to this position, it is not possible to say; perhaps after the burning of 1641; but more probably later, since there is a piece of balustrading

of late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century date on the landing immediately over. Of the three openings at the north end of the hall, in "restored" plan, one still exists, and the others are built up, but traceable. In the "Screens"<sup>1</sup> of the typical Tudor Hall plan, this arrangement of doors is not uncommon.

The plan of the north or kitchen wing, used in the last century as part of the paper-mill, and for this purpose completely gutted from the first floor to the roof, is made clear by the position of the large fireplace of the kitchen now built up; and by the squint window in the internal angle to the rear, which by its position between the levels of the other windows, indicates the presence of a staircase, probably communicating with the attics. There is a gable of the main roof at this end, allowing sufficient headroom for the staircase to reach to the attic floor. The space marked "Buttery" is the usual position for such an apartment; and there are indications of cellarage under this portion, which would be its natural appurtenance. Another room adjoins, of which the use is uncertain.

On the first floor, over the hall, there is a large room (now divided into two), the typical "Great Chamber" of the period, and over the parlour is another large room, much altered from its original state, the ceiling having been raised at the expense of the room on the floor above, and containing an uninteresting modern marble mantelpiece. There is a second story, with rooms partly in the roof, and an attic story, completely in the roof, over the level of the roof-ties.

The buildings between the projections of the wings at the back are of modern date, and do not call for remark. The roofless building attached to the north wing, and marked "offices" on plan, is of later date than the house, but had a high-pitched roof, and was possibly the first mill erected here.

The clear height of the ground-floor story is 9 feet 6 inches, that of the first floor 8 feet; and the second-floor rooms, partly in the roof, are 7 feet 9 inches in height to the roof-ties, which form the floor-beams of the attic or garret over. The external walls are very solid, averaging 3 feet 6 inches thick, of rubble masonry.

The external appearance of the house is the thing of greatest interest about it; and careful examination has made it possible to give an accurate restoration of its original state. The illustration shows it as it stood in 1890, before neglect and the vigorous growth of ivy made a good photograph impossible. For the use of this photograph I have to thank Mr. Weston St. John Joyce, who very kindly lent it. The illustration is from his recent book, *The Neighbourhood of Dublin*.

The window openings, where not built up or otherwise altered, are filled with double-hung sashes of the ordinary type, except in the north

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<sup>1</sup> Namely, the passage separating the hall from the kitchen wing.



wing, where the original openings have been formed into great square gaps, and filled with open timber trellis-work to admit plenty of air for the drying of paper.

All of the outer walls are plastered and dashed, there being two layers of plaster, the outer one easily detachable, leaving exposed the older plaster under: and, in this latter, round the original window-openings, are smooth plaster bands or architraves, with horns at the angles, disclosing the manner in which the modern frames have been inserted. Further examination laid bare several of the original solid window-frames in openings on the south side of the house, and in some of the upper windows, now built up. These frames are of oak, 6 inches by 5 inches, set 5 inches back from the wall-face, with slate sills below, and prepared for casement-sashes, opening outwards. Austin Cooper, who visited the place in 1779, described it as possessing "old-fashioned lattice windows." From these indications the sketch has been prepared.

It is possible that the smooth plaster surrounds to the windows, and the similar treatment of the angles of the building, may not be original, but it is beyond doubt that they are earlier than the existing window-frames and sashes.

The high-pitched gables and dormers, and the massive chimney-stacks, which give the building its picturesque quality, are quite

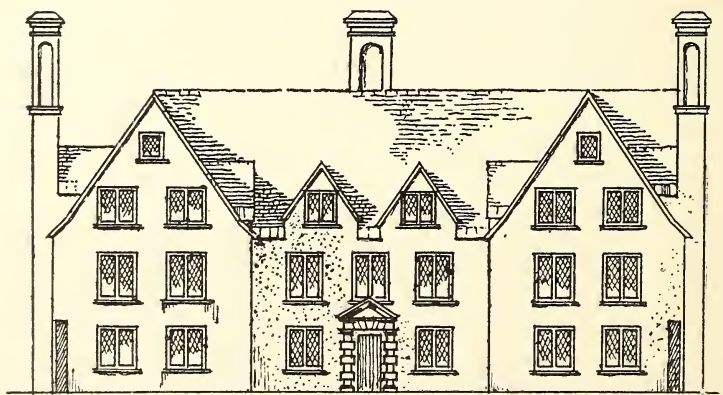


FIG. 3.—FRONT ELEVATION RESTORED

characteristic of the period, and must be considered original. The chimney-stacks are built in brick at the top, and plastered, and have sunk panels with semicircular heads, almost precisely similar to a design I recently came upon in some English cottages dated 1634. It is possible that the roof-covering is not original, though it is very old, the manner of using large slates at the eaves, and many courses of small slates above, being very usual in early work in Dublin. The projecting courses at



*To face p. 323]*



PARLOUR MANTELPIECE.



the verges of the gables are also in brick, of a soft red kind, and are plastered over.

The granite porch to the entrance-doorway appears to be of later date than the house, the free way in which the regular classic details are used seeming to point to the later part of the seventeenth century; but, for lack of parallel examples, it is not possible to dogmatize as to this. The blocks to the columns are very heavy, and the details generally rather coarse, no doubt in part due to the nature of the stone; but the whole has a certain dignity and appropriateness to its position. The wooden door itself is frankly eighteenth century, and possesses a heart-shaped pierced brass key-hole plate, similar to those on the locks of Dublin houses of that date.

The south, or garden, front also bears sufficient traces to make a restoration possible, and in the narrow windows beside the chimney-stack are two of the original window-frames.

In the back, or west elevation, the openings have been very much altered, the large gaps to be seen being simply the originals broken into one; and there are visible traces of all the windows shown in the "restored" elevation.

The great chimney-stack in the centre is that of the hall, and the little squint-window in the angle marks the position of the stairs in the north wing, already referred to.

Internally, the object of greatest importance is the parlour mantel-piece, which has now been removed to the Museum of Science and Art, and erected there. It is executed in modelled stucco, and bears the date 1635. In the upper portion is a representation of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, as recorded in Nehemiah:—"They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and with the other hand held a weapon, and so builded." Recollecting the uncomfortable nearness of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, the Archdeacon's choice of a subject for the chief decoration of his house must be considered peculiarly fitting.

It is not impossible that this mantel may have been erected after the raid and burning of 1641, when the house was re-edified, in which case the date is commemorative of its foundation, and the subject even more apposite. Possibly the upper portion alone belongs to the later date, the character of the modelling seeming to be different from the lower portion.

In front of niches on each side of this centre-piece stand two figures in seventeenth-century costume, one armed with spear and sword and the other with a peculiarly shaped trumpet and also girded with a sword; and at each angle outside these are consoles crowned with female heads carrying the cornice over. These consoles have grotesque faces in high relief on the swell, and end in volutes resting on the shelf.



The projecting cornice has strap-work ornament on the soffit, the space over the cornice to the ceiling being filled with rude scrolls and grotesque heads, and in the centre are the Bulkeley arms and the Archbishop of Dublin's "pallium" on a shield held by two small winged figures.

The heavy mantle-shelf sloping forward has more heads and faces in low relief, four representing the winds, surrounding the scroll in the centre, which in all probability had a painted motto or text; and one face over each of the supporting half-columns, which latter have rude Ionic caps and neckings. On the lower edge of the shelf, in the centre below the scroll, is the date 1635. The curious feature of the design is the liberal use of grotesque heads and faces of all shapes and sizes, there being no less than fourteen, excluding those attached to figures.

The modelling of the figures is rude, which is quite characteristic of the figure-work of the period; but the use of stucco or plaster is very interesting, and it may be noted that this was not uncommon at the time. In *The Manor Houses of England*, by P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A., examples are given, scattered all over England, and no less than four are to be found in the famous house of Plas Mawr at Conway, which is of earlier date than Oldbawn. The Archdeacon's mother was a Bulkeley of Conway, and it is therefore probable that the craftsman who made this mantel, and who perhaps came from the same locality, was at least well acquainted with this type of work.

The timber beam casings and cornice to the room, which is simply a half-section of the cross-beams carried round the walls, appear from the style of the enrichments to be original; but the wall-panelling, as may be seen from the portions erected in the Museum, is evidently of the early eighteenth century. There are also semi-circular-headed door openings from the hall and ante-room of similar character.

The mantel in the hall, though not so elaborate, has some dignity, and has a larger shield, with shell ornament over, bearing the "pallium" and the Bulkeley arms: "Sable a chevron, between three bulls' heads caboshed argent, armed or." The niches were once evidently occupied by figures.

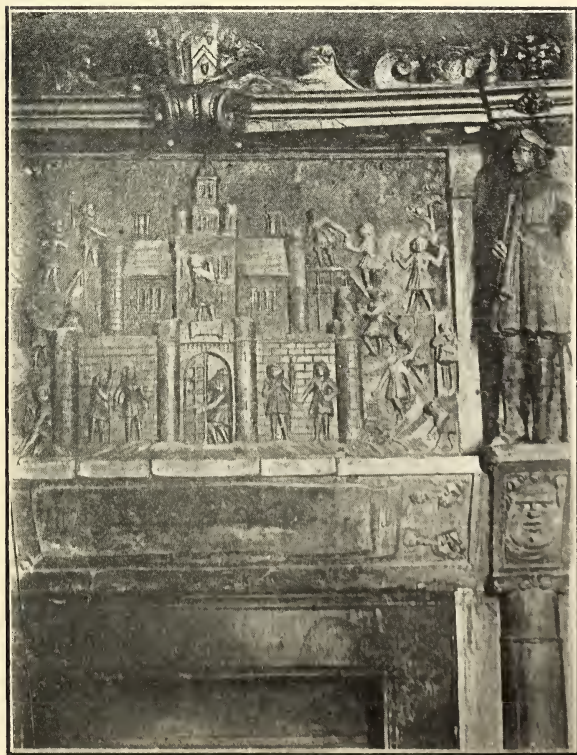
Modelled stucco appears to have been the mainstay of the decoration of the house, the delicate enrichments of the beams in the "Great Chamber" over the hall being specially good, but difficult to illustrate. The soffits of these beams are timber, however, and are covered with a "chip-carved" diaper pattern of very delicate type.

On the first-floor landing are two fine door-surrounds, apparently coeval with the house, the doors with raised mouldings and small heads in the top panels being worthy of remark.

The staircase (of which, owing to its position and bad lighting, it was impossible to get a photograph) is now erected in part in the Museum, where it may be easily examined. It is rough in its details, which, though in the style of the period, are crudely executed; but it is most



VIEW OF OLDBAWN HOUSE



DETAIL OF PARLOUR MANTELPIECE



admirably constructed with 11-inch by 6-inch strings and 7-inch by 6-inch handrails, all of oak, tenoned and pinned to heavy square newel posts. The balusters are square, and tapered, with surface carvings and moulded bases and capitals, joined at the top, under the handrails, by curious elliptical arches in timber,

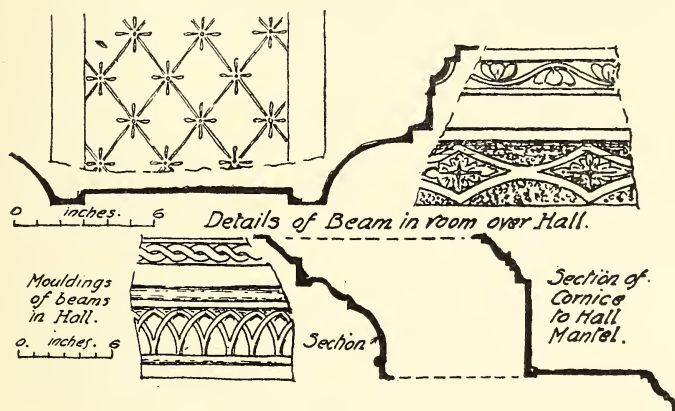


FIG. 4.—DETAILS OF TIMBER, ETC.

On the first floor landing is a balustrade of late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century type, which has already been mentioned.

The great oak roof-principals are very massive, the members being tenoned and pinned together, and the rafters also tenoned into the purlins instead of crossing them in the modern manner. This principle of tenoning and pinning has been adhered to throughout, and has certainly well stood its trial for durability. The timbers are in fairly sound condition, except where the roof covering has given way, and the weather has gained entrance.

I had an opportunity of visiting Oldbawn within the last week, to find the state of the building many degrees worse than as described above. The trees have been almost all cut down, leaving the house gaunt and bare, where before it was almost invisible from the public road. The house itself has lost half its roof from the north gable, which is gone, to the centre of the main block, and it is evident that the work of demolition is proceeding daily. The chimney-stacks on the south side are badly split at the top by the weather,<sup>1</sup> and are in a very dangerous condition, while the cupola and clock from the yard building have been removed. The whole place is desolate, and will soon be a complete ruin.

For me, the only crumb of satisfaction was to find the moat, more evident than usual, fulfilling all its defensive functions owing to the recent heavy rains, and thereby greatly re-enforcing my belief in its previous existence as a complete entity.

<sup>1</sup> One has fallen since.



# A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF EARLY CROSS-SLABS AND PILLARS

By HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.A.I., M.R.I.A.

(Continued from p. 265)

## LEINSTER—continued

Locality and Townland.	No. of Ord- nance Map.	Situation.
------------------------	---------------------------------	------------

### COUNTY LONGFORD.

- |                          |            |   |
|--------------------------|------------|---|
| 1. Caldragh,<br>Killeen, | S.W.<br>20 | Beside the "Caldragh Stone" in the old graveyard near Foxhall House, 5 m. S. of Edgeworthstown Station. |
|--------------------------|------------|---|

A fragment about 14 in. by 9½ in., bearing portion of a design consisting of a band which forms three circles on a stem line. In the circles are cruciform frets.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in R. I. A. Library, vol. vi, No. 21 (I.).

- |                                       |            |  |
|---------------------------------------|------------|--|
| 2. Inchlauraun, <sup>1</sup><br>Same, | S.W.<br>21 | At the churches on the island in Lough Ree, 11 m. N. of Athlone, and 3 m. E. of Knockroughery Station. |
|---------------------------------------|------------|--|

(a) An erect slab 2 ft. 6 in. in height, having on one side a double-line Latin cross with hollowed angles, and on the other a plain single-line Latin cross surrounded by a double-line Latin cross potent with a square centre. In each of the upper quarters is a small circle. (Close to N. side of Temple Diarmaid.)

(b) An irregularly shaped slab 2 ft. 2 in. long by 1 ft. 9 in. wide, incised with a three-line cross, having a circular centre and semicircular ends, all of which contain frets. It is inscribed  $\overline{op} \overline{do} \overline{laith\overline{b}tach}$ . (It lies near Temple Muire.)—For inscription see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xlii, p. 31 (M.).

(c) Portion of a similar slab, showing a circle with lines radiating from it. (On a wall at the caretaker's cottage.)—For (a), (b), and (c) see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxx, p. 85 (I.).

(d) A fourth slab. (Not described.)—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xlii, p. 31 (M.).

<sup>1</sup> Slab No. 177 in *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, is there stated to be at Inchlauraun. It has, however, always been at Clonmacnois.

COUNTY LOUTH.

1. Dunleer, S.W. Formerly in Dunleer churchyard.  
Same, 18

A slab inscribed with a two-line cross and the words  $\overline{\text{on}} \text{ do ruib}$  across the upper part. (It is now missing).—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 69 (D.I.).

2. Rokeby Hall, S.E. Found in an old graveyard called Marlay,  
Rokeby, 18 and now placed at the doorway of  
St. Peter's Church, Drogheda.

A rough slab 2 ft. 9 in. long by 2 ft. 4 in. wide, incised with an oval panel containing two crosses; the first a single-line Latin cross 7 in. long with bifurcated ends, the second a similar cross 12 in. long, and having a ring and a surrounding line which follows the outline. Above the crosses is the word  $\text{chudach}$ , and below  $\text{colman p.}$ —Information received from Mr. J. R. Garstin.

3. Monasterboice, N.W. In the graveyard N. of the church next to  
Same, 21 the Round Tower.

A rough slab 4 ft. 9 in. long by 2 ft. 8 in. wide, incised with a three-line cross having a circular centre and semicircular ends. It is enclosed in a three-line rectangular panel, and inscribed down the sinister side  $\overline{\text{on}} \text{ du ruarcan}$ . See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 67 (D.I.).

4. Termonfeekin, S.W. Built into the inside wall of the porch of  
Same, 22 Termonfeekin church, 4 m. N.E. of  
Drogheda.

A rectangular slab 2 ft. 4 in. long by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, inscribed in three lines  
✠  $\overline{\text{on}} \text{oit do ultan \& do dubthach dopign in cappel.}$ —See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 70 (D.I.).

COUNTY MEATH.

1. Kilbeg, N.W. In the S. end of the old graveyard near  
Same, 11 Kilbeg mote, 4 m. N.E. of Kells.

(a) An erect slab 2 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 6 in. wide and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick, on which is a ringed cross of two bands in relief.

(b) A slab of irregular shape 3 ft. long by 2 ft. 3 in. wide by 3 in. thick, incised with two plain Greek crosses in circles, the diameters of which are 1 ft. 3 in. and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in the R.I.A. Library, vol. x, No. 11 (I).

2. Castletown Church, N.W. In the churchyard  $2\frac{3}{4}$  m. S.E. of Nobber  
Castletown, 12 Station.

(a) A small erect slab 2 ft. 4 in. above the ground, 13 in. wide by 6 in. thick, incised with a two-line Latin cross in a two-line rectangular frame. The upper quarters are filled by fret patterns shaped like the letter E. (35 ft. W. of the church).—See Du Noyer's Sketches in the R.I.A. Library vol. iii, No. 9 (I.).

(b) An erect slab 4 ft. above the ground, 2 ft. wide and 6 in. thick. On it is a sunk Latin cross 1 ft. 9 in. long by 1 ft. wide. This slab appears to be made of tufa. (It is 40 ft. S.E. of the church.)—Same reference, vol. i, No. 75 (I.).

- |                |      |  |
|----------------|------|--|
| 3. Drakestown, | S.W. | In a field E. of the road, and near the                          |
| Same,          | 12   | entrance to the old graveyard, 3 m. N.W. of Wilkinstown Station. |

A slab 3 ft. long by 1 ft. 2 in. wide by 4½ in., incised with a ringed cross 1 ft. 8 in. in height. (This slab is now set on a concrete pillar.)

- |                 |      |  |
|-----------------|------|--|
| 4. Clonabreany, | S.E. | In the centre of the old graveyard beside                                |
| Bobsville,      | 15   | the road, 2 m. W. of Crossakeel, and 6 m. S.W. of Virginia-road Station. |

A slab 2 ft. 9 in. long by 1 ft. 6 in. wide by 5 in. It bears a ringed cross potent of four lines, having a point added below the base. There are some remains of an inscription, but the surface is greatly worn.—Information received from Professor R. A. S. Macalister.

- |                  |      |  |
|------------------|------|--|
| 5. St. Kieran's, | N.E. | A few yards E. of the ruined church beside |
| Castlekeeran,    | 16   | the railway, 3 m. W. of Kells.             |

A rectangular slab 4 ft. long, 2 ft. wide and 3 in. thick, on which is carved a four-line cross having a plain circular centre and semicircular ends. It is enclosed by a two-line frame, and the quarters are sunk.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in the R.S.A.I. Library, vol. x, pp. 38 and 41 (I.).

- |            |      |   |
|------------|------|---|
| 6. Kells,  | N.W. | In the churchyard, (a) and (b) are leaning      |
| Townparks, | 17   | against the older church tower; (c) is missing. |

(a) Portion of a slab 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 4 in. thick, incised with the upper part of a two-line ringed cross with rounded angles.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in the R.S.A.I. Library, vol. x, p. 36 (I.).

(b) A slab of sandstone 4 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 7 in. by 5 in. thick, having on it a sunk panel containing a cross potent in relief carved with an interlaced pattern. In the background are traces of an inscription.

(c) A fragment about 1 ft. 7 in. by 6 in., inscribed *op do roga* . :—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 65 (D.I.).

- |                              |      |   |
|------------------------------|------|---|
| 7. Monknewtown, <sup>1</sup> | N.E. | In the graveyard close to the county                                      |
| Same,                        | 19   | boundary, 5½ m. W. of Drogheda on the road to Slane. (It is now missing.) |

An erect stone bearing a small T-shaped cross with a base of three points.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in the R.I.A. Library, vol. i, No. 76 (I.), and *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 351, No. 10 (I.).

- |             |      |                                       |
|-------------|------|---------------------------------------|
| 8. Kilmore, | S.E. | In the graveyard near Moynalvy, 4½ m. |
| Same,       | 43   | N. of Kilcock Station.                |

A tapering limestone slab 5 ft. 8 in. long by 2 ft. 2 in. wide and 4 in. thick. On it is carved a crucifix and date 1575. At the sides are long inscriptions in Irish and Latin; the name being *puḡhpaibh bairbhe mhaḡ mhaḡh-ḡhamhna*.—See *Journal Kildare Arch. Soc.*, vol. v, p. 470 (D.I.).

<sup>1</sup> This identification is uncertain. Du Noyer calls it Monksgrange, near Drogheda. The stone is not to be found at Monknewtown.

9. Clonard, N.W. Formerly in Clonard Church, but now lost.  
Anneville, 47

A long narrow slab inscribed meind mgin meic ppappan.—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 63 (D.I.).

## QUEEN'S COUNTY.

(None known.)

## COUNTY WESTMEATH.

1. Inchbofin, N.W. In the northern church on the island in  
Same, 15 Lough Ree, 9 m. N. of Athlone.

(a) A slab broken into several pieces, 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 1 in., incised with a two-line ringed cross, having plain arms and top and a looped base. The centre is circular. Across the upper part is the inscription in two lines [o]noic do [ch]onmacan.—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 57 (D.I.); and (for inscription) see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xli, p. 30 (D.).

(b) A slab 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 2 in, bearing a ringed cross of two incised lines. The base is pointed, and there are small spirals at all the extremities. The inscription mael mapcam reads down the sinister and turns up the dexter side.

(c) A slab 1 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 7 in., bearing a three-line cross with a circular centre containing a tetraskelion, and semicircular ends containing frets; the ends are looped except the upper.

(d) A slab 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 8 in., similar to the last, except that the centre is blank, and *all* the extremities are looped.

(e) A slab 2 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 2 in., much worn, but showing traces of a three-line cross with semicircular ends containing frets, and of an inscription.

(f) A slab 1 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft., bearing a single-line cross incised. The grooves are 1 in. wide, and are slightly enlarged at the ends.

(g) A fragment 1 ft. by 7 in, showing part of one end of a cross similar to (f) but larger.

(h) Two fragments 1 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. and 5 in. by 4 in., showing portions of a three-line cross with expanded ends containing frets, but without loops.

(i) A fragment 11 in. by 6½ in., incised with the letters . . εδ, and below them . . p .

2. Hare Island, S.W. Formerly at the church on the island, but  
Same, 22 now missing.

A broken slab about 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., bearing a two-line cross potent, having a square centre containing a knot and a partial frame. Inscribed above the cross, op ap tuathchapam.—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 45 (D.I.).

3. Athlone, N.W. Formerly in the graveyard at the Franciscan  
Same, 29 Abbey in the town, but now lost.

A slab about 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., incised with a two-line ringed Latin cross having open loops at the extremities. The inscription op do thopparch reads across the upper quarters and down the lower.—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 32 (D.I.), and *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. i, p. 410 (D.).




4. Athlone, N.W. Lying in the Rectory garden behind  
Same, 29 St. Mary's Church.

(a) A fragment bearing part of a cross with semicircular ends.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xlii, p. 28 (M.).

(b) A fragment bearing the upper arm of a two-line ringed cross with an expanded top of triangular shape. The cross is covered by an interlaced pattern showing two rows of pointed knots, and the ring by a plait of four strands. At the sinister corner are the letters . . n o . .—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xlii, p. 28 (D.I.).

5. Calry, N.W. From the old church of Culree, now on a  
Mount Temple, 30 mote at Shurock House, 2 m. N. of  
Moate station.

A slab about 3 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 8 in., inscribed in two lines  op do  
mailmaíne.—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 30 (D.I.).

## COUNTY WEXFORD.

1. Clone, S.E. In the field S. of the graveyard, 2 m. S. of  
Same, 15 Ferns.

An erect slab, 2 ft. high and 1 ft. 4 in. wide, on which is incised a circle 1 ft. in diameter containing a cross formed of circular arcs.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xvi, p. 38 (M.).

2. Beg Erin, N.W. In the graveyard on the island (now joined  
Begerin Island, 38 to the shore) in the N. end of Wexford  
Harbour, 3½ m. N.E. of Wexford.

(a) A slab 2 ft. 8 in. long, incised with a double-line cross having a circular centre and slightly enlarged ends.—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi, p. 35, No. 50 (I.).

(b) A heart-shaped slab about 1 ft. 6 in. long and 1 ft. 3 in. wide, bearing a plain Latin cross in relief.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in R.I.A. Library, vol. i, No. 50.

## COUNTY WICKLOW.

1. Kilbride, N.E. Beside a reservoir in the field behind Kilbride  
Same, 7 Church, 2 m. S.W. of Bray.

(a) A slightly tapering slab of fine granite 5 ft. 6 in. long by 1 ft. 7½ in. wide. Incised lines divide the slab into three panels, of which the outer ones contain plain Greek crosses of two lines with 4-inch cups in the centre. The design in the central compartment cannot be made out.

(b) A rectangular slab of coarse grained granite, 3 ft. long by 18 in. wide. In the centre is a cup with three concentric circles, above and below this a medial band of two lines, and also diagonal markings.—See Du Noyer's Sketches in R.I.A. Library, vol. v, p. 42 (I.). Information given by Mr. P. J. O'Reilly.

- |                             |           |   |
|-----------------------------|-----------|---|
| 2. Fairy Hill,<br>Kilbride, | N.W.<br>8 | In a disused graveyard beside the road, and<br>immediately S. of Fairy Hill House, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m.<br>S.W. of Bray. |
|-----------------------------|-----------|---|

An erect slab of rough granite 3 ft. 9 in. in height by 1 ft. 9 in. wide and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. On the E. side is a Greek cross in relief. The lower limb divides and turns outwards into two bosses 4 in. in diameter; the other limbs are slightly expanded at the ends.—See Du Noyer's *Sketches in R.I.A. Library*, vol. i, p. 77 (I.). Information given by Mr. P. J. O'Reilly.

- |                            |           |   |
|----------------------------|-----------|---|
| 3. The Scalp,<br>Killegar, | S.E.<br>3 | In Killegar graveyard, 1 m. S. of the Scalp,<br>3½ m. W. of Bray. |
|----------------------------|-----------|---|

(a) A granite slab 1 ft. 4 in. wide, 3 in. thick, and 1 ft. 6 in. above the ground, incised with a flat-bottomed cup  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. diameter, surrounded by two concentric circles 6 and 9 in. in diameter. Below the circles is a horizontal line 9 inches long, and above three lines, one vertical and the others radiating to the upper corners of the stone. (It is placed in the centre of the chancel of the ruined church.)—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxi, p. 146 (D.I.).

(b) A granite slab 2 ft. 4 in. long by 1 ft. 2 in. wide and 3 in. thick, incised with a cup 2 inches in diameter, surrounded by two concentric circles. Below are portions of two similar circles, and above a plain Greek cross with diagonal lines, three in each of the upper quarters and two in each of the lower. (It lies about 25 ft. S. of the S.W. corner of the chancel.)—Same reference as (a).

(c) A rectangular granite slab 3 ft. 10 in. long by 1 ft. 7½ in. wide, carved with a Latin cross in relief. On the cross are five cups and several incised lines, and on the background are a number of C-shaped grooves. The stone has small projecting arms which do not coincide with the arms of the cross. (This stone lies about 20 ft. N.E. of the chancel.)—Information given by Mr. P. J. O'Reilly.

- |                             |            |  |
|-----------------------------|------------|--|
| 4. Glendalough,<br>Lugduff, | N.E.<br>23 | 7 m. N.W. of Rathdrum, at Rhefert church,<br>S.E. of the upper lake. |
|-----------------------------|------------|--|

(a) A rectangular slab bearing a three-line cross with circular centre and semicircular ends, in a two-line frame. Inscription reading down both sides:  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{bo}} \text{ } \overline{\text{copppe}} \text{ } \overline{\text{maccathail}} \text{ } . \text{ } \alpha \text{ } \text{ } \omega \text{ } . \text{ } \eta \varsigma \text{ } . \text{ } \chi \rho \varsigma \text{ } .$  (Destroyed.)—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 59 (D.I.), and *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xlii, p. 60 (D.).

(b) A rectangular slab 5 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 3 in., bearing a three-line cross, having expanded centre and ends. Triquetras in the latter and traces of a crosslet in the former. Inscription down sinister side,  $\overline{\text{on}} \text{ do bpepal}$ , down dexter,  $\alpha \ \& \ \omega \cdot \eta\psi \cdot \chi\psi \cdot$  (Now placed in St. Kevin's House for protection.)—See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xvi, p. 42 (D.I.).

(c) A rectangular slab 5 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 1½ in., carved with a unique pattern, consisting of four saltires of three lines with circular centres and ends, arranged to form a continuous pattern in a single-line frame. (Now placed in St. Kevin's House for protection.)

(d) A rectangular slab 5 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 1 in., carved with a three-line cross. The band forming the cross is interlaced and surrounded by a ring at the centre, and worked into triquetras at the ends. (It lies 40 ft. west of the church.)

(e) A rectangular slab 5 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 3 in., incised with a two-line cross, having a small circle at the centre, and semicircles at the ends; in a two-line frame. (It lies at the N.W. corner of the church.)

(f) A rectangular slab 5 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 1 in., incised with a six-line cross with circular centre and semicircular ends; in a four-line frame. (It lies S. of the church.)

(g) A rough slab 5 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 9 in., incised with a plain two-line Latin cross almost effaced. (It lies E. of the S. corner of the chancel.)

(h) A rough slab 4 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., incised with a single-line cross having triangular ends. (It lies 24 ft. N.E. of the church.)

5. Glendalough, N.E. In the graveyard round the Cathedral.  
Camaderry, 23

(a) An erect slab 7 ft. 4 in. by 5 ft., incised with a broad two-line cross having expanding ends and a pointed top. (Built into the wall of the old gateway.)

(b) An erect slab 1 ft. 4 in. high by 1 ft. by 2 in., incised with a two-line Greek cross having hollowed angles and a  $\frac{3}{8}$ -inch hole through the centre. (Twenty feet W. of the Round Tower.)

(c) A rough slab 5 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 1 in., incised with a two-line Latin cross, having hollowed angles, and much shorter than the slab. (It lies 6 ft. from the S.W. corner of the cathedral.)

(d) A rectangular or slightly tapering slab 6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 1 in., having a single-line cross in a single-line frame. The cross is triple, with a circular centre and triangular ends. The upper cross-bar is short and plain; the lower has circles at the ends. (At the N.E. corner of the Priest's Church.)

(e) A fine slab of granite, now much worn, 7 ft. 1 in. long by 3 ft. 3½ in., tapering to 2 ft. 10 in., having on it a cross formed of one continuous band, the ends of which are triquetras and the centre circular, and containing an interlaced pattern. In the upper quarters are encircled Greek crosses, with expanded centres and ends; and in the lower the following inscriptions, much worn:— $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{do}} \text{ } . \text{ } \overline{\text{maccor.}}$  and  $\overline{\text{op}} \text{ } \overline{\text{do}} \text{ } \overline{\text{dianmair.}}$  (In the chancel of the cathedral).—See *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 60 (D.I.), and Du Noyer's Sketches in R.I.A. Library, vol. ii, No. 24.

(f) The upper part of a slab 4 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 in., incised with a two-line ringed cross, having a pointed top; in a single-line frame (near (e)).—See Du Noyer's Sketches in R. I. A. Library, vol. ii, No. 23.

(g) The upper portion of a tapering slab of late date, carved in relief with a pattern of scroll foliage up the centre (near (e)).

- Glendalough, N.E. At St. Kevin's Church.  
Camaderry, 23

(h) A large rectangular slab of granite 7 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 2 in., carved in relief with a double-ended ringed cross having slightly expanded ends; inside a raised border. The ring at one end has rolls inside the quadrants. (Near the N. side of St. Kevin's.)

(i) A rectangular slab 5 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 2 in., incised with a cross formed of one endless band. It has double-looped ends and circular centre. (Near the N. side of St. Kevin's.)

(j) A rectangular slab 5 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft., bearing a small Latin cross in relief in the centre. (Near the N. side of St. Kevin's.)

(k) A rectangular slab 5 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., on which are traces of a two-line Latin cross. (Near the N. side of St. Kevin's.)

(l) An upright slab 4 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 5 in., with a rounded top, and carved in relief with a ringed cross having slightly expanded ends. (Near the N. side of St. Kevin's.)

(m) Part of a rectangular granite slab 3 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in., incised with a three-line cross in a two-line frame. The cross has a circular centre and semicircular ends. (At the east end of St. Kevin's.)

(n) An erect slab 1 ft. 9 in. long by 10 in. wide by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick, carved with a cross having expanded ends and a long straight stem below. (It is kept in St. Kevin's Church.)

(o) The upper portion of an erect slab,  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in. by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in., carved on one side with a two-line Greek cross formed of arcs of circles and surrounded by a circular band, and on the other by a two-line Latin cross potent with a square centre. (It is kept in St. Kevin's Church.)

5. Glendalough, Camaderry,	N.E. 23	At St. Mary's Church, to the west of the graveyard.
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(p) A rough slab 3 ft. by 1 ft. 5 in. by 4 in., set in a socket, and having a plain Latin cross in relief on the E. side. (About 20 feet W. of the church.)

(q) A rough slab set upright, 3 ft. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 3 in., having a plain Latin cross in relief on the E. side. (About 8 feet N. of the church.)

(r) A tapering slab 5 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 11 in., incised with a two-line panel containing a three-line cross having a circular centre and semicircular ends. (In the chancel.)

(s) The lower part of a tapering slab 3 ft.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 2 ft.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in., incised with a two-line panel containing a two-line cross potent with a square centre and spiral base. (In the chancel.)

(t) A rough tapering slab 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft., incised with a single-line panel containing a single-line cross with small triangular ends. (Outside the S. wall of the chancel.)

6. Glendalough, Brockagh,	N.E. 23	A short distance E. of the graveyard at the point where the roads to Glendalough and Glendassan separate.
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(u) A rough pillar-stone 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. On the south side is a plain Latin cross in relief, and at its dexter side a small cross of similar shape, but sunk.



- Glendalough, N.E. Lying on the fence at Trinity Church.  
Brockagh, 23

(*v*) A rectangular slab 4 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick, with a small plain cross incised on each side.—For all the Glendalough slabs see Appendix to the 80th Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland (1912–13).

- 7 Ballykine, N.W. Found in the graveyard of All Hallows  
Bahana, 35 Monastery (Whaley Abbey), 3 m. S.W.  
of Rathdrum, and now in the National  
Museum.

A narrow pillar 3 ft. 6 in. long and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, on which is carved a cross of two lines having a circular centre and a triangular base ornamented with a spiral. There is an inscription down the sinister side,  $\sigma\rho\omicron\iota\tau\ \delta\omicron\ \epsilon\chi\tau\alpha\eta\alpha\eta$ .

8. Aghowle, N.E. On a grave about 28 ft. S.E. of the church.  
Aghowle Lower, 42

A wedge-shaped slab of rough slate 3 ft. 2 in. long and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, having on one side a Greek cross with expanding ends in a circle  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and on the other a rude human face of the same size as the cross.

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#### OMISSION.

The following stone was accidentally omitted from its place in the list, and is therefore added here :—

#### COUNTY CAVAN.

- Oldcastle, N.E. In a field beside the road to Kilnaleck,  
Dungummin, Lower, 42  $2\frac{1}{4}$  m. W.N.W. of Oldcastle, and about  
200 yards from the County boundary.

An ogam stone, 5 ft. 3 in. in height and 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., bearing four small incised crosses with expanded ends. Two are on the S. side and one each on the N. and E. See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xviii, p. 503 (D.I.).

## Miscellanea

**Castle Blathagh, Drogheda.**—My statement that the Castle Blathach of certain early records stood at Drogheda led to a denial of the fact, and necessitated my publishing the authority on which I relied in the *Journal*, xxxix (1909), p. 368.

I have to thank Mr. Mills, D.K.R., for calling my attention to another. Where the former placed it at Drogheda, the present one further locates it on the Meath side, and shows that it stood beside the mote, still extant, near the south wall of the town.

*Calendar Patent Rolls*, England, 1381–5, p. 33 (condensed). Richard II to John Asshewell, of Drogheda, grant of a vacant plot called the *Castlemote* of Drogheda on the Meath side; with license to build a windmill thereon, and for that purpose to pull down the stone walls of an old house in a garden called *Le Castel blathachyerd*, of Drogheda, “adjacent to the said plot, and use the materials. Also to make a way to the mill through a vacant place called *Castelblathach*, but without hindrance to the king’s access to and repair of his prison there.” I regret that I have been obliged for so long to leave aside the subject of the Limerick Castles in papers on which my notes originally appeared.—T. J. WESTROPP.

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**Bishop’s Island and George’s Head, Co. Clare.**—I have been able to make very careful examination of both these sites; the first in various lights, and with a strong field-glass. Dr. George Fogerty, R.N., has also photographed and enlarged views of it. In consequence it is now quite clear that both were promontory forts of considerable interest. At Bishop’s Island we find a clear trace of a crescent, or ring-fort, partly destroyed by the ditch and fence along the edge of the cliff opposite to the island. It was a dry-stone wall of flags, 6 feet thick, now nearly removed to the foundations, and measures 80 feet deep to the edge and 54 feet across. Beside it a water-runnel cut a deep channel down the steep grassy slope to the cliff edge, down to which an easy natural staircase leads. In the chasm several reefs rise above the waves, showing that the headland was pierced, as is still the condition of the south side of the island, by a set of caves. These evidently pierced the headland in natural arches, like the “Mermaid’s Arch” in the next headland, under the promontory fort of Doonaunroe or Foohagh Point. Beyond the chasm rises the well-known precipice at the landward (east) end of

the island, and above its broken face are the remains of the steep slope which evidently rose from a low neck, as is the case at Illaunadoon, another fortified head not far to the south. At the head of this slope a long wall of good flagstone masonry formed a revetment in front of the oratory and cell all along the line, where the broken rock shows that the neck formerly extended. Three reaches of the wall, a few feet high and long, still stand; there are lines of fallen stone where other parts recently collapsed, sliding down the slope, and a very square break, which Dr. Fogerty regards as a gate-pier. Behind these defences, on the level platform of the island, lie the oratory and cell. The place being rarely visited save by the most active crag-men, I will give the notes of one of the rare visitors, probably the only antiquary who stood in the ruins since they were isolated. The cells stand on a platform 215 feet high, so clearly visible from the opposite cliff (about 300 feet away), and from Foohagh Head, that every feature can be sketched, and every stone comes out in a photograph if enlarged. The oblong oratory measures 18 feet by 12 feet; the walls are 2 feet 7 inches thick; it has a lintelled south door at the west end next that wall, and a nearly square east window, framed by large stones, and more like to some on Skellig Rock than to the normal window-slits of early churches elsewhere. The roof is of flags. The cell was circular (or oval), "about 34 feet across, or 115 feet in circumference; part of the north-east segment is standing, a corbelled dome, with a low, square lintelled door, and the wall rising in four offsets. The walls of a modern fold<sup>1</sup> (built for the shelter of the sheep which I remember in 1868 as brought up on the backs of climbers, aided by a rope round the gallán at the head of the slope) give the cell an oblong appearance, and it is marked as such on the Ordnance Survey maps. The pillar is about 5 feet high; every blotch of lichen on its east face can be seen, but no scribings or carvings. The north cliff projects beside the slope and to the west of it, and, there, several early graves are seen, marked by set stones, and with low blocks to either end. The whole falls under the head of a well-marked class of promontory fort (like Island Hubbock and Danes' Island in Waterford or Doon on Cliara (Clare Island) in Mayo), where a very slight defence lies on the mainland, and the neck dips, rising again to a fortified platform. Inside an early monastic community established itself probably in the eighth century. Local legend tells of a bishop who, to avoid feeding the poor during a famine, crossed the then narrow gully on a plank, bringing in abundant provision for winter. In a great storm, however, the rock collapsed, leaving a gaping chasm, beyond which he starved and died in sight, but out of reach, of those he left to starve. If the tale is not true, it at least tallies remarkably well with the remains and rock conditions. We have seen rock-falls in our time on this very coast that could well render a cranny too wide to be

<sup>1</sup> Other more elaborate folds remain on Illaunanaraun, an equally precipitous island a couple of miles to the south, just beyond Dunlicka Castle.

crossed, among them the collapse of a natural arch at Bishop's Island itself.<sup>1</sup>

The works at George's Head, though irregular in line, are not more so than the fortified Heads of Ferritter's Castle and Dunmore, Co. Kerry. The earth-works, often 23 to 26 feet wide, are far too thick to represent a modern fence, and through them such deep ancient cattle tracks have cut their way that the rampart must be of great age. It had a centre of small stones, now under sward, but this possibly represents the dry-stone wall sometimes found on top of earth-works; and it had a slight fosse outside. It winds along the top of a steep ridge above a watershed, and then up a hillside being 975 feet long, from Burne's Hole to the Northern Bay, formerly called the Great Horseshore. The main cattle entrances and laneways run through it at from 84 feet, 132 feet, and 300 feet from Burne's Hole. Though the works are greatly worn, they are far more distinct than at such forts as Gubadoon, near Dooega on Achill and Kilfarrassy, Co. Waterford, where the fallen end shows a filled ditch 6 to 8 feet deep, and the base of a massive wall. The disappearance of the ancient name of the head leaves us to speculate whether (as at 70 out of over 100 fortified heads on the west coasts of Connacht and Munster) the name alluded to the fort.—T. J. WESTROPP.

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**Curious Stone at Kiltoom, Co. Roscommon.**—What is probably the most curiously shaped stone in Ireland stands close to the west side of the railway, a short distance north of Kiltoom station. The photograph shows it as seen from passing trains. The stone is a purely natural formation, but has often been ascribed to the hand of man, which is my excuse for sending it to the *Journal*. I have several times been asked for what purpose it was erected, and also whether I had seen the *Druid's altar*, or *Giant's table* at Kiltoom.

The level of Lough Ree is now five or six feet lower than the stone, but it is evident that the water at one time lapped round it up to the shoulder, and in the course of ages wore away the limestone evenly. The hollowed portion above the shoulder is due to the action of the water when the lake was high, probably assisted by the waves in rough weather. The height of the stone is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet; at the ground-level it is 10 feet by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet; two feet higher up it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  feet; and at a height of four feet it is 8 feet by 7 feet.

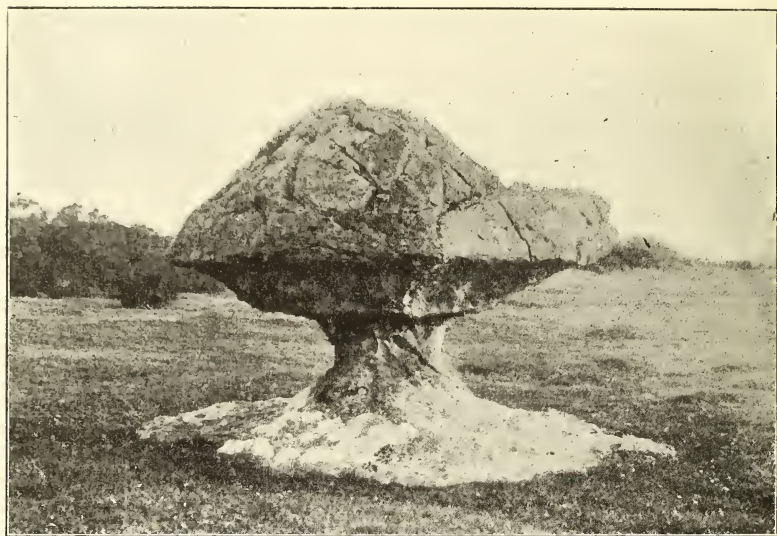
In the same field are several other stones showing attempts to produce the same form, but these have failed owing to joints and cracks in

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<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. vi, Ser. iii (C), p. 166. *Journal*, xxxviii, p. 275. W. F. Wakeman, *Archaeologia Hibernica*, p. 58. *Two Months at Kilkee*, p. 77 (1836). Rev. Ph. Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe*, p. 1.



the stone. The most interesting are two in which the process has reached its natural conclusion, the necks being worn through and



MUSHROOM-SHAPED STONE AT KILTOOM, CO. ROSCOMMON

nothing left but low pointed blocks. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the stone in the photograph is that the wearing away process should have ceased when the most perfect form had been arrived at.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

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**Ossory Letters.**—Mr. R. Langrishe has sent the following note, which refers to members of the Haydock family, referred to in the letters recently published in this *Journal*:—

From *Members of Parliament for the County and City of Kilkenny from A.D. 1295 to 1888, &c.* By G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., T.C.D., Barrister-at-Law (Athlone Pursuivant).

“Josias Haydock (City 1692–3) was an apothecary in Kilkenny, and had probably come from England in the train of Cromwell’s army. He served as Sheriff of the city in 1659–60, was elected an alderman, and served as Mayor for three successive years, 1673–4–5–6. On the City Militia being embodied in 1667, he got a commission as an Ensign, and became Captain in 1681. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the

City Militia when that regiment was re-embodied in 1691, his commission being dated 13 February. He died before the dissolution of Parliament, but after it had ceased to sit; his will is dated 13 May, was proved 3 June 1693, and he was buried in St. Mary's Church. He left two sons and a daughter—(1) Josias, of whom presently, (2) Stephen, who succeeded to the apothecary business, became Sheriff, 1697–8, was Alderman, three times Mayor, and died while in office in 1730—(1) Mary, married Captain Ebenezer Warren, M.P. for the City, 1695–9 and 1715–21. Josias Haydock (II) was born in 1660, educated at Kilkenny School, entered T.C.D., 1 August 1677, obtained a Scholarship, 1679, and graduated B.A., 1682. He was elected Alderman in 1693, and was Mayor in 1701–2. In July 1702, he was appointed Captain of the Grenadier Company of the City Militia, and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment in 1715. He died in 1726, having married Mary, daughter of Alderman Charles Goslin (who, after her husband's death, married Sir John Staples, third Baronet of Dunmore, Queen's County), and left a daughter Margaret, married, 2 June 1737, William Evans Morres, afterwards Knight and Baronet, M.P. for the City, 1752–68; and a son, Charles Haydock, Sheriff of the City, 1735–6, who died in 1741, s.p. His sister Margaret, wife of Sir William Evans Morris, succeeded to his property in Kilkenny, and of Buolick, County of Tipperary.

“William Evans Morres was second son of Francis Morres, of Castle-Morres, by Katherine, second daughter and heiress of Sir William Evans, Bart., of Kilcreen (adjoining Kilkenny), by Jane, daughter and co-heir of Colonel the Hon. Richard Coote of Tullamaine, County of Kilkenny, son of the first Earl of Mountrath by his second wife, Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Hannay, Knight and Baronet. William Evans Morres was M.P. for the City, 1752–61–68; his elder brother, Harvey Morres, was M.P. for St. Canice or Irishtown, Kilkenny, 1733–56, and was created Baron Mountmorres, 4 May 1756, and Viscount Mountmorres, 29 June 1763.

“William Evans Morres was High Sheriff of County of Kilkenny in 1741, was an Alderman of the City, and was elected Mayor for 1754–5. During his year of office the Marquess of Hartington (afterwards fourth Duke of Devonshire), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, visited Kilkenny, and conferred upon him the honour of Knighthood in June 1755. Sir Wm. Evans Morres died 11 October 1774, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Haydock Evans Morres, second Baronet, who was M.P. for the City, 1768–76–77; he married his cousin Frances Jane Gorges, only daughter and heiress of Ralph Gore of Barronmount, M.P. for the City, 1748–60, and 1776–8, but left no issue. He was succeeded by his half-brother, William Ryves Morres, who died unmarried, when the title became extinct.”

“**Plassey,**” Co. Clare.—In the *Westminster Gazette* for 2 December 1913, speaking of Viscount Clive, who on that day attained his majority, reference is made to “one of his father’s titles, that of Baron Clive of Plassey, Co. Clare, which is the peerage conferred on the great Clive in 1762.”

I suggest the following queries:—

1. Is there now, or was there ever, a place called Plassey in the Co. Clare?

2. Are various farms, &c., on the Co. Limerick side of the river, marked as Plassey (about ten miles from the city of Limerick), called so only since 1762, or were they called so originally?

3. Had the great Clive any connexion with the Co. Clare before 1762?

4. I would remind the Royal Society of Antiquaries that in that same year, 1762, a Turnour was created Baron Winterton of Gort, Co. Galway, and in this case it is possible to ascertain the reason for the selection of Gort, which had only recently been rebuilt as a town! Gort, however, had been an important place in previous ages, whereas nothing is related of Plassey previous to the battle.—GORDON.

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**The Dublin Society for the Support of Decayed Musicians.**—In answer to Mr. Victor Symth (see p. 266, *ante*), who quotes from *Watson’s Dublin Almanack* of 1752, to the effect that “the Charitable Musical Society of Crow Street” was in existence in 1743, I have to remark that there were *four* Charitable Musical Societies in Dublin in 1743, referred to in my *History of Irish Music* (p. 282)—each of which devoted its funds to a specific charitable purpose. The Dublin Charitable Society for the Support of Decayed Musicians dates from October 1750, and the first annual meeting of the Society was held at the Bier, in College Green, on 7 April 1752.—W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

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**Between Two Hills.**—The subjoined cutting, from the *Irish Times* of 1 October 1913, is, I think, of interest. It shows that the position *between two hills* is considered very inauspicious for a house: also that there are people who think that the fairies would condescend to occupy a new labourer’s cottage!—

“At the Fethard Petty Sessions District Inspector White charged William O’Connell, Corbally, Drangan, and his wife, with having neglected their four children. It was stated that the man’s wife and family were living in a new labourer’s cottage, which they held from the Cashel District Council, when, without any reason, they went back to live in the old roofless hovel that they formerly



occupied. The rain was coming down on them, and the children were in a dreadful plight.

"Mrs. O'Connell (wife of the tenant)—As sure as God is over us, we couldn't live in the cottage, because it is between two hills, and it is full of 'vapours.' Other parties had to leave the house, too.

"Sergeant Dowd said that the house was all right.

"Mrs. O'Connell said that the house was built in a valley, and was infested by fairies, and nobody would live in it.

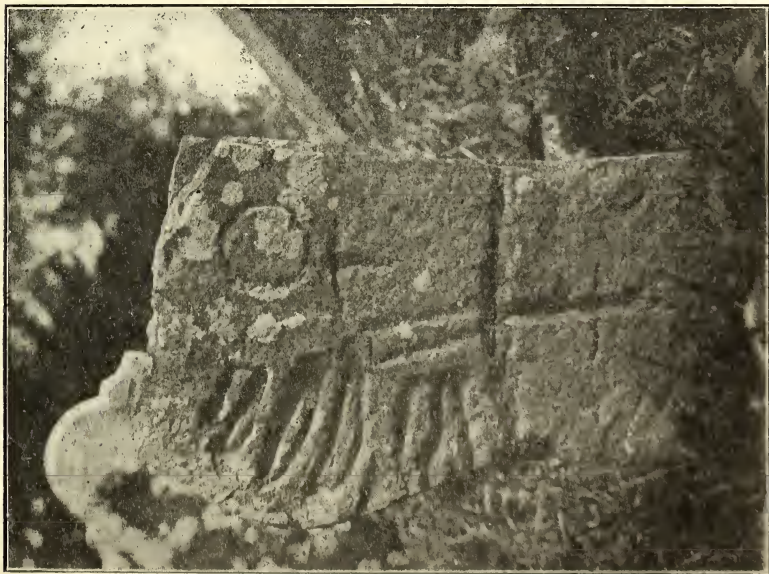
"Mr. Slattery, J.P.—Do not imagine for a moment that the magistrates are believers in fairies.

"A fine of 2s. 6d. was imposed. The magistrates warned O'Connell that if he did not take his children out of the hovel within a month he would have to go to jail."

HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

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**An Inscribed Slab.**—During the summer of 1912 I was engaged in searching the graveyard surrounding the well-known church of Seskinano,



INSCRIBED SLAB AT SESKINANO

famous for its ogham-inscribed lintels, for old inscriptions, and found a peculiar stone doing duty as a headstone to a grave. The stone is formed of a slaty sandstone, or freestone, as it is locally called. It is roughly oblong in shape, but the bottom half is narrower than the upper. The dimensions are, 10 inches broad by 21 inches high, and about 3 inches thick.



One face is rather flatter and smoother than the other, and is marked with various scribings, as will be seen from the enclosed photograph. The back of the stone is devoid of anything in the shape of artificial markings. The scribings are fairly deeply cut, and are quite distinct. There at first sight appears to be part of an ogham inscription on the left edge of the slab, but as the lines depart from the edge, and appear solely on the face of the stone, I think they are not oghamic.

There are two T-shaped crosses, the smaller with a circle over it.

The Rev. P. Power, in his *Ruined Churches* or his *Place-names of the Decies*, says that he found a stone in the above graveyard, and doing duty to a modern grave, with ogham markings on it. But this stone, he informs us, was formed of "coarse conglomerate," so that it cannot be the same stone as that which I discovered. I failed to find any marks on the few conglomerate headstones in this place, but hardly expected to do so, as it would be curious to use such a hard medium as conglomerate, formed as it is of many small stones cemented together, for any kind of writing. I wrote to Father Power on the subject, but he informed me that he had mislaid his MSS., but could not recollect any such stone as mine.—GORDON W. FORSAYETH.

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**Turlough O'Brien, of Fomerla.**—In a paper on "Inchiquin, Co. Clare," which appeared in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1891 (p. 351), I regret to say I was guilty of an error, which I hope has not misled others, in stating that Turlough O'Brien, of Fomerla (parish of Tulla), who was hanged at Galway in May 1581, was the son of Donough of Dromoland, son of Murrough, 1st Earl of Thomond. Further study of the period has convinced me that the *Four Masters* were right in calling him Turlough, son of Donough (2nd Earl of Thomond), son of Conor.

In the Duke of Ormond's letter to Cecil, 3 July 1570, he is styled "Tirrolough of Formerly, the Earl's brother," *i.e.*, younger brother of Conor, 3rd Earl of Thomond. In this year Turlough was high sheriff of Clare, and apparently in high favour with the Government. He was security for the peaceful behaviour of several of the principal gentlemen of the county, and in his own name held the following nine castles, as given in the list made out by (or for) the Earl of Ormond, who had been sent into Thomond to pacify, and, if necessary, coerce, Conor O'Brien, the 3rd Earl, who had shown strong signs of disaffection:—

Fomarla, Tyredagh, Ballymullin (now Milltown), all in parish of Tulla.

Doonimulaihill (now Doon), parish of Inchicronan.

Cahermoroghoe (now Cahermurphy), parish of Kilmihill.

Tromora, parish of Kilmurry, Ibrickan.

Inchiquin, parish of Kilnahoy.

Ballyagowan (now Smithstown), parish of Kilshanny.

Moyrhee, parish of Ruan.

Later on we learn from the State papers that Turlough O'Brien was detained in irons by Sydney in July 1576. After some time he was set free, but taken prisoner again the following November. On 10 March 1581, Pelham sends orders from Limerick to the president of Con-nacht:—"Turlagh the Earl's brother and late sheriff of Clare to be by you committed to the provost marshall or any other jail." The unfortunate gentleman was hanged at Galway after enduring twelve months' imprisonment, on the 26th May 1581 according to the Four Masters, but the *Annals of Lough Cé* say the 27th. On the 30th of the following June, Malbie reports to Walsingham that he had an offer made him of £1000 for the life of Turlough O'Brien—a large bribe in those days, if the story be true. In any case it is manifest some all-powerful influence was at work for his destruction.

Why, then, was this man pursued with such persistent enmity, even unto death, while the sons of the Earl of Clanrickard and Mahone O'Brien, of Cloonavaun (now Rockvale, parish of Kilkeedy), all equally guilty of the rebellion of the previous year (1580), received full pardon, though the last-mentioned, according to the Four Masters, was the chief instigator and organizer of the insurrection? It was, no doubt, a time of great demoralization among the governing class everywhere. The "days of chivalry" were gone for at least a couple of centuries. The end, no matter how ignoble, usually justified the means, and honour was only a plaything. The massacres of Mullach Maisten (1577), Dun an oir (1580), St. Bartholomew (1572), the atrocities of Alva in the Netherlands, and the attempts of English "noblemen" to poison Irish chieftains, disgraced, but, I am ashamed to say, did not stagger, humanity. Buccaneering and piracy were gloried in as worthy occupations for a gentleman, and rewarded and honoured by the State.

The Four Masters state that Conor O'Brien, 3rd Earl of Thomond, and brother of Turlough, died in 1580, the *Annals of Loch Cé* say 1581. The latter is probably the true year, for if Conor died before 25 March it would be recorded as occurring in the preceding year A.D. At any rate, Turlough was not executed until after the earl's death, though in jail for over a year, which looks rather extraordinary. The only possible reason that occurs to me for the exceptional severity shown is that the English officials feared his interference with the peaceful succession of his nephew, Donough, 4th Earl of Thomond, who, it is said, was brought up in the court of Elizabeth (Lodge, 1754), and may have been in England at the time. The minions of the Government would readily, I have no doubt, commit any atrocity in order to avoid another war of succession in Thomond, such as took place a short time before on the accession of Donough, the 2nd Earl.

Ormond (Thomas, son of James, son of Pierce ruadh) was a man of paramount influence at the time. He was Turlough's first cousin, the latter's mother, Ellen Butler, being his aunt, and widow of Donough,

2nd Earl of Thomond. She resided (1570) in the Castle of Lissosfin (Ormond's Castle List). It is hard to believe that Ormond had not a finger in the pie, and could have got Turlough pardoned if he tried. I hope I am not wronging him; but things look as if he acquiesced in, if he actually did not prompt, the execution. The fact that Teig O'Brien, Turlough's son, was apprehended in 1596, in the country of the Butlers, "after having been a long time engaged in plundering"—perhaps trying to avenge his father—was hanged "by the advice of the Earl of Ormond," the same Thomas, son of James, son of Pierce ruadh (A. IV M.)—to say the least of it, seems very suspicious.—GEO. U. MACNAMARA.

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**The Stone of the "Seven Romans" on Aran Mór.**—The famous monument, inscribed VII ROMANI, has often been discussed, and there have been many speculations as to who these Seven Romans were, and how they came to Ireland. I have hit on a reference which I think solves the mystery. It is in the *Martyrology of Gorman*, July 10th—

Cesad sund secht mbrathar  
Ir-Róimh nar-ros rígsaer

—"this is the passion of seven brothers in Rome of the Royal noble pedigrees." These seven brothers are also mentioned in the *Féilire* of Oengus, so that they were celebrated in Ireland. They were of course the seven sons of Felicitas, martyred during the Antonine persecution. The coincidence is too striking to be accidental. The stone is thus a dedicatory, not a memorial stone; it is like the stones inscribed TOMAS AP., and SCĪ BRECANI, in the same graveyard; and there never were "seven Romans" on Aran!—R. A. S. MACALISTER.

## Notices of Books

NOTE.—Books marked thus (\*) are by Members of the Society.

*Prehistoric Times*. By the late Rt. Hon. Lord Avebury. Seventh edition Revised and Reset. 623 pages + 3, with three plates in colours, and numerous illustrations. Williams & Norgate. London. 1913. Price 10s 6d.

It is pleasant to welcome again such an old and tried friend as *Prehistoric Times* in a seventh and thoroughly revised edition. The publishers' note states that the late Lord Avebury was working at the revision of this edition in the spring of the year only a few months before his death; and the traces of the revision can be seen on many of the pages. We presume that *Prehistoric Times*, in one or other of its numerous editions, is in the library of most archaeologists; and it is therefore hardly necessary to discuss the contents of so well-known a work in detail. It may, however, be of use to mention briefly some of the new features introduced into this edition. First of all we congratulate the publishers on the inclusion in colour of the three fine paintings of prehistoric animals from the walls of the cave of Altamira, Spain. These are the polychrome bison, the horse and the hind, and the galloping wild boar. Among new matters touched on is the difficult question of Bronze-age Chronology; and in this connexion Lord Avebury declares himself a follower of Dr. Montelius, in placing the probable date of the commencement of the Bronze Age in Northern Europe and Great Britain at about 2500 B.C.

Another fresh subject is that of the remarkable series of flint implements discovered by Mr. J. Reid Moir, near Ipswich, resting in the undisturbed base of the Red Crag, resting on London Clay. These are of course the famous Eagle-beaks or Rostro-Carinates about which we have recently heard so much.

The chapters on Modern Savages have demanded less revision than those dealing with Prehistoric Archaeology.

On the whole we can recommend this edition of this exceedingly useful book to all interested in Prehistoric studies; but it must be remembered that the original book was written many years ago, at a time when our knowledge of, for instance, the Stone Age was elementary compared with what is known to-day; and consequently Lord Avebury's book would have had to be entirely re-written and replanned to have included adequately the present results of Modern Archaeological Science. With this reservation we wish the best of luck to the seventh edition of our lamented *Honorary Fellow*, Lord Avebury's, *Prehistoric Times*.

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG.



*The Roman Camp and the Irish Saint at Burgh Castle : with local History.*  
By Louis H. Dahl, M.A., Rector of Burgh Castle, Suffolk. (London : Jarrold & Sons.)

For Irish readers the interest of this book lies in its life of Fursa, the seventh-century missionary to East Anglia and Northern France. A section of this history of the scene of his labours—Burgh Castle, Suffolk—is devoted to an account of the life and times of the saint. It does not profess to be more than a compilation from printed sources, but will, no doubt, serve a useful purpose in opening the eyes of English readers of Parish Histories to the importance of the Irish missionary labours.

The author indulges in some rather risky philology when he seeks to derive *Cnobheresburg*, Bede's name for the site of Fursa's monastery, from the Irish *cnoc*, which he supposes to mean a castle, and the Anglo-Saxon *heresberga*, explained as "the station where an army rested on their march." The explanation of the ornamental device known as the triquetra (p. 91) as "one of the most ancient Irish symbols of the Eternal and Unchangeable, Three Persons, One God," is at least doubtful. It may be questioned whether there was any more idea of symbolism in the mind of the artist who first designed a triquetra than there is in the mind of the schoolboy who makes a sexfoil in a circle by stepping a compass round the circumference. On the same page of the book "*Naco*" should be *Naomh*.

The rest of the work before us hardly concerns the special interests of this *Journal*. It is an industrious compilation of material bearing on the East Anglian parish, which possesses an important Roman Camp, as well as the usual ecclesiastical and manorial antiquities.—R. A. S. M.

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\**Irish Seal-Matrices and Seals.* By E. C. R. Armstrong. With 80 illustrations. (Dublin : Hodges, Figgis, & Co.)

THE history of Art, and many other branches of historical research, are illumined by the study of seals, the necessity for which led to their invention at a very early stage in the development of human activities. The seals of Ireland have at last found a competent historian; and the work before us, in which Mr. Armstrong has fully described the fine collection of the Royal Irish Academy, and such other seals as have come to his notice, will long be the standard authority for comparison whenever any new seal happens to come to light.

Mr. Armstrong has classified his seals partly according to their devices, and partly according to their historical connexions. The seals of knights, chieftains, and other persons of secular importance come first, with devices

of men on horseback, coats-of-arms, etc. Municipal seals, and then Ecclesiastical seals, follow in order. There is then a chapter on the matrices of foreign seals in the R. I. A. collection, and another on seal impressions.

Each seal is described, and almost every one illustrated with an excellent group of photographs, showing the matrix, the side (from which a clear idea of the handle of the seal can be obtained), and the wax impression. The inscriptions are carefully set out, as nearly exactly as typography can imitate them.

The Irish seals, it must be confessed, are on the average of a low order of merit artistically. But as illustrations of the skill of the local engravers, of contemporary costume and architecture, and as historical documents of the Middle Ages, they are of great value, and Mr. Armstrong's careful study does them full justice.

*\*Irish Witchcraft and Demonology.* By St. John D. Seymour, B.D.  
Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co. London: Humphrey Milford.

THE author of this interesting work does not fail to quote, at the outset, the well-known chapter on the snakes of Iceland as a parallel to the book that might well be written on his subject—though, by the way, he unfortunately prejudices a reviewer inclined to be captious by writing “Ireland” instead of “Iceland.” For there is but little trace in Ireland of the witchcraft superstitions which elsewhere in Europe caused so much unnecessary bloodshed. In his introductory chapter the author discusses this remarkable fact, for it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the proverbial superstitiousness of the Irish, there is scarcely any evidence for witchcraft, in the strict sense of the term, either in the Middle Ages or in the terrible witch-burning times of the seventeenth century.

In fact, this particular form of trafficking with the unseen world does not seem to have been developed among the native Irish, but where found is an importation from England. This is emphatically the case of the first and most classical example, the Kyteler case at Kilkenny in 1324 A.D. Alice Kyteler was of an Anglo-Norman family, and the prosecutor, Bishop de Ledrede, was an Englishman. This case, and its *sequelae*, are very fully discussed by Mr. Seymour, who has given a most useful synopsis of the complicated story.

Following on the Kyteler incident we have a number of minor cases, among them the stories of the Earl of Desmond, Dr. Colville, Florence Newton of Youghal, Valentine Greatrakes, and other more or less known illustrations of these forms of human folly. Mr. Seymour has pursued his subject to America, and found a very pretty example of alleged witchcraft in an Irish family that fell under the tender

mercies of the notorious Mathers of Massachusetts. Later cases, like the Island Magee case of 1710-1711, and the Carnmoney case of 1807, are also duly recorded. We are glad to see that Mr. Seymour corrects the mistake made by the penny-a-liners of calling the famous Clonmel "changeling" case of 1895 a "witch-burning."

A little more care in correcting proof-sheets might, perhaps, have been exercised; "Elibabethan," on p. 236, stands out provokingly in the very clear type in which the book is printed. But Mr. Seymour has written a very interesting book, in which, so far as we can judge, he has exhausted the subjects he has chosen.—R. A. S. M.

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\**St. Mullins, Illustrated: A Local History, and the Life of St. Moling.*  
Compiled from ancient mss., with Notes and Traditions, by Patrick O'Leary. Graig-na-managh, 1913.

THIS is an industrious compilation, which will, we trust, be of great use in arousing local interest in the history and antiquities of St. Mullins. It contains a translation of the ancient lives of the saint, with topographical and historical notes, and in its seventy-five pages contains a large quantity of local information. There are some good photographic illustrations.

## Proceedings

A Quarterly General Meeting of the 65th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 30th September, 1913, at 8.30 o'clock, p.m.

JOHN RIRTON GARSTIN, D.L., F.S.A., *Past President*, in the Chair.

Also present:—

*Fellows*:—E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*; G. D. Burtchaell, LL.B.; John Cooke, M.A., M.R.I.A.; Rev. M. J. Curran; Rev. Charles Fausset, B.A.; R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A.; S. G. Murray; M. J. M'Enery, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*; P. J. O'Reilly; G. W. Place; Andrew Robinson, M.V.O.; Andrew Roycroft; Henry C. S. Torney; John F. Weldrick.

*Members*:—Mrs. S. Bewley; A. Kirk Brown; William Chamney; George Duncan; Freeman W. Deane; E. J. Trench, M.A.; T. G. H. Green; P. J. Griffith; J. J. B. Jennings; R. J. Kelly; H. G. Leask; R. G. Pilkington; Rev. J. L. Robinson, B.A.; R. B. Sayers; E. Weber Smyth; Mrs. E. W. Smyth; Miss Edyth Warren; Miss Helen Warren; Robert Blair White.

*Associate Members*:—S. W. Maddock; Robert Nicol; Frank Stokes.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows were elected:—

Fawcett, Surgeon-General William James, C.B., D.L., Lecarrow, Spencer Harbour, Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim: proposed by J. Ormsby Lawder, *Fellow*.

Matthews, William Henry, Rosemount, Bolton, Bradford, Yorkshire: proposed by W. F. Figgis, *Member*.

Paul, Rev. Julian Nigel Wilfred, Rector of the Grammar School, Alwar (Rajputana), India: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

It was proposed by Mr. Edward Weber Smyth, seconded by Mr. Burtchaell:—

“That the Society approve of the nomination and appointment by the Council of Messrs Craig, Gardner, & Co. as Auditors of the Society's Accounts,”

and passed unanimously.



The following papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

1. "Extracts from the old minute-books of the Commissioners of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, from 1814." By Edward Weber Smyth, *Member*.
2. "Dungory Castle, Kinvara." By Richard J. Kelly, *Member*.
3. "Churchwardens' Accounts, 1484-1600, St. Werburgh's Church, Dublin." By Rev. John Lubbock Robinson, B.A., *Member*.

A paper—

"Ruins of Cruachan Ai," by Hubert T. Knox, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*,  
was taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication.

The Meeting then adjourned until the 9th December, 1913.

A Meeting of the 65th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 9th of December, 1913, at 8.15 o'clock, p.m.

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., F.S.A., *Past President*, in the Chair.

Vacancies for a President, five Vice-Presidents, an Hon. Treasurer, two Hon. Secretaries, and nine Members of Council, were declared.

The following papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

1. "The Earldom of Ulster. Part III: Inquisition touching Down and Newtownards." By Goddard H. Orpen, B.A., *Member*.
2. "The Account-book of a Dublin Harpsichord-maker, Ferdinand Weber, 1764-1783." By W. H. Grattan Flood, M.S. Doc., *Member*.
3. "Gleanings from the National Library, Paris." By Lieut.-Col. W. O. Cavenagh, *Member*.

The Meeting then adjourned until the 27th January, 1914.









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